



Journal C of Station No. 2 of the Underground Railroad, Agent William Still, 1852-1857

**Vigilance Committee of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society,
Pennsylvania Abolition Society Papers, HSP**

Edited by Peter P. Hinks

TWO HUNDRED DOLLARS REWARD.

Ran away from the subscriber, living in Anne Arundel county, and near the Governor's Bridge P.O., on Saturday night last, without any cause or provocation, a short, well-set NEGRO MAN, of dark complexion, grum [sic] appearance, down look, slow of speech and motion. He calls himself Perry Anderson, and is about 30 years of age. Had good clothing, such as grey pants, red vest, chocolate colored coat, and black fur hat. There are reasons to suppose he may be lurking in or about the District of Columbia, as it is likely he is in company with a tall bright mulatto man belonging to Mr. James W. Kent, who absconded at the same time, and who has a wife at Mr. Clement Hilliary's, near Bladensburg. I will give the above reward of two hundred dollars if taken out of the State, and secured so that I get him again, or one hundred dollars any where in the District of Columbia or State of Maryland.

DANIEL KENT, M.D.

\$200 REWARD.—Ran away from Mr. McJilton's [?] , No. 111 South High street, Baltimore, on Thursday, the 14th May, (where she has been hired for the last twelve months,) my Negro Woman HARRIET, aged about 18 years, about five feet high, stout built [sic] , a heavy suit of hair and of light complexion. She has on one of her hands the mark of a blackberry, also a cavity in one of her front teeth, which makes her look as though she had lost one of them. No other mark remembered. I will give the above reward for [type missing] apprehension and safe delivery to Mr. JAS. GILM[type missing], No. 3 Aisquith street, if taken out of the State [type missing] Maryland, and One Hundred Dollars if taken in the State.

JOHN DILLOHAY

IMPORTANT INFORMATION SENT TO MARRIED MEN.—Address, with four postage stamps, Dr. A. J. THURDELL, New York city [sic] .

\$200 Reward

I WILL GIVE THE ABOVE REWARD OF \$ 00 [sic] for my Negro Man WASHINGTON, if delivered in any Jail in this or the adjoining Counties, or to Mr. W. W. Hall's Jail in Norfolk city, uninjured. The said Negro is about 5 feet, 7 to 8 inches high, not quick spoken, has a scar on either his right or left hand. Has a father about Deep Creek, and a mother at Mr. F. Perrier's in Norfolk city. The last I heard of him, he was as a free man, oystering near Norfolk.

SUFFOLK. Nov. 29

BENJ. D. SMITH

ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY DOLLARS REWARD.—I will give the above reward for the apprehension of my MEN, BEN and JAMES. When last seen they were in Westmoreland county, Virginia, when they were making great efforts to escape in vessels

freighting with wood for the North, and may possibly have succeeded in reaching Baltimore, from which place they will no doubt attempt to go North. Ben is of a light brown complexion, 23 or 24 years old, of ordinary size, has rather a bushy head, with one of his front teeth half broken off. He has with him a good supply of clothes, the kind of which is not particularly known, but I believe there is among them a blue cloth coat with a short skirt, quite wide, and has both a hat and cap. Ben possesses more than ordinary intelligence, and will be very dexterous in making his escape to a free State.

James, who is the brother of Ben, is also of a light brown complexion, about 18 or 20 years old, rather under Ben's size, but resembles him very much in appearance. Has wide front teeth, and speaks quickly when spoken to. James' supply of clothes is not very good, nor is the kind known, but I believe he left with a light cloth sack coat and a cap. Ben and James are no doubt in company.

I will give the above REWARD of ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY DOLLARS if apprehended out of the State, and FIFTY if taken in, so that I get them again.

DANDRIDGE SALE,
Loretto, Essex county, Va.

[Commence right-hand column]

\$2300 Reward

ABSCONDED from the swam[p]s J.[?] S. Simmons, the following NEGROES, viz:

Jim Twea[?]dy,	aged about 26,	purchased in Tyrell Co.
Sam Riddick,	do 45,	do Gates Co.
Sambo Eason,	do 38,	do do
Jim White,	do 28,	do do
Cass Saunders,	do 28,	do do
Dave Barrell,	do 45,	do do
Sam Goodman,	do 4[?],	do do
Jack Ra?co[?]e,	do 3[?]8,	do do
Cato Baker,	do 40,	do D.S. Canal
Lonon [?] Butt,	do 40,	do In Virginia
Isaac Sanderl[?]in,	do 25,	do In Camden
Isaac Humphries,	do [?]0,	do do
Armstead Leary,	do 25,	do Chowan Co.
Chas. Sample,	do 28[?],	do Tyrell Co.
Noah Sample,	do 39,	do do
Sampson Arnold,	do 35,	do do
Isaac Casey,	do 39,	do do
Job Chesson,	do 28,	do Wash'n Co.
Broy Chesson,	do 28,	do do do
Matthew,	do 28,	do Chowan Co.
Stark Smith	do 38?,	do Hertford.

Tom Hil?l	do 35?,	do Roanoke Island.
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Mark Gallop do 45, do Camden Co.

The undersigned will pay a reward of ONE HUNDRED DOLLARS each for said Negroes, if apprehended and lodg[e]d in the jail of W. W. Ha[l]l, in Norfolk, or confined in any jail, so that we get them.

Persons wishing to purchase any of the aforesaid negroes, are requested to apply to James W. Roberts, of Gatesville, W. W. Ha[l]l, Norfolk, or to the undersigned

H. G. SPRUILL
C. L. PETIGREW } Trustees
C. LATHAM

\$50 Reward

RANAWAY FROM GEO. B. GORDON, GATES County, North Carolina, on the 13th of February, 1856, Negro Boy, ANDREW.

Said Negro is about 20 years old, 5 feet, 3 to 8 inches high, very bright colored, and has an uneven, slightly halting gait when walking ordinarily. He displays an unusual proportion of white in his eyes, th[e] iris of which is nearly the color of his skin.

His father, a negro, named Noah, formerly the property of the late Thomas Twine, is living in or abo[ut] Norfolk, and it is supposed Andrew is with him.

The undersigned will pay \$50 for his apprehensi[on] and confinement in Jail, if caught out of this Sta[te] or \$25 if within it. Address

JOHN C. GORDON,

SUNSBURY Post Office, Gates County, North Car[oli]na

**Journal C. of
Station No. 2
U.G.R.R.**

ONE HUNDRED DOLLARS REWARD.

Ran away from the subscriber, living in Rockville, Montgomery county, Md., on Saturday, 31st of May last.

NEGRO MAN, ALFRED,

About twenty-two years of age: five feet seven inches high; dark copper color, and rather good looking.

He had on when he left a dark blue and green plaid frock coat of cloth, and lighter colored plaid pantaloons.

I will give the above reward if taken out of the county, and in any of the States, or fifty dollars if taken in the county or the District of Columbia, and secured so that I get him again.

JOHN W. ANDERSON.

FIFTY DOLLARS REWARD.—Ran away from the subscriber, living near Upper Marlborough, Prince George's county, Md., on Monday, 25th of August, negro man LEWIS. He is about forty years of age, five feet ten or eleven inches high, black complexion, is crippled in the knee and one leg, believed to be the right, and it inclines so much as to run against the other in walking. He generally walks with a cane. He is also suffering from hernia, and is in consequence compelled to wear a truss.

I will give a reward of fifty dollars for his apprehension if taken out of the county, and twenty-five dollars if taken in the county. In either case he must be brought home or secured in jail so that I can get him again.

THOMAS CLAGETT.

\$100 REWARD.—Ran away from Mr. E. Wroe's, Washington city, my Negro Woman CHARLOTTE. She is about 23 years of age, stout made, not over the medium height, of bright copper color, good suit of hair, rather sulky when spoken to. The above reward will be given for her apprehension if taken out of the District of Columbia, and fifty dollars if taken within the limits of the District; in either case she must be secured in the Washington city or Baltimore jails. Any information addressed to G. CLARK, 93 McElderry's wharf, Baltimo[...], will be properly attended to.

ELEANOR CONAWAY.

FOUR HUNDRED DOLLARS REWARD.

Ran away from the subscriber, living on Long Green, Baltimore county, Md., NEGRO MAN JAKE, who calls himself JAKE DUPEN; he is a dark mulatto, about thirty years of age, five feet six or seven inches high, rather delicately made; the thumb of the left hand has been sprained, which gives it a clumsy appearance, and has also a large scar on the back of the right, caused by a cut. Had on when he left home (and I believe no others were taken) a pair of blue pants, with a light stripe running down them, black frock coat, and a light colored felt hat. I will give Two Hundred Dollars if taken in the city or county

of Baltimore, or the above reward if taken out of the State of Maryland. In either case he must be secured in jail so that I get him again.

WM. M. EDELIN,
Fork Meeting House P.O

ONE HUNDRED DOLLARS REWARD.

—Ran away from the subscriber on Friday morning, the 23d of May, 1856, my Slave MADISON, about 21 or 22 years of age, of chestnut [sic] color, well made, about five feet six or eight inches high; weighs about 150 or 160 pounds; his clothing not all recollected. He has a mother living in Prince George's county, Md., and a sister living in the city of Washington, D.C., and may be secreting himself somewhere near them. I will give the above reward for his apprehension, no matter where taken, so that he be secured and I get him again.

LAWRENCE POSEY, Allen's Fresh
Charles co., Md.

[Handwriting immediately below the above advertisement at the bottom of the left-hand column:]

Pallidan [?] of
Sep. 23/56

M.W. Baldwin

[Commence right hand column]

ONE THOUSAND FOUR HUNDRED DOLLARS REWARD.—Ran away from the subscribers, living near Markham Station M. G. Railroad, on Saturday night, the 13th of September, the following slaves, [illegible] NEGRO MAN ELIAS, about 35 years of age, and about 5 feet 7 or 8 inches high; well made and dark mulatto, civil in his manner when spoken to; and a blacksmith by trade. LYTTLETON, about 22 years old, black, rather stoutly made, and 5 feet 9[?] or 10 inches high. JOHN LAWRENCE, a black, about 5 feet 7 or 8 inches high, woolly head, and about 40 years of age. OAKLEY, about 16 years of age, very slim, a dark mulatto.—ARTHUR, a mulatto, about 28[?] years of age, about 6 feet high, and very stout. SMITH, about 22 years of age, black, and about 5 feet 6 or 8 inches high. JIM, about 23[?] years old, an Albino, and 5 feet 6 or 8 inches high.

The above reward will be given for the apprehension for the whole if taken beyond the borders of Virginia, or Two Hundred Dollars for each, if out of the State; and One Hundred Dollars for each if taken in the county of Hampshire; Thirty Dollars each if taken in the county of Fairfax; and Fifty Dollars each if taken elsewhere. In every case they must be put in jail so that we can get them again.

JAMES K. MARSHALL,
ROBT M. STUBBING,
E. L. L. MARSHALL.

[The next advertisement repeats the one in the right-hand column]

ONE HUNDRED DOLLARS REWARD.

—Ran away from the subscriber on Friday morning, the 23d of May, 1856, my Slave MADISON, about 21 or 22 years of age, of chestnut [sic] color, well made, about five feet six or eight inches high; weighs about 150 or 160 pounds; his clothing not all

recollected. He has a mother living in Prince George's county, Md., and a sister living in the city of Washington, D.C., and may be secreting himself somewhere near them. I will give the above reward for his apprehension, no matter where taken, so that he be secured and I get him again.

LAWRENCE POSEY, Allen's Fresh
Charles co., Md.

ONE HUNDRED DOLLARS REWARD.—On Saturday, the 20th instant, ran away from the subscriber, residing near Owensville, Anne, Arrndel [sic] county, Md., my NEGRO MAN, JNO. BARTON. He is about 22 years of age, 5 feet 11 inches high, and is very black, slim and straight. I will pay the above reward if apprehended and secured out of Anne Arundel county, or \$50 if within the said county. JAS. IGLEHART, Jr.

[The following list of names have been revealed from behind a section of the advertisements peeled back in the right-hand column on the above page 3. They have been transcribed as they appear there.]

T.[?] R. Davis
X C. D. Cleveland¹
X S. Rhoads² £10 0 0
X John M Whitall³ #
X A. L. Pennock⁴
X Rebecca White
Townsend Sharpless⁵
D. L.

¹ Initially a supporter of the movement to colonize black Americans in West Africa, Charles D. Cleveland came to embrace antislavery in 1836 and turned to support political abolitionism and the Liberty Party in the 1840s. He argued that the Constitution had compromised with slavery, but that finally it favored freedom over slavery and that political activity could ultimately remove the blot of bondage from the nation. Outraged by the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, he became very involved in the underground railroad in Philadelphia in the 1850s. He was also a strong advocate of female education and operated a school for young ladies in the 1850s. He lived at 3 Clinton Street in 1854. William Still, *The Underground Rail Road. A Record of Facts, Authentic Narratives, Letters, &c., Narrating the Hardships Hair-breadth Escapes and Death Struggles of the Slaves in their efforts for Freedom, as Related by Themselves and Others, or Witnessed by the Author; Together with Sketches of some of the Largest Stockholders, and Most Liberal Aiders and Advisers, of the Road.* (Philadelphia, 1872), 723-34. [Cited forthwith as Still, *Underground Rail Road*].

² Born in Philadelphia in 1806 and a lifelong Quaker, Samuel Rhoads was a leading member of the Free Produce Association of Philadelphia in the 1840s and 1850s. Advocating abstention from purchasing any slave-grown products, Rhoads helped edit the free produce movement's principal journal, *The Non-Slaveholder* (1846-50, 1853-54). He often rendered assistance to the Vigilance Committee of Philadelphia. Rhoads was also the publisher and editor of the "Friend's Review" in the 1850s. In 1854, he lived at 50 North Fourth Street. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 719-21.

³ John M. Whitall was a merchant who in 1854 had his business at 138 Race Street and his residence at 161 Filbert Street.

⁴ Abraham L. Pennock had advocated antislavery since the 1830s. Along with Samuel Rhoads, Pennock was a leading proponent of the free produce movement in Philadelphia and helped edit the movement's main organ, *The Non-Slaveholder*. In 1854, Pennock lived at 231 Market Street. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 719-20.

⁵ Townsend Sharpless was a merchant who in 1854 had his business at 32 South Second Street and his residence at 187 Arch Street.

Dec. 25/52	Philadelphia	
	Aarrived_Hannah Jane Thompson; Left Sussex last Jan'y. first Stopped with Jacob Paxson. Went from his house to his Cousin's at Upper Dublin where She Stayed 7 mos_ Expences & forwarding to J.R.G ⁶ .	3.2?
Jan. 6/53	Arrived_ from Md. Two men. directed by A.D. Shadd ⁷ , to Saml. Williams _ were duly examined & forwarded to J.R.G. Expences	5.0?
31	Arrived _ Irvin Parnell, from the Eastern Shore of Md. _ left 1 st Thursday after Christmas last, was duly examined & forwarded to J.R.G. _ Expences	2.0?

⁶ Yet to be identified. Possibly James Gibbons of Philadelphia, a member of the Gloucester family, someone in Lancaster County, or another through which a fugitive might pass in transit.

⁷ Abraham D. Shadd appears only once in Journal C and was either about to move to Canada in early 1853 or was already there.

1853

Feb. 10 th	Philadelphia	
	Arrived W ^m Allen alias Parnet, from Perrysville Md.____by Henry Chamberlin	
	Expence for forwarding &c	2.00
8	Arrived Thos. Wilson of Md Examined by J.C. White ⁸ & forwarded to J.R.G.	
	Expences	1.50
Mar. 1	Arrived Geo. Moore from near Cantwells Bridge, Del. Left on the 20 th ult. Was duly examined by J.C. White & N.W. Depee ⁹ , and forwarded to J.R.G. Expences	3.00
26	Arrived Alice Thomas from Frederick Co. Md____ Left James Short on the 19 th inst.____ duly examined and forwarded to J.R.G. Expence	1.50

⁸ Jacob C. White, Sr. (1806-1872) was a leading entrepreneur in black Philadelphia and a tireless opponent of slavery and racial discrimination. In 1854, he lived at 223 Lombard Street. He launched his career as a barber and dentist and in 1847 purchased land which he converted into one of the city's handful of black-owned burial grounds—Lebanon Cemetery. He was a leading member of both the Vigilant Committee of the 1840s and of the Vigilance Committee of the 1850s, serving on its Acting Committee. He also was an ardent advocate of the free produce movement which was centered in Philadelphia. This movement promoted the purchase of only those agricultural goods which could be certified as produced exclusively by free labor. Jacob's son, Jacob Jr., would become a leading member of postbellum black Philadelphia.

⁹ Nathaniel W. Depee had long been active in the Philadelphia black community. In 1845, he helped form the short-lived Colored American National Society with several other black Philadelphians. He was instrumental in the creation of the Vigilance Committee in late 1852 and served on its Acting Committee. He was a dedicated operative in the underground railroad. In 1854, he lived at 334 South Street.

1853			3
Mar. 31	Philadelphia	Arrived___ James Gibbs and 2 sons, from Greensburg Md. Duely attended to, examined & forwarded to J.R.G. No Exp.	0.00
Apr. 6		Arrived___ Helen & Mary Parker the orig. N. ^s of the ab. were as follows: Rebeca Brown (held by T.C. Howard of Annapolis Md.) and Jane Matilda Menia [?] (held by Rich ^d Ducket near Annapolis Md) Duely Exam. & forwarded to J.R.G. Expen.	2.50
7		Arrived___ Mary Kelly (now Charlotte Spriggs,) of Baltimore held by Wm Watkins___ This case was examined and forwarded by C.L.R. ¹⁰ Expences	3.25

¹⁰ Charles Lewis Reason (1818-1893) was born in New York City to parents who had immigrated from Haiti. He excelled as a student and became an instructor of mathematics at the city's African Free School by 1832. In 1849, he was appointed professor of literature and languages at the interracial New York Central College. In the early 1850s, he came to Philadelphia to teach at the Quaker-sponsored Institute for Colored Youth, where he dramatically increased enrollment. He also served on the board of the Vigilance Committee and regularly assisted fugitives. In 1855, he returned to New York City to teach and eventually became a principal in the city's public school system.

1853

April 19 Philadelphia

Arrived___ David Jones Alias Jefferson Pipkins¹¹, from Balt Md.___ held by the Widow Pipkins Also Elizth Brit¹² Louisa Pipkins¹³ Also Harriet Brown¹⁴ (Jane Wooton___ by Geo. Stewart of Balti. Also Gracy Murray¹⁵, (Sophia Sims)___ by Stewart, as above Also Ed. Williams¹⁶ (Henry Johnson) ___ by Ed. Moons, Balti. Also Chas. Lee¹⁷, (Thos. Bushier) ___ by Stewart (as above)

The 6 persons above refered to, all left Balti. ↑on↓ the 1st Sunday in April. It appears they were respectable, cleanly, and gave evidence of having highly appreciated that which they had been all their lives robed of_ liberty_ Four were from 20 to 28. Two were about 37 to 40 yrs of age. Brought forward.

¹¹ Jefferson Pipkins is mentioned in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 136-37. He eventually settled in Yorkville near Toronto in Canada West. In September 1856, he wrote William Still, seeking his assistance in securing the liberty of his children still enslaved in Virginia and North Carolina.

¹² Elizabeth Britt is mentioned in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 136-37.

¹³ Louisa Pipkins is mentioned in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 136-37.

¹⁴ Harriet Brown is mentioned in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 136-37.

¹⁵ Gracy Murray is mentioned in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 136-37.

¹⁶ Edward Williams is mentioned in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 136-37.

¹⁷ Charles Lee is mentioned in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 136-37.

1853			5
Apr. 19	Philadelphia		
	Brought forward		
	They were all duly care ^d for by the com. And forwarded to N.Y.		
	Exp. For bread, carriage hire & Fare	14.50	
May 4	Arrived___ Singleton Davis (Wm Snowden) from Balti.		
	___held by Augustus Riggs. Left on the 23 ult. Left a wife & 2 children in Columbia to be forwarded to him.		
	Age about 38, and of dark complexion		
	Expences	2.00	
July 20 th	Arrived___ Charllotte Harris, from Wilmington, Del. She brought with her a son (Thos. Garrison) nine years of age. and a younger one (W ^m Henry) 10 Mos old. They were satisfactorally examined & forwarded to N.Y.		
	Expences	5.25	

1853

Aug. 16	Philadelphia	
	Arrived___ A Young man, age 17, from the Eastren Shore of Md. Duly examined & forwarded by J.C.W.	
	Expences	2.25
22	Arrived Eliz th Thompson & Inphant, from Baltimore. Duly examined by J.C.W. She had left Balti. in the Spring of 53 having ever since been secreted in this city & elsewhere	
	Boarded with Mrs. Birch	.75
	Carriage hire	.50
	Fare to N.Y.	2.00
	Cash	1.00
27	Arrived___ Henry Foster, from Richmond ___ duly examined by J.C.W. & W.S. ¹⁸ , and forwarded to J.R.G. S. came per C. of R. ¹⁹	
	Expences	2.75

¹⁸ William Still.

¹⁹ "C. of R." refers to the steamboat, *City of Richmond*, which regularly traveled between Philadelphia and Richmond. It carried fleeing fugitives on a number of occasions over the years,.

1853			7
Sep. 2	Philadelphia		
	Arrived___ Hether Johnson: Stopped at Bias' ²⁰ , as reported by J.C.W.; and was forwarded at the Expence of the Com ^{ee} , Fare, &c.	2.50	
10	Arrived___ John W. Brown from Balt. left the previous Thursday evening; came by R.R. This case was reported by J.D.O. ²¹ , and duly forwarded Expences	2.00	
13	Arrived___ John Walker, 25 years of age, from Clarksville Va. where he was _____ by a man by the name of Easley, where he left a wife, & a child, 6 <u>mos</u> old, in Slavery Came as a White man being fair in a Vessel from Richmond This case was exam. By C.L.R. & J.C.W., and duly forwarded to J.R.G. Expences	2.50	

²⁰ James J. G. Bias (? – 1860) was a former slave who practiced as a cupper, bleeder, dentist, and phrenologist in Philadelphia. His wife, Eliza, commonly served as his medical assistant. Long active in Philadelphia's underground railroad, Bias was a key member of the Vigilant Committee in the 1840s and of the Vigilance Committee in the 1850s. Bias also participated in state and national colored conventions and in moral reform organizations.

²¹ John David Oliver, an oyster dealer, was one of the founding members of the original Vigilant Committee of the 1840s. He continued as a board member of the Vigilance Committee in the 1850s.

1853

Sept. 23 Philadelphia

Arrived__ John Henry Hill²², from Petersburg Va. He is 26 Yrs of age_ remarkably fine looking_ intelligent_ reads and writes_ and by trade is a carpenter_ on the 1st of last Jan'y after having paid the monster who claimed him \$150_ John's years hire_ he was taken by James Mitchell to an auction, in Richmond, and without ↑the owner↓ giving him the least intimation of ~~the~~ ↑his↓ cruel intention ↑that↓ he was to be sold_ So just as they were taken Hill in ↑to↓ the auction house_ fearing that he might grow unruly, at seeing himself exposed for sale, his claimant laid hands on him_ at which he grew desperate and fought four or five ↑men↓ so terribly with his fist, feet & knife, that he

²² John Henry Hill (1835 - ?) fled enslavement in Petersburg, Virginia in 1853. He was assisted by the Vigilance Committee in Philadelphia and left immediately for Toronto in Canada West. Initially Hill settled in Toronto where he worked as a carpenter. In 1855, he moved to Hamilton in Canada West. While very active in antislavery and community organizations in Canada, he also remained in regular contact with William Still, keeping him informed of the labors of black Americans in Canada. He helped innumerable fugitives who found their way to Canada. After the Civil War, he returned to Petersburg, where, by 1872, he had become a justice of the peace. Further details of Hill's dramatic escape from the auction block in Richmond and of his settlement in Canada, along with many of his letters are contained in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 41, 189-200.

Sep. 23	Philadelphia	
	(Brought forward ed) terrified his enemies, and fled_ was er Secreted 9 mos. after which a passage was procured for him on the C. of R. at the expence \$1.25_ He left a wife & two children who were all free in Petersburg . Expences	2.00
Oct. 3	Arrived___ John Scott, alias Levi Duncans, age 22 Yrs_ from Haverford Co. Md left last June_ duly examined & directed to J.R.G._ Expence nothing	0.00
6	Wm Ellis, alias John Jones & his wife Mary_ both middle age, medium size and of dark complexion_ had left North Carolina about 3 weeks previous to their arrival in this weeks city They left two boys, one ten & the other 12 yrs of age_ was directed to S. Smith ²³ _ after being duly examined &	

²³ Stephen Smith (1795/97-1873) was born the son of a slave woman in Pennsylvania. Subject to the state's Gradual Emancipation law, he was indentured at an early age. By age 16, he had purchased his freedom and over the ensuing years established a successful lumber business in the town of Columbia. In the 1830s, he undertook a partnership with William Whipper, a prominent black Philadelphian dedicated to moral improvement and antislavery. By 1850, Smith had moved to Philadelphia and amassed a fortune in lumber and other enterprises. He also was an ordained minister in the African Methodist Episcopal Church. Both Smith's and Whipper's homes in Columbia, as well as their lumber yard, were known stations on the local underground.

1853 Philadelphia

Oct.6

Cared for by the com^{ee} they were forwarded to J.R.G.
Expences

6.00

Oct. 25

Arrived_ John Brifton alias Chas. Stewart, age 34_
chestnut color. Medium size_ and of prepossessing
appearance_ from Richmond_ John had made several
unsuccessful attempts to gain his freedom by flight, for
which he had suffer the punishment of being sold, and
even æ ↑before making↓ the last trial he was still living
under the daily fear & threat of being again sold.

About 3 years ago his wife and children became
free by will and not being allowed to remain in the state
of Va. after being freed was obliged to leave,

1853

11

Oct. 25

Philadelphia

Consequently She with her children came to this city where she has since been maintaining her children separated as she has been.

He was _____ by Archibald Thomas.

On being duly examined he was forwarded to J.R.G.

Expenses

3.87 ½

Arrived__ Nelson Harris alias Chas Wilson. Complexion dark. Age 27 Yrs_ of medium size_ was _____ by Wm B. Beale of Richmond where he left on the 20th inst. He left a wife; Rosanna; a son John Henry & a daughter Evelina. Nelson was induced to fly for his liberty through the fear of being sold_ having been a short time previous, much threatened by his_____

1853

Oct. 25 Philadelphia

He came away on the City of R.²⁴

1 ½ days board .50

Carpet bag 1.

Carriage hire .37

Fare to N.Y. 2.

Cash 1.

Shipped to John H. Hill of Toronto, one large Box of
Goods from his wife_ Paid by Express 4.

Oct ~~Nov~~ 27th Arrived_ Mark Hamlet Thos. Goff, from Retirement,
Mont. Co. Md_ Left home on the 15th of oct_ went to
Washington & stopped with a man by the name of Lee_
obtained instructions and so came on_ was arrested
soon after he reached the Pa line by 6 white men, but
was soon released

²⁴ The "City of Richmond."

13

Philadelphia

He was brought to my house by C.L.R. and was examined by him and myself, and also next morning, by Mr M K.²⁵ at the A.S.O.²⁶ We was not as thoroughly satisfied with this case as we wished to be but were all agreed that it was advisable to send him a way ____
Expences

1.75

1853

Nov. 2nd

Arrived_ Robt. Jackson²⁷ (shot man) alias Wesley Harris, age 22 Yrs. of dark complexion and of slender Stature. Robt. Was born in Martinsburg Va. and _____ by ↑Philip↓ Pendleton. From a boy had always been hired out. At the first of this ~~present~~ year he commenced serving with Mrs. Carroll ~~proprietess~~ of the U.S. Hotel at Harpers Ferry; of Mrs. C. he speaks in very greatfull terms_ Saying that she was kind to him and all the Servants, and promised

²⁵ James Miller McKim (1810-1874), a liberal Presbyterian minister, was an early supporter of William Lloyd Garrison and the American Anti-Slavery Society. In the 1840s, McKim launched the antislavery newspaper, *The Pennsylvania Freeman*, in Philadelphia. Throughout the 1840s and 1850s, he actively assisted fugitives and was a member of the Board for the Vigilance Committee in the 1850s. He was also involved in the woman's rights movement in the 1850s and attended at least one related convention with his wife, Sarah, in West Chester, Pennsylvania, in June 1852. He supported numerous relief efforts for the freedmen in the South during and after the Civil War.

²⁶ Anti-Slavery Office.

²⁷ Further details of Robert Jackson's escape are contained in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 48-51.

Philadelphia

all their freedom at her death. She excused herself for not giving any ~~the few she owned~~ ↑their freedom↓ ~~their~~ ~~fr immediately emancipation~~ on the ground that her husband had died insolvent, leaving her with the responsibility of his debts to settle. But while Mrs. C. was very kind to her Servants_ her manager was equally as cruel. About a month before R ↑Wesley↓ left the overseer , for some trifling cause, attempted to flog him_ but was resisted & himself flogged ~~by Wesley~~. This resistance by the Slave was regarded by the overseer as an unpardonable offense; consequently he communicated the intelligence to his owner which had the desired effect on his mind, as appeared from his answer to the overseer_ ~~saying~~ which was nothing less than instructing that if he should again attempt to correct W, ~~and if he should again resist~~ ↑and he should repel the wholesome treatment↓, the overseer was to put him in prison & sell him. Whether he

offended again or not the following Christmas he was to be sold without fail. Wesley's mistress was kind enough to apprise him of the intention of his owner & the overseer soon told him if he could do better he had better do so. So from that time his mind began to contemplate how he should escape the doom which had been planned for him. "A friend by the name of C. Matterson told me that he was going off. Then I told him my ~~Boss~~ ↑masters↓ writing to Mrs. C. concerning selling me, and that I was going off too___ We then concluded to go together. There were ~~three~~ two other Bros of Matterson²⁸, who were apprised of our plan to escape, and readily joined with us in the undertaking. So one Saturday ↑night↓ eve, at 12 o'clock. We set out for the north. ~~So~~after traveling upwards of two days, and over 60 miles, we found ourselves in unexpectedly in Tanneytown ↑md↓ There we was informed by a friendly Col'd man of the danger we were in_ of the bad character of the place towards Col'd people, especially escaping for their freedom and

²⁸ Further details of the flight of the three Matterson brothers are contained in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 48-51.

he advised us to hide as quickly as we could. We at once went to the woods and hid. Soon after we had secreted ourselves, a man came near by and commenced splitting some wood, or rails, which interrupted us. We then moved to another hiding place, in a thicket, near a farmers Barn where we was soon interrupted again by a dogs ~~wth~~ coming and barking at us. Consequently the attention of the owner of the dog was drawn to his barking & to where we was. The owner of the Dog was a Farmer. He asked us where we were going_ we replied to Gettysburg, to see our Aunts, &c._ he told us that we were running off. He then offered frn'dly advice_ talked like a Quaker_ and advised us to go with him to his barn for protection. After much persuasion we consented to go with him. Soon after putting us in his barn, himself and daughter fixed us a nice brakefast, which cheered our spirits, as we were hungry. For four brakefast we pd him \$1. He next told us to hide on the mough²⁹ till eve_ when he would safely direct us on our road

²⁹ Mow—the part of the barn where the hay is stored.

to Gettysburg. We, all, being very much fatigued from traveling fell asleep (excepting myself) I could not, I felt as if all was not right_ About noon men were heard talking around the barn_ I woke my companions up and told them that that man had betrayed us. At first they did not beleive me. In a moment afterwards the barn door was opened and in came the men _ eight in no. One of the men asked the owner of the barn (Joe Reeves) if he had any long straw_ yes was the ans_ So up on the mough 3 of the men came when to their great Surprise, as they pretended, we were discovered. The question was then asked ↑the owner of the barn↓ by one of the men, if he harboured Runaway Negros in his barn! He answered no, and let on to be entirely ignorant of these being hid in his barn. One of the men replied that four Negros were on the mough, and he well knew of it. The men then asked us where we were going_ We told them to Gettysburg, that we had Aunts & a Mother there.

Also we spoke of a Mr. Houghman_ a g[ink blot] we happened to have some knowledge [ink blot—probably “of ha”]ving seen him in Va._ We was next asked for our Pass_ we told them that we hadn’t any_ that we had not been requested to carry them where we came from_ They said that we would have to go before a Magistrate, and if he would allow us to go on well & good_ The men all being armed and furnished with ropes_ we were ordered to be tied. I told them if they took me they would have to take me dead or crippled_ at that instant, one of my friends cried out_ where is the man who betrayed us? Spying him at the same moment, he shot him (badly wounding him) Then the conflict fairly began. The constable seized me by the collar, or rather behind my shoulder _ I at once shot him with my pistol, but in consequence of his throwing up his arm ↑which↓ hit mine as I fired_ the effect of the ~~my~~ load of my pistol was much turned aside_ his face was badly burned besides his shoulder being wounded. I again fired on our persuers_ but do not know whether

I hit any body or not. I then drew a sw[ink blot—probably “ord”] from a case I had brought with [ink blot—probably “me a”]nd was about to cutting my way to the [ink blot—probably “door”] when I was shot by one of the men_ receiving the entire contents of one load of a double Barrelled gun in my left arm_ that being the arm which I was defending myself with. The load brought me to the ground_ and I was unable to make further struggle for myself. I was then badly beaten with guns, &c. In the meantime my friend Craven who was defending himself, was shot badly in the face_ and most violently beaten, until he was conquered and tied. The two young Bro’s of Craven stood still without making the least resistance.

After we were fairly captured, we w[ere] taken to Tanneytown, which was in sig[ht] of where we were betrayed. By this time [I] had lost so much blood from my wounds that they concluded my situation too d[an]gerous to admit of being taken further. So I [was] made a prisoner at a Tavern kept by a ma[n] named Fisher where my wounds were dressed

Thirty two shot were taken from my arm_ For three days I was ~~perfectly~~ crazy, and they thought I would die. During the first two weeks while I was a prisoner at the Tavern, I raised a great deal of blood, and was considered very danger↑ou↓s, so much so that individuals who desired to see me ~~for~~ ↑were↓ not prevented. Afterwards I began to get better, and was then kept very privately_ was strictly watched day & night_ Occasionally however, the cook (a col'd woman ↑Mrs. Smith↓) would manage to get to see me. Also James Mathews succeeded in getting to see me. Consequently, as I ~~improved in~~ my wounds healed, and my senses came to me, I began to plan how to make another effort to escape_ I asked one of the friends alluded to how to get me a rope. He got it_ I kept it about 4 days in my pocket_ In the meantime I procured 3 nails_ On the ↑Friday↓ night, Oct. 14th, I fastened my nails in under the window sill_ tied my rope to the nails_ threw my shoes out of the window; put the rope in my mouth, then took hold of it with my well hand_ clambered into the window_ ~~quite nervous~~ ↑very weak↓ [second half of this line split and damaged—balance of this line probably includes "but still managed to"] [Also the apparent last line on this page is actually the last line from page 22.]

to let my self down to the ground. I was so weak that I could scarcely walk; But I managed to hobble off to a place $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile from the Tavern_ where a friend had fixed upon for me to go, if I succeeded in making my escape. There I was found by my friend, who kept me secure till Saturday eve, when a swift horse was furnished by James Rogers, and a cold man found to conduct me to Gettysburg_ instead of going direct to Gettysburg we took a different road, in order to shun our pursuers, as the news of my escape had created general excitement_

My three other companions who were captured with me were sent to Westminster Jail, where they were kept three weeks, and after sent to Baltimore, and sold for \$12000 a piece, as I was informed while at the Tavern in Tanneytown__

Blank

1853

23

Nov. 16th

Philadelphia

Archer Barlow³⁰ alias Emit Robin, directly from Norfolk_ where he had been _____ for the last 4 Yr's by Dr Geo. Wilson, who had used him very hardly, exacting a \$120- a year for his services, besides making him find himself.

Archer is about 31 Yrs of age_ dark molato_ and of medium size_ During the last year he had been sickly, but he was not released from his obligation to pay his wages, nevertheless. This inhuman barbarity was what induced him, more than anything else, to fly for his liberty. He had been married & had one child but both were dead Was duly examined & forwarded.

Expences

\$3.35

³⁰ Further details on Archer Barlow and his escape from slavery are contained in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 203-04. He eventually settled in Boston, Massachusetts.

1853

Nov. 16 Philadelphia

Arrived_ Joseph Henry Champ³¹_ age 20_ uncommonly smart & good looking_ He was _____ Dr K. Clark who was a hard man. The very day that Joseph fled for his liberty he had been sold to a Trader for \$1400_ with↑out↓ the least notice of ↑before hand↓ from his owner of that fact. Of the fact of his being sold he was apprised by a Mr. Robt. Parrett of Parson & King's Express office So, that night, instead of going to to meet the fate of which he had just been forewarned, he made an earnest resolve to strike for his freedom_ was successfully secreted for 3 weeks_ His mother being a slave resolved to go with him, but in the course of a weeks time she became fai↑n↓t hearted and gave up the struggle__

³¹ For further details of Camp's escape, see Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 66-7. Camp settled in Canada.

25

Philadelphia

Consequently she was detected and sold.

Was duly examined & forwarded

Expences

\$3.23

Letter to & from J.H. Hill

.20

\$3.43

1853

Nov. 16 Philadelphia

Arrived__

Sam'l Bush³² alias Wm Oblebee 33 years of age_ dark comp. med. Size and quite intelligent He had been in the habit of hireing his time. He says_ I found that I was working for my master to his advantage, and when I was sick I had to pay \$7- per month just as much so as when I was well. But still he was cross & said that he entended to sell me_ to do better by me another year. Times growed worse and worse constantly so I thought, as I had heard, if I could raise \$30- I would come away_ Sam'l left a wife and child. The name of his wife was Ann and his child Adam. His wife was _____ by a carpenter by the

³² Further details on Samuel Bush and his escape are contained in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 204.

27

Philadelphia

The name of Bailey_ the name of the individual who he
himself was W^m Loyle

Duly examd. &c.

Expences

\$3.23

1853

Nov. 21 Philadelphia

Arrived_ Perry Johnson³³, age 24 Yrs, from Elkton Md, where he was _____ by Chas. Johnson Perry was prompted to strick for his freedom in consequence of a flogging which his M. inflicted upon him about a load of fodder "falling off" a Perry ~~bore~~ bore the marks of ill usage in many ways_ He had been deprived of one of his eyes by a severe stroke with a cowhide in the hands of his Mistress who was according to his account a perfect safvage. He ↑She↓ was in the habit of cowhiding one of her slaves when ever she felt like ↑it↓ which was quite often.

Duly exam'd &c. Expences

\$3.12

³³ Further details on Johnson's escape from slavery are contained in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 64

1853

29

Nov. 23 Arrived_ John Spencer and W^m his Son, and James Albert³⁴, from the Eastern Shore of Md. had been away about 3 months_ had been living in Haddonfield, NJ. last, but had been alarmed by a rumour that their owner was about.

The above persons were thoroughly examined by J.C.W., Mr. Depee, & myself_ and forwarded to J.R.G.
Expences

\$6.75

³⁴ Hotly pursued by their former owner and his agents, John, William, and James followed the advice of the Vigilance Committee and departed for Canada in disguise soon after arriving in Philadelphia. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 204-05.

1853

Nov. 25th Arrived_ Hetty Scott³⁵ alias Margaret Duncans, and her Daughter Precilla. From Havana Md. _____ by David Coobly. They left last May_ went to Quakertown where they have been ever since. Was brought to this city by Henry Franklin³⁶_

Hetty's ↑owner↓ had ~~been~~ threatened to sell her and her child_ the fear of which prompted them to escape. So she got herself ↑ready↓ & 3 children, and two of her neighbour's children_ (young men & women) ready and soon escape the doom that hung over her head.

The owner of this family were particularly severe_

Expences

\$4.37

³⁵ Hetty fled enslavement in Harvard, Maryland, accompanied by her three children and a young couple whom she encouraged to join them. They successfully jourined to Quakertown, Pennsylvania, where they were received by "friends of the slave." However, they there decided that their company must separate and she went to Philadelphia with her daughter, Priscilla. Aided by the Vigilance Committee, they departed for Canada. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 205.

³⁶ Henry Franklin escaped from slavery in Maryland in 1837 and was living in Quakertown at this time.

1853

31

Nov. 28 Arrived_ Joseph Hulson³⁷ alias Joseph Kneeland, ~~from~~
age 26_ dark complexion_ well made & prepossessing in
manners. He was held by Jacob Kneeland The Farther
of the present owner had generally been kind to Joseph
up to his death last Sept. when he fell into the hands of
the son from whom he escaped. The young master had
always manifested a very malignant & tyrannical Spirit
towards Joseph, and had often before the death of his
Father used what influence he possessed to induce his
Father to sell him_ but his Father had never harken to
his son in that respect. So after his death the Son took
occasion to apprize ~~the~~ Joseph of the fact that he was
not to be hired out another year_ tauntingly telling him
that he was to go some where_ not telling him where_
over

³⁷ After leaving Philadelphia, Kneeland journeyed to Canada. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 68-69.

1853

Nov. 28th Of course Joseph unstood what that meant and at once set about the work of making a change which would be more agreeable to himself than the which he had reason to fear that his master was contemplating for him. According^{ly}↓ he succeeded in getting a passage on the Underground R.R. and so left the master to get along the best way he could.

Fare to N.Y.	2.00
2 days boad	.75
Porter	.25
Cash	.50
Letter from the Shot man	.10

Dec. 13, 185[ink blot]

Arrived__ W^m Davis³⁸, medium size, dark Molato_ good looking_ age 31 years. Was owned by Joseph Reynolds, of Newtown_ Portsmouth, Va.; where he left a wife, Catherine, a daughter Louisa, 2 Y & 1 m.; and a Son W^m 7 mos old. The 6th of Dec. he left home. His owner had threatened to sell him from which cause he was prompted to make his escape. He had been hired out by the year at \$12 per month.

Before leaving he did not apprise his wife of his intentions So to do.

Also Arrived_ Willis Redick³⁹ of Portsmouth, Va. He was owned by S J. Wilson, Merchant, who hired him out for \$100_ a year. He is of quite dark complexion_ thickly set_ 32 years of age, & intelligent. His owner was a severe man_ and had threaten to make his lot still more severe by changing his situation. This prompted him to escape. He had been married only 5 mos. His wife Lydia, was not informed previous to her

³⁸ Further details on William Davis are contained in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 66.

³⁹ Further details on Willis Redick are contained in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 66.

husbands leaving, of his design in So doing.

Isaac Forman⁴⁰ also came in company with the two named above. He is 23 years of age_ a Dark Molato_ prepossing in appearance_ and was owned by the widow Saunders, who had hired him out at the rate of \$120- per year. He had served for the last 4 yrs as Steward on board of the Steamer Augusta. His home was Norfolk, but had a wife living in Richmond. His name is Fannery_ She was confined the morning that her husband left. He had been denied the priviledge of living with his wife, in Richmond instead of Norfolk_ hence his escape without seeing her in after her confinement. He told his wife nothing of his plan of leaving as he was concious that it would render her unhappy & cause her to throw obstructions in his way. His excuse for thus acting towards his wife was found in the fact that he was only allowed, once or twice in the year to visit her.

⁴⁰ After departing Philadelphia, Forman travelled to Canada West where he settled in Toronto. By early 1854, he was well employed there at Russell's Hotel. Yet, he remained "very gloomy and his heart is almost breaking about his wife." Two letters that he sent to William Still in 1854 seeking any information on her are reprinted in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 64-65.

The expences in the three cases above described are as follows:

To ¼ days board of the 3 men		\$ 1.50
Cash to each of the	\$3	9.00
C. Shorter ⁴¹ _ carriage		<u>.50</u>
		\$11.00

Dec. 17. 1854

Arrived _ John Bowen _ Had been in the neighbourhood of David Evans for 3 years or more _ and had accumulated some means _

Expences for a Porter	.25
So Paid Mrs. Julius ⁴² for boarding a Fugi.	.25

Dec. 21	Paid Mrs. Buchanan for keeping <u>Bell Jackson</u> 1 night	\$0.37 ¼
	Jackson was on Strict exam.	
	believed to be an Imposter	<u>\$0.87</u>

⁴¹ Charles Shorter was a coachman in Philadelphia and lived at 181 Lombard Street in 1854.

⁴² Rebecca Julius lived at 21 ½ Mayland Street in 1854.

Dec. 28/53

Arrived_ Robt. Fisher⁴³, now Noah_ tall, dark age 30. Left John Ed. Jackson of Anaranall Md. On Christmas Eve. Robt had never been married, for the reason as he assigned that he wished not to be incumbered_ to prevent his obtaining his freedom. According law he was intitled to his freedom at the age of 25_ but had been illegally kept out of it, and saw no prospect of obtaining it through any ~~just~~ ↑lawfull↓ process. Robt spoke of his master as a very hard man_ who would work his servents early & late, without giving them food or clothing sufficient to shield them from cold & hunger. His hands &c bore the most unmistakable marks of having experienced severe hardships owing to hard treatment he left.

Nathan Harris⁴⁴ (now Joseph) came in company with Robt. Fisher, and

⁴³ Further details of Fisher's life in slavery are contained in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 206.

⁴⁴ Fisher converted Nathan Harris to his plan of escape which they successfully executed together. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 206.

had been owned by the Same man, and treated no better than his companion. Age 21, dark, not tall, rather interesting

Expences		
To cash to each	\$2	\$4.00
" Board with Mrs. Julius		.75
" " " Buchanan		.50
" " of John Bowen with Mrs. Julius		<u>.25</u>
		\$5.50

Dec. 30th 1853

Arrived Hansel Waples⁴⁵, from Millsboro, Indian River, Del. was owned by W^m E. Burton. He ↑had↓ left a wife and 6 children. The wife left last June to collect money to buy her husband self but failed to return. She was owned by the widow Sarah ~~Marple~~ Martle. Hansells owner was not considered to be a very hard master_ notwithstanding he had given H. the evidence to believe that he was inclined to sell him, which was the cause of his

⁴⁵ Waples intended to strike for Canada after leaving Philadelphia. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 207.

of his leaving. Expences paid as follows:

To Cash	\$2.00
Paid Board with Mrs. Buchanan	<u>.50</u>
	<u>\$2.50</u>

Jan. 10th 1854

Arrived James Shidon left home on Christmas Eve. Thos Young, who resides between Georgetown & Washingto D.C. was the alledged owner. This case, on the strictest examination, seemed to be very much involved in mystery, but on the whole it was considered best to forward him

To board with Aaron Bell ⁴⁶ two days	\$1.00
" 1 ½ days board	.56
" Cash	2.00
" Clothing	<u>0.00</u>
	\$3.56

Jan. 29/54

Jeremiah W. Smith & Julia his wife⁴⁷ arrived, from Richmond. Jeremiah is full black; age 26_ medium size & intelligent though unable to read. He was owned all his life by James Kinnard

⁴⁶ Aaron Bell, a cordwainer, boarded fugitives and lived on Carlton below 16th Street.

⁴⁷ Jeremiah and Julia Smith departed for Canada from Philadelphia in February 1854. Further details of their life in slavery and of their flight are contained in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 141-43.

who was a close & severe man, though not considered in the community as a very hard one. Jer. Had been hired out from the age of 15 ~~years of age~~ for which his owner had rec'd from \$50- to \$130- per annum. In consequence of his being hired in the manner described_ the master had avoided Dr's expences &c. But in consequence of poor health on the part of Jer. For the last two years the condition of the master was that he should pay him \$50- dollars sick or well.

The 1st of this_ On the first of this month Jer. was to have been taken on his masters Farm for future services. Once he was put in prison, by his owner, to be sold, but as he was suffering from an attack of the asthma, the Traders declined purchasing him. Jer. was prompted to escape not on account of himself, but more especially on account of his wife, who was to have been taken to prison the very day ~~that~~ they made their escape. Julia is of a dark brown complexion; medium size,

and about 30 yrs of age. She had been owned by A. Judson Crane for 14 yrs. had acted in the capacity of nurse, chaimbermaid, &c., the duties of which she had performed in a ~~very~~ faithful & satisfactory manner, according to the recommendation of her master, which he had given her to aid her in procuring a new one. As he was, from failure, obliged to sell, Julia had always had the promise of her Mistress that she was not to be sold—that after her death She was to be free , &c. Mrs. Crane died last Summer, in this city, on her return from Cape May where she had been, hoping to ↑be↓ benefited thereby, as she had been in ill health for the last 3 Yrs. Ere the death of the Mistress however Julia had been sold to a Trader named Reed_ afterwards to John Freeland, and was again on the eve, of being sold, as above remarked. The fault that Freeland alledged against ↑her↓

was that she was unhappy for having to sleep in his house, instead of being allowed to go home to her husband, as She desired to do. Jer. & his wife had both seen much of the cruelty of slavery & related many very heartrending ~~circu~~ Scenes which they had been familiar with_ though their own individual condition had been as they thought quite favourable, &c.

Paid Jer. & wife's Fare & Extra money	\$6.00
C. Shorter_ carriage & Porter	<u>.56</u>
	\$6.56
Board	<u>3.50</u>
	<u>10.06</u>

Feb. 1st 1854

W^m Jones arrived & was duly examined by J.C.W. and ↑was↓ boarded with Mr. Smith, Phil^a Institute and forward_ The history of this case was not written down at the time consequently a statement from memory is necessarily omitted.

Board	1.00
Cash	<u>2.00</u>
	<u>\$3.00</u>

Feb. 13/54

Solomon Brow⁴⁸ arrived per Ste C. of R. He was born a slave in Va. in which State he had lived up to the time he escaped. He is about 21 Yr's of age_ dark compl. Rather under medium size, though in appearance exhibits much physical vigor and is intelligent. He was owned by Mrs Mary A. Ely whose deceased Husband owned him previous to her marriage. He had mostly been hired out and for one in his condition fared tolerable well. His last place of service was at the National Hotel, Norfolk. For his time he paid his owner \$10- per mo.

Sol. was first prompted to escape in consequence of having been notified by his owner that he designed to send him to North Carolina, as he would command a high price there. ~~But~~

Expences, over

⁴⁸ Solomon Brown settled in St. Catherines, Canada West, soon after leaving Philadelphia in February 1854. A letter sent by him to William Still from St. Catherine's is reprinted in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 163.

3 days board	\$1.50
Cash	2.00
Letters to & from Fugitives	.40
1 shirt collar	<u>.12</u>
	\$4.02
	<u>.15</u>
Discount	\$4.17

Feb. 26/54

Arrived per Ste. Pa⁴⁹, James Mercer⁵⁰ John Clayton⁵¹ & W^m H. Gilliam⁵² from Rich^d James was owned by a ↑widow↓ woman ↑by the name Mrs L. E White↓ He is about 32 Yrs of age_ of dark complexion, well made & good looking and intelligent_ reads & writes. Fortunately he had been treated well for one in his condition. He had been hired out from a boy_ the last place at which he was hired was with Williams & Bro. Wholesale Com. Merch's. For his services in their Store his Mrs. Had re'd \$125. per year clear of all expen. He was prompted to leave through the fear of being Sold being one of the only two then ↑left↓ ~~owned by~~ his mistress, who had ↑had↓ at one time

⁴⁹ The steamer *Pennsylvania*.

⁵⁰ James Mercer and his two companions endured frightful torment when they were secreted in a dark space very near the ship's boiler and coal bin. The heat and dust nearly suffocated them on several occasions and they survived by taking turns breathing fresh air through a little hole in a nearby wall. When they arrived in Philadelphia, "all traces of natural appearance were obliterated." James eventually settled in Toronto, Canada West. His previous mistress, Mrs. Louisa White, was very distressed at his departure and attempted to encourage James and William Gilliam to return. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 54-59.

⁵¹ John Clayton suffered the same tribulations as James Mercer when he fled Richmond on the steamer *Pennsylvania*. After recovering in Philadelphia from the frightful journey, John went to Canada where he settled in Toronto. He wrote a letter to William Still seeking assistance in freeing his wife. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 54-59.

⁵² William Henry Gilliam also endured the extreme conditions on the steamer. He soon found his way to St. Catherines, Canada West, from where he often corresponded with William Still. His mistress, Mrs. Louisa White, was distraught at his departure and wrote a letter complaining of his dishonorable action and promising to "do a very good part by you" if he were to return. Henry, however, had no intention of returning to slavery and felt little sympathy for the elderly widow who had kept him "in the poor house for twenty-five years." Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 54-59.

been in the possession of some 30 + odd, which had been sold one by one and himself being under Mortgage at the time for \$750- He left a wife named Verena, but no child_ he also left an aged mother who was a slave_ His wife was owned by Henry W Quarles

Wm H. Gilliam was owned by the widow L.E. White, and hired to White and Bro. in whose employ he drove a bread wagon. For his Services his mistress rec'd \$135- per year. He is 25 yrs of age_ well made_ light complexion, and intelligent, and reads & writes well.

He had made several unsuccessfull attempts before to escape. Of slavery & its horrors he was well conversant though ↑he↓ had succeeded in escaping its worst features.

John Clayton was owned by the widow Clayton. He is 35

4549

yr's of age, molato, of fine appear. Intelligent, &c. Several yrs ago he had made an attempt to esape but was unsuccessfull. He left a wife (free) and one child. He had been employed in a Tobacco Factory, at \$150_ per annum. Total Expences on three above named as follows:

2 Days boad	\$3.00
Cash to each \$2.50	7.50
Carriage	.75
Letters from & to Fugitives	<u>.33</u>
	<u>\$11.58</u>

Mar. 3rd 1854

Rosanna Tonnell⁵³, left Isaac Tonnell of Georgetown, Del., on Tuesday in Christmas: (New name Maria Hide) in company with another young woman, and little boy which was her son.

The young women were both young and stout in appeare_ the little boy was about 7 yr's of age & healthy in appearance.
Over

⁵³ Rose Anna Tonnell and her companions are mentioned in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 207.

The expences in behalf of the ab. named, for board 1 ½ day	2.12 ½
Carriage by Shorter	.50
Crakers	.09
Cash	<u>5.00</u>
	<u>\$7.71 ½</u>
Postage	<u>.23</u>
	\$7.94 ½

Mar. 6th 1854

Sam'l Washington Johnson⁵⁴, age 26, dark complexion, stout built, and reads & writes well_ and is generally intelligent_ He was last owned by Jas. B. Foster of Richmond, He had been employed in the Dispatch office as a paper carrier, and seller of periodicals. For his time he was compeled to pay his owner \$175 per annum, in quarterly payments. Besides paying this enormous sum, as stated above, he had to find himself altogether. He discribed his owner as being a very hard man &c. He owned three more besides himself Sam'l

⁵⁴ Samuel W. Johnson settled in St. Catherines, Canada West, after leaving Philadelphia. He wrote many letters to William Still, especially concerning his wife, who he missed terribly. Two of these letters are reprinted in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 158-60.

had a wife who was owned by Christiana Bowden. The reading of Uncle Toms Cabbin was the means by which Saml's eyes were opened.

Came in the C. of R. pd \$25 for passage_ Suffered severely in coming.

Cash	3.50
Carriage_ Shorter	1.00
2 pairs of stockings	.27
Board is not included	.06
	\$4.77
Washing & Board	<u>.75</u>
	5.52

Mar. 10th 1854

Mary Ennis⁵⁵, present name Licia Hemmings_ age 33 yr's, tall, well made, of a dark chesnut color and ~~possess a very~~ ↑↓ prepossessing countenance: ~~with~~ he She brought her two children with her_ The oldest Lydia Ann is 7 years, ~~of ag~~ and the youngest Luisa Caroline 3 years of age_ both very promising & well grown of their age. The were all held by John

⁵⁵ Further details of the flight of Mary Ennis and her children are contained in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 207-08.

Ennis, of Georgetown Del._ from whence they fled on the day after last Christmas. They first found their way to West Chester, where they were accommodated for some weeks_ up to the time they came to this city. Long before leaving she had often pondered over the matter, and only wanted for a good opportunity for the purpose of effecting her design. But it was not untill she was seriously made to beleive ↑by her owner↓ that her two children were to be Sold that She was constrained to fly for Safety.

She was a widow_ her husband having died in 1852. Of her owner she could say nothing good, but much of his crossness & other cruelty. He owned no other slaves but Mary, consequently she had to do House & Field work of all kinds

The simplicity of her discription of being "Jack of all trades" was quite interesting & affecting.

To 1 Boad 1 ½ day	1.50
" Cash	4.00
" Carriage	.50
" Letters	<u>.23</u>
	<u>\$6.23</u>

Mar. 11th 1854

James Burrell⁵⁶, age 32, dark molato, ~~and~~ medium size and in appearence quite prepossessing. He was owned by a maiden woman who lived in Williamsburg; but was hired out by the year ~~for~~ with John Walker, a manufacturer of Tobacco, for which Service the master rec'd \$120_ per annum. He had winess'd a great deal of the hardships of the system of slavery_ which seemed to be very earnestly as well as truthfully stated by him

⁵⁶ Further details of Burrell's life in slavery and of his flight are contained in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 224. Burrell settled in Toronto, Canada West, and wrote to Still from there in March 1854.

The horrors of an auction seen was what first prompted him to seek his liberty. He had a wife and three children whom he left behind: not even daring to tell them of his intentions of leaving, &c. The wife belonged to some other man who lived some distance in the country, where her husband was not allowed to go see her only once a week.

The wife's name was Bettsy, oldest child Walter, youngest Mary_ youngest _____. Paid for passage \$27.50, and a watch worth \$20_ came on the Pa.

Worth \$1000_

To 1 shirt	1.00
" 1 collar	.15
" Carriage & Board	2.75
" 4 Letters to & from Canada	.40
" Bottle of medicine	<u>.25</u>
	\$4.55
" 1 Dayboard	<u>50</u>
	5.05

Mar. 16th 1854

Daniel Wiggins⁵⁷, new, David Robinson_ complexion dark, well made active & intelligent though does not read or write. By trade ~~he was~~ a Corker⁵⁸_ He was owned by Rich^d Scott_ who died a few days before he left; while ill; especially towards the close he often promised D. his freedom_ promising also, if he got well he would try & do better_ likewise promised that his Son, who was notorious~~ness~~ for his recklessness, should not have his property, &c. These promises of course caused D. to hope that he should soon get his liberty, but in consequence of the owner being nearer his end than he anticipated, death came before any provision had been made for the slaves: indeed he died without a will. D. knowing therefore that the only chance left

⁵⁷ Further details on Daniel Wiggins' life in slavery and his flight are contained in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 224-25. It includes a letter he wrote to Still from New Bedford, Massachusetts, while in transit to his new home in Canada.

⁵⁸ One who corks bottles or containers.

consisted in making his flight, and in good earnest ~~↑he↓~~ lost no time in so doing_ which proved successful &c. He left a wife (Free) and three children. He belonged to the Methodist Church. ~~↑lived at Portsmouth↓~~

~~name of wife—Mary Ann~~

To Board (1 ½ day)	\$0.75
" Carriage_ Shorter	50
" Cash	<u>2.75</u>
	<u>\$4.00</u>

Mar. 19/54

W^m Robinson⁵⁹ alias Thos. Harris, of chesnut color, well built, and about 28 yr's of age. He was owned by John G Beale of Forkquise⁶⁰ Va., from whom he fled this day two weeks. A few days before leaving the overseer attempted to flog him, which was the cause of his leaving, as it was the cause also of the overseers geting a flogging

⁵⁹ William Robinson arrived in Philadelphia shoeless and with inflamed feet. He soon departed for Canada. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 225-26.

⁶⁰ Fauquier County in northeastern Virginia.

according to W^m's statements The owner of W^m was a large slaveholder_ owning some 70_ He was spoken of as a hard man, and thought no more of his black people than if they had been dogs_ \$1.25 was all the funds W^m had when he set out for the North_ and but a very limited knowledge of the Route which he was to travel_ but being determined he succeeded though not without getting lost, &c. by the way. His story was quite interesting.

To Board (4 Days)	\$1.75
" 1 Pair of shoes	1.05
" Shirt & Hat	1.25
" Cash	<u>2.00</u>
	<u>\$6.05</u>

March 27th 1854

Edward Peasen & his wife Hariet Ann, and his wife's Sister, Selia White⁶¹, all arrived together from Norfolk.

Ed. Is about 44 years of age, dark complexion well made, full face & pleasant expression of countenance, and in conversing expresses himself fluently. He was owned by D^r Price but had been hired out for about 12 years at the rate of \$100- per year.

Hariet the wife of Ed. Belonged to David Bea[↑]i[↓]ns. She too had been hired out as cook, washer & Ironer.

In appearance, manners, intelligence Stature, &c. she might be regarded as a superior woman_ considering that she had been a Slave.

She had had ~~had~~ 6 children_ all of whom had been sold away from

⁶¹ Further details of the lives and flight of Edward Peaden, his wife Harriet, and her sister, Celia, are contained in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 226.

their Parents, one by one, to their great grief_ which induced them to make their escape_ Besides the fear of being sold themselves threatened them. They were for months concealed before making their escape.

Celia also belonged to D. Baines, and had been hired out with the Mayor of the town, for the last 3 years. Her appearance & story

To cash to all	\$7.50
" boarding 1 ½ day	2.25
" carriage by Shorter	.50
" Letters, Porter, &c.	<u>.62</u>
	\$10.97

March 29/54

<u>W^m Davis</u> ⁶² To board 1 day	.50
To cash	2.00
Porter	<u>25</u>
	\$2.75

W^m left Emmitsburg Md on last Friday night where he had by D^r James Short
W^m is about 32 yrs of age

⁶² William Davis is mentioned in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 226.

dark, in stature rather below the medium size_ had been ruffly used, and at the time of escape was apprehending that his master was about to sell him.

Apr. 3rd 1854

Arrived_ Alex. Boggs.⁶³ now John Henson. Dark complexion_ age 50 yrs and was owned by Jacob Emic who lives about 3 miles from Balti.

Alex. had ~~only~~ been in the hands of Emic from whom he ~~had~~ escaped, for only three weeks_ having been sold to his present owner by a Trader named Dennit for \$550- He had once been owned by Senator Merrick who was a hard man. He had failed however & all of his slaves were sold.

Alex had been sold from ↑his↓ a wife & two children. Caroline wife_ James, son_ Elliezane.

John Brown⁶⁴ alias Jacob

⁶³ The life and flight of Alexander Boggs is briefly discussed in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 226-27.

⁶⁴ John Brown departed for Canada soon after his arrival in Philadelphia. See Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 227, for further details.

Williams, dark, prepossessing in appearance_ 29 years of age & owned by Joseph Postly of Fredricktown Md. As to treatment he did not complain. True his owner has threatened to sell him South. John left because he concluded he had worked long enough for nothing

Sam'l Slater⁶⁵ alias Patterson Smith dark, well built, &c. age 29 and was owned by W^m Martin, Zion Lower Bridge. The fear of being sold was what caused him to fly for his freedom.

Phila. Apr. 10/54

Arrived (2) Harrison Bell & daughter, Harriet Ann⁶⁶, from Norfolk. They had been owned by James Snyder & John G. Hodgson. Harrison is about 40 years of age & rather short, stout, with well formed features_ intelligent. He had been accustomed to hard usage. By trade he is a chandler

⁶⁵ Samuel Slater settled in St. Catherines, Canada West, after fleeing slavery in Maryland. He wrote to Still after arriving there, and Still reprinted one of his letters. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 227-28.

⁶⁶ Several months prior to escaping to Philadelphia on a boat, Harrison Bell, his daughter, Harriet Ann, and his other children secreted themselves in Norfolk awaiting the proper moment for flight. Harrison, however, arrived in Philadelphia with Harriet only. The fate of the other children was not known. The two soon departed for Canada. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 228.

To prevent the sale of his children ↑which was threatened↓ he was prompted to escape. Several months he remained secreted with his children, till he met with the opportunity favoured them to escape.

The daughter is a well grown, good looking & intelligent girl of

14.

To cash	\$4.00
" carriage	.50
" Board	<u>1.00</u>
	\$5.50

(3)

1 Apr. 12/54

Arrived, David Davis⁶⁷ alias David Smith, Adam Nicholson⁶⁸ alias John Wynkoop_ and Reuben Bowles⁶⁹ alias Cunnigam; all from Hedgesville, Va.

In stature David is medium size, complexion dark, age 20, and intelligent_ was owned by Chas. J. Fortner (M.C.) but was hired out to Adam Inagelow, a very mean man. Daniel's father was sold when

⁶⁷ David—or Daniel—Davis had long abominated slavery, especially after he had witnessed his father being sold. He walked with Adam and Reuben to freedom in Greenville, Pennsylvania, and then rode the railroad to Philadelphia. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 228-29.

⁶⁸ Adam is mentioned in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 229.

⁶⁹ Reuben is mentioned in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 229.

a boy. His mother is still a slave

2 Adam is dark, rugged & sensible He was owned by Aaron Myers
↑a Farmer, ↓ of Hedgesville_ ↑He is ↓ A hard man.

3 Reuben is dark, stout & intelligent. The sight of one of his eyes
had been very much injured. He was owned by Alexander Hill, a
drunkard gambler &c. Reuben had been hired out to Jno. Sabbath
Sabbard near Hedgesville He had been startled by hearing that his
owner was to sell him.

They all walked Greenville & there took the cars

To Porters	0.25	
" Paid Mrs. Julius for board	1.62	
" Cash to each \$1.50	<u>4.50</u>	
	\$6.37	
To Cutting hair & shaving (3)	44	
" Washing shirts	37	
" 3 Days & 3 nights		3.50
" Bundle from N.Y.	<u>25</u>	
	\$10.93	

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April 23rd 1854

W^m B. White⁷⁰, per S. C. of R. left Richmond, where he was held by H. B. Dickinson, on the 18th inst. . W^m is about 36 yrs of age_ of a dark chesnut color_ medium size, and of pleasant manners. His owner was a manufacturer of Tobacco_ at which employment W^m worked_ also served the Rich^d Dispatch every moni↑n↓g ↑before day,↓ by which means he procured means to support himself with clothing, &c. The owner had some 30 slaves of his own besides hirering a large number. As a master he was not considered very hard, though he would often suffer the overseer to flog, &c.

W^m ~~was~~ had for a number of years been looking out for a chance to escape but in every former attempt when making the effort, he had failed. In this case, he was only apprised of the chance a few minutes before embracing it.

He left a wife, Jane, and

⁷⁰ William White fled from Richmond on the steamship, City of Richmond. Further details of his life in slavery and escape from it are contained in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 211.

two children, Lucia & Joshua_ they are all free, however. Also W^m had a son 11 yrs of age, who ↑is↓ ~~was~~ owned by Warner Toliver of Gloucester Co. Va.

Also, Susan Brooks⁷¹, left Norfolk on the 19th inst., where she was owned by Thos. Eckels, a man of wealth, and likewise of intemperance. Susan is of a dark complexion, round built, good looking_ but not tall_ age about 40 yr's For the last 16 yr's she had for the most part of her time, been in the habing of hiring her time, for which she had pd. her owner \$5. per month. As a cook, chamber maid on boats, &c. she had obtained a high character In consequence of the Death of her husband about a year ago she had seen much suffering, ↑of mind↓ and on 2 or 3 occasion she had had fits which had been considered by her owner & especially the Traders as decidedly

⁷¹ Through several clever ruses, Susan Brooks was able to board the steamship, City of Richmond, and be secreted for passage to Philadelphia. She was seeking to follow her son who had recently escaped to Canada. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 211-12.

against_ It so happened however that the fits were of much service to her, she was enabled thereby to so mature her plans as to elude detection on suspicion from ↑any↓one, in relation to her leaving &c. Her son having made his escape in Nov. last, the mother very natureally grew very anxious to do so too, and after being secreted for four months succeeded. She left a Sister, behind, by the name of Mary Ann Tharagood, who wants to come away. Of the hardships of slavery, and hard ventures in coming away she could relate with much interest.

Henry Atkinson⁷² came from Norfolk, ↑where he↓ was owned ↑by↓ Jer. Hendrian_ Henry did not consider that he was treated well_ in sickness was not given any thing by the owner, though he was a Baptist min↑is↓ter_ not long before leaving he was apprised by his owner that

⁷² William Henry Atkins also departed Richmond on the steamship, City of Richmond. By August 1854, he was settled in St. Catherines, Canada West, from where he corresponded with William Still. Still reprinted two of these letters in *Underground Rail Road*, 213-14.

he was to be sold, and could hunt an owner as soon as possible which was a something that Henry was in no hurry to find_ For the purpose of geting a chance to escape he had framed himself sick for a time ~~was~~ ↑which↓ worked greatly to his advantage, as no wrong suspicions was entertained by the owner if he failed to be on hand at due time.

Henry is intelligent, about 6 fs high, good looking_ dark molato, and valuable. He left a wife, Eliza, (owned by Susan Langley) for whom he seemed to cherrish the highest esteem.

To board to White, S. Brooks & H. Atkinson	2 ½ d'ys	\$3.50
" cash to each.	2.50	7.50
" 1 cap, carriage, Porter, Ball of tyre ⁷³ & Letters		1.07
" 1 month Rent		<u>8.00</u>
		\$20.07

⁷³ Ball of tire—a woman's headdress or ornament.

April 26th 1854

Arrived_ John Smith alias W^m. Hog⁷⁴, from Baltimore County near Brooklynville. ~~Was~~ Age 25_ dark chesnut color_ and well built. The name of his owner was Lewis Roberts, Farmer_ who was a fierce & ruff man_ He owned, young & old 9 head. Two of John's sisters are now owned by him. He was induced to leave through ~~the fear of~~ ill treatment He walked to Columbia_ from thence came in the cars To 2 ½ days board

" cash

\$1.25

1.50

\$2.75

⁷⁴ William Hogg—William Still indicates that William Hogg was his chosen name—settled in St. Catherines, Canada West, where he longed for his wife, as he indicated in a letter Still reprinted in *Underground Rail Road*, 163-64.

April 26/54

Arrived_ James Stewart⁷⁵ ↑alias W^m Jackson↓ from Forquire County Va. age 21. dark chesnut ↑complexion,↓ and medium size He left his owner, W^m Rose, ↑last↓ left Sept. and came to Wrightsville. Had a great variety of difficulties to pass through, on his way ↑from the South↓. Since his arrival he has been living with W^m-R ↑James↓ M^cKeron.

To 1 ½ day board

\$0.75

⁷⁵ Further details about the life and flight of James Stewart are contained in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 229.

April 26/54

Harriet Haley alias ↑(new)↓ Ann Richardson & Elizabeth Haley⁷⁶ alias Sarah ↑Richardson↓ Robinson both left Geo. C. Davis, of Hanford Co. Md_ Left last Wistentine⁷⁷_ Since com↑e↓ing into the state have been living in Quakertown, where they were much respected & parted with with regre↑e↓t parted ↑with↓ Ann is about 19 & Sarah 21 yr's of age_ both very nice looking girls.

Boarding, carriage & Telegraph↑ic↓ Dispatch

\$2.25

April 27th 1854

Arrived_ Benj. Duncans⁷⁸ alias Geo. Scott; age 25_ coomplexion dark_ well built and of prepossessing appearance. He was owned Thos. Jeffries, who was pretty hard_ was induced to leave on account of having been threatened by his owner, to be sold south.

⁷⁶ Harriet and Elizabeth Haley are mentioned in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 229-30.

⁷⁷ Whitsuntide, the week beginning with Whitsunday.

⁷⁸ Further details of Benjamin Duncans' life in slavery and of his flight are contained in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 230.

Benj. Left a few months back in company with 5 others who succeeded in making their escape to Canada.

To Board

\$0.25

May 6th 1854

Arrived_ Moses Wines⁷⁹ from ↑Portsmouth↓ ~~Norfolk~~. He is of dark complexion_ medium size, and intelligent_ and was owned by Abigail Wheele of Portsmouth.

Moses had been treated rather mildly_ had never been flogged_ had for the last 15 years, ~~had been~~ hired his time at the rate of \$12 per month which hire he was always compeled to pay punctually sick or well. He had seen much of the cruelties of the system of slavery in many forms_ and for fear of being sold, and feeling the need of the money he earned, was the

⁷⁹ Further details of Moses Wines' life in slavery and his flight are contained in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 230-31.

cause of his making up his mind to leave_ Also the new law which now prevents slaves from hirering their time, and the rigidness of the police rules in general had been made of late more severe than previously_ thereby constraining ↑slaves↓ fugitives to leave if possible.

He came on the C. of R._ Left a wife Grace, and son Alophonso_ both free_ lives in Portsmouth

In coming Moses was very severely tried, and suffered terribly.

To boarding Moses Wines 1 ½ day	.75
" cash	2.50
" clothing	1.87 ½
" Shorter, carriage	.75
" Telegraph to Gibbs ⁸⁰	<u>25</u>
Bill paid Depee	\$6.12 ½
	<u>2.62</u>
	8.74 ½

⁸⁰ Probably Jonathan Clarkson Gibbs (ca.1827-74), a Presbyterian minister then in upstate Troy, New York, and the brother of Philadelphia black abolitionist Mifflin Wistar Gibbs. While Gibbs had been born into the black elite in Philadelphia, he left the city to study for the ministry at Dartmouth College and Princeton Theological Seminary. From 1854 to 1859, he served the Liberty Street Presbyterian Church in Troy. While in New York, he was very active in the state's colored suffrage campaign. In 1859, he returned to Philadelphia to shepherd its First African Presbyterian Church. During the Civil War, he remained active in the fight against racial discrimination. After the war, he relocated first to North Carolina and finally to Florida, where he mobilized for freedmen education. He also served as secretary of state for Florida from 1868 to 1873.

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May 10/54

73

Arrived__ Sarah Smith⁸¹ alias Mildreth Page, from Wilmington Del. where she was held by Rev. A. D. Pollock (Presbyterian) and from whom she fled about 3 months ago; bringing he↑r↓ child_ girl_ of 9 years old, with her. Sarah is about 30 years of age_ of a dark Brown complexion, healthy looking & of a pleasant & prepossessing address. She was born in Forquise Co. Va_ where she was owned by Elizabeth Lee_ with who↑m↓ She lived untill Mrs Lee Moved to Wilmington about 9 mos. Before Sarah fled_

Her reasons for leaving are attributed to the cruelty of her Mistress_

To Board 2 day	\$1.00
Ch Carri↑a↓ge hire	.50
Telegraph	.25
Letter to Canada	<u>.10</u>
	\$1.85

⁸¹ Sarah Smith and her daughter escaped from slavery in Wilmington, Delaware with the assistance of the local underground railroad agent, Thomas Garrett. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 231.

May 12th 1854

Arrived_ Stephen Amos⁸² alias Henry Johnson, ~~and his~~ wife Hariet, alias Mary Jane Johnson, and their four children_ viz. Ann Rebeca, W^m H, Anna Elizabeth & Mary Ellen & _ all from Baltimore where the Mother & children had been held by W^m Gidding who resides in Prince George's County_ In the early days of the Mother she had been treat[↑]e[↓]d tolerable well for one in her condition, but of late years she had experienced in some instances very peculiar hardships in varyious ways

Some 7 years ago a Bro. of the owner for a triffling offence struck & kicked Hariet so severely that it thrown her into a spell of great Illness for all one summer. To pass numerous other outrages which She had suffered it may be sufficient to state

⁸² Apparently Stephen Amos's former master was so outraged with the treatment Amos's wife received from her owner that he counselled Stephen to flee with his wife and children. For further details of their lives, see Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 160-61.

that about 1 year before She made her escape she was seized by her owner and thrust in Prison to be sold_ but the prompt interferences of the owner's Uncle She was released from Prison and got out of ~~the~~ his hands_ still he failed not to make efforts to execute his design, and doubtless would have succeeded but for the fact that he was under age & also under the guardianship of the Uncle who interfered, &c. Consequently after much difficulty and effort plans were made by which the family altogether escaped.

The Mother is a bright molatto good looking_ tall, well made mannerly in her address & quite intelligent ↑age 26↓_ The children are also fine, ↑&↓ healthy looking_ and of the class which would doubtless bring a high prize↑ces↓ in the Market.

The husband had been owned by John I. Giddings who was a mild Man, and from whom he purchased

his freedom 18 mos. ago. It is just to state also that he encouraged Stephen to flee with his wife to save her from the merciless treatment of her owner who was a gambler, Horse Racer, &c.

Stephen is a man of dark complexion_ well built_ genteel, intelligent &c. In geting away he meet with considerable difficulty from Imposters, &c, but faltered not_ so succeeded

To Boarding Henry John↑son↓ & family 1 ¼ day	\$3.00
" Cash	8.75
" 1 Trunk	1.25
" Telegraphic Dispatch	.25
" Porter	<u>.06</u>
	<u>\$13.31</u>

May 12th 1854

Arrived_ Lucy~~a~~ Garrett⁸³ alias Julia Wood, from the Western Shore of Va. where she was owned by John William, a ~~a~~ very cruel man. Julia left for fear of being Sold; her Father 3 Sisters, and two Bro's having previ~~ou~~s~~l~~y sold. She is 19 years of age; of a dark complexion_ and at present, afflicted with scroufula. It had been about 1 year Shince she first left, since which time She has been ~~with~~ with Jos. A. Dugdale⁸⁴ at Kenneet Sqr. And Eldwood Smith Pineville. In both places She has won their affection & regard.

To Board with Mrs. Julius	1 50
Cash	1.50
Carrai a ge by Shorter	<u>50</u>
	<u>\$3.50</u>

⁸³ For further details of the hardships and flight of Lucy Garrett, see Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 231-32.

⁸⁴ Along with his extensive antislavery activities, Joseph A. Dugdale was also an ardent supporter of women's rights. In June 1852, he attended a women's rights convention at West Chester in Chester County, Pennsylvania.

May 16th 1854

Arrived_ Ellen Forman⁸⁵ alias Elizth Young_ from the Eastren Shore, originally ~~from the~~ where she was owned & willed to be sold by D^r Thomas_ accordingly she was sold to a woman by the name of Mrs. Johnson living in Balt. It ~~was~~ has been about 1 year ago ~~shin~~ since she was bought by Mrs. J._ Ellen is about 30 years of age slender in stature, dark chesnut color, and suffered some what from poor health supposed to be from a heavy cold She caught in making her escape in the winter

To 1 ½ days board	\$0.75
" Cash	2.50
" Carriage by Shorter	.50
" 1 Bottle of medicine	<u>.25</u>
	\$4.00

⁸⁵ Ellen Forman is noted in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 232.

May 21/54

Arrived_ W^m H. Wooden⁸⁶ alias W^m Nelem from Georgetown Del. where he was held by Judge Wooden_ who was said to be a hard man_ The Judge had threatened to sell W^m which was the cause of his seeking his liberty. He is about 23 yrs of age_ dark_ tall, well built & of pleasant appearance.

To Cash

1.50

" Porter

_.25

\$1.75

May 22/54

Arrived_ Clarissa~~ae~~ Davis⁸⁷ from Portsmouth, Va, where she was owned by Mrs. Burkley & Mrs. Brown, with whom she had always served_ Claracy is about 22 yr's of age, of a Bright Brown color_ rather below the medium size_ good looking

⁸⁶ William Still briefly discusses William Wooden in *Underground Rail Road*, 232.

⁸⁷ Clarissa Davis had to endure many weeks in uncomfortable hiding before the opportunity to escape on a steamship arose. She disguised herself as a man and boarded the vessel at 3:00 in the morning. William Bagnal, the steward on the vessel, helped secret her in a horribly hot space near the boiler. After leaving Philadelphia, she went to New Bedford, Massachusetts, where her brothers and sisters already lived. They were soon joined by their elderly father, who fled slavery in Portsmouth as well. She regularly corresponded with William Still. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 60-61.

genteel & amiable in manners_ Two & a half months had elapsed since she with two of her Bros. set out for their liberty_ the Bros. Succeeded at the time, but until last Wednesday Clarissa⁸⁸ was kept secreted waiting a chance to escape_ Agreeable to her wish & prayer, ~~a day or two~~ on the day & evening she was to ~~& did~~ start, it rained very hard_ which circumstances alone afforded her the chance of escape_ On going to the Boat (C. of R.⁸⁸) at 3 o'cl. A.M. she ~~Sh~~ saw no one_ went on the Boat & was secreted in a small Box near the Furnace_ where it was very hot_ where she suffered & thought she must die_ wanted water very much but was unable to get any_ suffered on in that condition until She reached here A reward of \$1000- was offered for Clarissa⁸⁸ & her two Bros.

⁸⁸ The steamship *City of Richmond*.

Of her Mistress Clarissa ~~Jacy~~ Spoke favourably_ had not been used hard as many are_ had been promised her freedom until recently when she learned that at the death of her Mistress she would in all ~~probably~~ probability have to be sold_ this news of course made her feel the value of freedom, & in seeking it succeeded

To Cash	3.50
" Carriage by Shorter	.50
" 1 days board	<u>.50</u>
	\$4.50

May 24/54

Arrived_ Matilda Mahoney⁸⁹ from Balti. where she was in the service of of W^m Reese_ having lived with him for the last 4 yr's.

Matilda is about 21 yrs of age_ light complexion_ quite handsome_ rather tall_ well made & in every way prepossessing both in appearance & manners.

⁸⁹ Matilda Mahoney escaped her enslavement with the direct assistance of James Jefferson of Providence, Rhode Island. Jefferson was the friend of a Mr. Groce of Elmira, New York, who was in love with Matilda but feared venturing into Baltimore. Jefferson thus consented at great risk to go to aid her in Baltimore. They arrived safely in Philadelphia, and Mr. Groce soon left with her on the train for New York City. By May 28, they had returned to Elmira. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 172-73, 176.

She was origionally by W^m McLain of Frederick, who died ↑15 yrs ago↓ leaving his Slaves free, as is beleived_ but to prevent the ↑requirements of↓ ~~freedom of the slaves~~ the will ↑it↓ was destroyed before being proved_ which had the result ~~to~~ saught by those ↑who↓ designed to keep them in slavery. Hence up to the present time all have been held as Slaves.

Since the death of Matilda's original owner she has been owned by W^m Reigard of Fredrick, who had hired her to Mr. Reese of Balti. for \$5- per month_ her work being general house work, nursing, &c.

Matilda was moved to seek your freedom, more especially to save herself from fallen into the hands of her young master, who is a Trader in New Orleans_ and who has been very desirous for the last two years of getting her on to N. Orleans

but had always failed in his undertakings_ but as the ~~old~~ Master has for some time past been in feeble health & as the young one had ~~fixed~~ notified his friends in Baltimore that he was coming on next month, Matilda was strongly impressed that if she did not make her escape before then_ she would ~~↑be↓~~ deprived of the chances a ever ~~afterwords~~ afterwards.

To Boarding Matilda 1 ½ day

\$0.75

" Telegraphic Dispatch

.90

\$1.65

May 24/54

Arrived_ Stephen Pembroke ~~↑&~~ two sons⁹⁰ from Sharpsburg_ Let ~~↑out↓~~ on the 21st Inst., and reached this city on the 22nd inst._ walked 50 miles to Chambersburg where they got in the Cars and came to this city

Stephen is about 45 yrs of age_ dark, medium size_ possessing the appearance of good morals, intelligents, ~~active~~ &c.

⁹⁰ Stephen Pennington and his two sons, Jacob and Robert, arrived in Philadelphia at the same time as Matilda Mahoney. Stephen was the brother of the prominent black Presbyterian minister and abolitionist, Dr. J.W.C. Pennington, who was also known by the surname Pembroke before he fled slavery in Eastern Shore Maryland. After arriving safely in New York City on or about May 25, 1854, the three, however, were apprehended after their owners had alerted city authorities. Despite demonstrations led by Dr. Pennington and a successful effort to raise money for their purchase, they were brought before a commissioner who then hurried them off to Baltimore. Soon afterwards, apparently, they were sold into the Deep South. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 173-76.

Stephen had been seeking an opportunity to escape, with his sons, for a considerable time_ but feeling that their only chance of escape depended on a bold effort, they ~~would be to~~ started right off, in the middle of ~~Sunday~~ the day (Sunday) without any bundles_ (Such as clothes &c) & hence they succeeded.

The sons, Robert & Jacob, are between 17 & 19_ both fine looking young men_ & seems to possess fair intilect, &c. He had filled the capacity in some measure of a superintendent on his masters farm. though that offin added to his labours, as ~~th~~ rather than diminished them_ as he was required not only to make his hand in comprson with the other hand_ but after being done was require to do the looking after others & seeing that the cattle &c were all attended to.

To 2 ½ days board

\$3.75

" Cash & carriage

9.00

\$12.75

May 25/54

Arrived_ James Edward Handy⁹¹ alias Dennis Cannon_ from Seaford Del._ where he was owned by Sam'l Laws, Farmer, James is stout, dark & well built_ He feared that he was to have be ~~been~~ given into the hands of a Trader_ and thereby was induced to Seek his liberty, age 37. Left a wife & 4 children behind, in the h possession of Capt. Martin_ His wife's name was Hariet

To Cash	\$1.75
" Board	.50
" Carriage	<u>.50</u>
	\$2.75

⁹¹ Further details on James Edward Handy are contained in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 232-33. His wife's full name was Harriet Delaney and she was owned by another man.

May 25/54

Arrived_ James Henry Delany⁹² alias Smart Stanley_ from Seaford, Del. where he was owned by Capt. Martin_ James is of compl. heavy built and about 26 yrs of age. Single man. The reason that James left was because of ill treatment & poor diet.

To Cash	\$1.50
" Board	.50
" Carriage from Broad & Vine	<u>.50</u>
	\$2.50

May 26

Arrived_ James Henry Blackson⁹³ age 25_ dark_ ↑gives↓ ~~bears of the~~ evidence of much physical strength and resolution. James left because he had com to the conclusion that he had served in Bondage long enough ~~be~~ . The ~~long~~ name

⁹² James Henry Delaney is briefly mentioned in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 233. The above alias associated with James Delaney—Smart Stanley—is in Still designated as the alias of Handy's wife, Harriet.

⁹³ Brief detail on James Henry Blackson is contained in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 233.

of his owner was Chas. Wright Farmer_

To Cash	\$1.50
" Board	.50
" Carriage to the Boat	<u>.50</u>
	<u>\$2.50</u>

May 26/54

To Mr. Jefferson Cash	\$4.00
" Telegraph to Gibbs	<u>.29</u>
	<u>\$4.29</u>

June 5th 1854

To Cash to Mr. Jefferson	\$3.00
" Shorter_ carriage	.25
" 2 Letters from Canada	<u>.20</u>
	<u>\$3.45</u>

June 5th 1854

Arrived_ Geo. Freeland⁹⁴ of Petersburg: where he was held by Capt. John Pollard also of Petersburg. Geo. is about 25 yrs of age; dark Complexion, of rather spair built, and intelligent ; reads & writes_ Geo. was prompted to leave on acc't of a rumour that he was to be sold. The owner was very mean didn't think any more of his Servants than if they were dogs. He gave nothing to his Slaves_ Gave me one pair of shoes about 10 yrs ago, said Geo. Fifteen hundred Dols. had already been offered for him.

To come off Geo. gave upwards of \$60_ Came on the C. of R. He left behind a Mother, Farther, & two Bros. all live in Petersburg
Exp. over leafe

⁹⁴ To secure his escape, George Freeland paid an individual \$60.00 to secret him aboard the City of Richmond steamship. He soon made his way to St. Catherines, Canada West from where he sent a letter to William Still included in his book. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 233-34.

To Cash	\$3.00
" Carriage	<u>\$0.50</u>
	\$3.50
" Board	<u>.75</u>
	\$4.25

June 12/54

Arrived Miles White⁹⁵, on Hiter[?], from Elizath City N.C. where he was owned by Albert Cœ↑Ke↓rn, storekeeper.

Miles is nearly 21 years of age_ qu↑i↓te dark well built & hardy looking, and says that he was entitled to his freedom but had been sold. He was brought here on a Boat, loaded with Shingles, from which he escaped.

To 3 ½ days board	1.75
" Cash	0.75
" Furnished clothing &c.	1.55
" Stockings	.15
" Cuting Hair	<u>12</u>
	\$4.27

⁹⁵ The captain of the boat transporting the shingles kindly found a secure hiding place for Miles White on the vessel. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 234.

June 12/54

Livinia Clayton⁹⁶_ wife of John Clayton arrived from Petersburg, on the 9th inst.

To Board 2 ½ days \$1.25

June 19/54

Arrived_ Tucker White now Parker Joiner. Left Major Isaac Rooney, of Denwoody Court House Va. on Christmas Sunday, last_ Came to Petersburg, from into the City Point_ from thence to Baltimore and from thence here. He was badly frosted when coming which caused him to lose his toes. Stayed at the Hospital &c. while frosted_ ~~Sent him forward.~~

To Cash \$2.50

Board 1 day .50

Porter to Boat .25

\$3.25

⁹⁶ Louisa Clayton is mentioned in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 223.

June 19th 1854

Sarah Johnson from Norfolk_ left at about the 3rd of June_ came per C. of R.

To board 1 ½	.75
" Cash	3.00
" Trunk	1.50
" Shorter	<u>.50</u>
	<u>\$5.75</u>

June 20/54

Lewis Snowden⁹⁷, now Lewis Williams, left Washington D.C. about 2 mos. since, where he was owned by A. Naylor. Lewis is a coach maker by trade_ dark complexion_ well made, &c_ about 28 years of age. He was brought here by Mr. Massey who had been acquainted with him in the South, hence vouched for his veracity. Over

⁹⁷ Lewis Snowden is mentioned in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 223.

To Cash	\$2.50
" Board	1.50
" Porter to Boat	<u>.25</u>
	<u>\$4.25</u>

July 29th/55

Arrived_ W^m John[↑]son[↓]⁹⁸ had been held by Sam'l Herrington of _____ Md_ was brought away by his Sister harriet_ two weeks ago_ stopped with Luke Goines⁹⁹ while in this city.

J.C. White gave Mr. Goines towards defraying the Exp. of Johnson, \$5.00

⁹⁸ William Johnson is mentioned in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 223. He was possibly the brother of Harriet Tubman: see above and also p. 107; see also Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 247.

⁹⁹ Luke Goines was a hairdresser who lived at 193 Lombard in 1854. He was a member of a family long involved in aiding fugitives and fighting slavery. His brother, Basil, a barber, served on the Board of the Vigilance Committee.

July 3rd 1854

J.C. White pd. S.N. Cornish for going to Reading, ~~on~~ some time about the last of May or first of June, to apprise a young man of his danger

\$3.00

July 12/54

Arrived_ John Hall¹⁰⁰, now John Simpson_ who left Charleston S.C. where he was held by D^r Philip Mays =C.R. John is 36 years of age_ tall & well proportioned. He made his way very adroitly through N.C. into Va. in doing which he was labouring some months. The story is exceedingly interesting, but to write it out it would require too much time_ Suffice it to say that he is well known by respectable persons here who are from Charleston_ who vouch for the truthfulness of his tale &c.

¹⁰⁰ John Hall—his actual name according to Still—suffered greatly from exposure in the woods and swamps of North Carolina and Virginia as he fled brutal enslavement in Charleston, South Carolina. For several months he lived in earthen dens and caves. Finally he encountered a ship captain who secreted him on his boat and carried him to freedom. Unfortunately many of the details of his remarkable tribulations—all corroborated by the Vigilance Committee—were omitted from Still. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 234-35.

To Board	0.75
" Cash	2.00
" Washing	<u>.00</u>
	\$2.75
Letters to & from Canada	<u>.20</u>
	2.95

July 17th 1854

Arrived_ Nelson Johnson, now Jackson Hall_ dark_ medium size_
active & about 25 years of age. He was owned by Isaac Stansberry of
Eadens Mills, Deer Creek, Hanford Co. Md. He had been treated hard_
His owner had threatened to sell him only but a few days before he
escaped_ for ↑fear↓ of which he was induced to escape.

Wifes name:

Hannah – child,

Mary Luisa, 3 years of age

Board	.50
Cash	<u>2.50</u>
	\$3.00
Bloods stamps	<u>.25</u>
	3.25

95

Philadelphia July 24/54

To ¼ ~~Month~~ Rent of Room

\$8.00

Aug 10/54

Arrived_ John Lee from Fayetteville N.C. Sent away by Luke Goines,
at the instance of J.C.W.

Expences

\$3.25

Aug. 12/54

Arrived_ a woman ↑from Del.↓ who fell into the hands of Rebecca
Johnson_ was represented to J.C.W. by Geo. Johnson Examined by
J.C.W. & forwarded

Exp_

Letters from Canada &c

2.50

.30

\$2.80

Aug. 20/54

Arrived_ Elizabeth Penwell ↑(age 22, dark chesnut color_)↓ from Little Caroline, Md_ Had been owned by D^r Clift. Left last Monday, 3 weeks ago_ The fear of being Sold was what first prompted her to Escape, having been threatened &c._ Left a Father, Saml Penwell_ and two Bros_ Saml & Chas.

To Cash

3.00

" Carriage

.50

\$3.50

Aug. 24/54

(3)

Arrived_ Benj. Franklin_ had been living for the last 5 or 6 years in Lancaster Co._ up to about two weeks since when it was reasoned that he was pursued_ which caused him to leave. with a view of escaping to Canada.

Benj. Escaped from his owner, Rich^d Farmer_ Baltimore Co. Md. About 6 years since_ He original name was Benj. Franklin Harris_ He is quite dark, and about 30 years of age_ healthy & active in appearance &c_ He has with him a little daughter 6 yr's of age, and a niece grown.

To board	1.50
" Carriage	.50
" Porter	<u>.25</u>
	2.25

Aug. 26/54

Arrived_ Mary Walters, from Md._ had been away some 5 mos_ during which time she states that She had been living in this city, Age about 18 yrs. complexion, chesnut coul_ Size medium. Exame'd by P.W. & J.C.W. who were satisfied that she is a genuine case.

To Board 6 ½ days with J.D.O.	3.25
" Cash	<u>2.75</u>
over	\$6.00

	Brought over	6.00
To Porter		.25
" Dress Patron [?] & trimming		<u>.70</u>
		6.95

Aug. 28/54

Arrived_ John Atkinson¹⁰¹, from Portsmouth, had been owned by James Ray, ↑a↓ worthless sot. John is about 31 yrs of age_ well built, dark molato, & intelligent_ He had been in the habit of hiring his time_ for which he had pd. \$120- per annum_ Had been much abused up to some 5 yrs back_ He ~~had been threatened~~ was under daily fear of being Sold_ having been threatened several times of late. He left a wife, Mary, who was a free born woman_ She nothing however of her husbands plan in leaving.

To Board (3 days)	1.50
" Coat & shirts	1.87
" Cash	2.50
Alphonso to Boat	<u>.25</u>
	\$6.12

¹⁰¹ John Atkinson escaped from slavery in Portsmouth, Virginia, by way of a steamer which carried him to Philadelphia. Once John left Philadelphia, he settled in St. Catherines, Canada West. He wrote William Still several times seeking to have clothing from Virginia forwarded to him and aid given to his wife to escape. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 299-300.

Aug 28/54

Arrived_ Wesley Kinnard¹⁰², old name, Sam'l Green_ left Indian Creek, Dorchester Co. about a week ago_ He belonged to D^r James Muse, who, is thought to be, by the servant, "the worst man in Md"_ Whipping and all manner of cruelty he would inflict upon ↑his↓ servants. James had been hired out_ at Blacksmithing, for several yrs._ Was induced to leave by securing instructions from Harriet Tubman¹⁰³ who had paid a visit to his neighborhood last Springs, after her Bros.

Age 24 yrs_ Black, rather below the medium size smart, active_ reads & writes and seems quite intelligent_ Left Father & Mother_ Saml. & Catherine_ one Sister Sarah

To Board

" Cash	2.50
" Porter to Bustills	.12 ½
" 4 days board 50¢ per day	<u>2.00</u>
	4.62 ½

¹⁰² Harriet Tubman was instrumental in the successful flight of Samuel Green, his actual name according to Still. He soon departed for Canada West where he settled in Salford. Green's father, Sam Green, remained in Indian Creek, Chester County, Maryland, where he was a preacher in the Methodist Church. He eventually purchased his freedom and visited his son in Canada, probably in 1856. This visit prompted enormous suspicion on the part of local slaveholders, who suspected the father upon his return of having encouraged and directed some of their slaves on a successful flight to Canada. Searching his cabin one night, they found a copy of Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* as well as information and maps for guiding fugitives safely to Canada. He was arrested, tried, convicted, and sentenced to ten years in the state penitentiary for possession of seditious materials. His distressed son, learning of the imprisonment, wrote to Still seeking any information on his father's condition. Sam Green was released some time during the Civil War. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 246-50.

¹⁰³ Harriet Tubman, born Araminta Ross in Dorchester County, Maryland, about 1820, stole her way to freedom in Philadelphia in 1851. Over the course of the next ten years, she made at least nineteen trips to the South, rescuing hundreds of people from slavery, including her parents and her brothers. Her courage and devotion to freedom were recognized in the name with which people honored her—"Moses." She died in 1913 in Auburn, New York, where she settled after the Civil War.

Aug. 30/54

<u>Tres</u> to 250 Envelopes	0.50
J. White for writing letters	<u>2.00</u>
	\$2.50

Sept. 2/54

Arrived_ Mark Washington, new name W^m Wilson; complexion dark chesnut color, size medium, age 29_ Had been owned by James W^ordhington, of Hall's Cross Roads, Md. Co, Md.

~~Jas.~~ Mark had been treated hard by his owner_ for which he was induced to leave. He had heard of Canada & freedom ~~↑which↓~~ & having no expectations of gaining ~~his freedom~~ short of Canada he set out. He left a large family behind consisting of his Paraents, Bros. & sisters_

To 1 shirt	\$0.37 ½
" 1 ½ days board	.75
Washing 2 shirts	<u>.12 ½</u>
	\$1.25

Sept. 2/54

Arrived John Jones, now Henry Clark, age 25 years, dark, tall, genteel & intelligent. He came from Middletown, New Castle Co., Del., where he was owned by Amos Linch, a Blustery hard man. John left home on last Saturday evening, leaving the impression on the mind of his owner &c that he was about to make a trip to Md. to see old relatives_ his liberty being of more importance to him than any thing else, he availed himself of the chance of a trial on the Underground_ To Board, 5 days, @ 50¢ per day, with Ch. A.B.

\$2.50

Sept 8/54

Arrived, John Henry Rickets, (new name Ed. Henry Waples) from
Lewistown Del. where he was owned by Shepherd Houston, farmer.
John left about 3 weeks ago & walked chiefly all the way in the night_
The owner had threatened to Sell John which was the cause of his
fleeing. He is about 22 yrs of age, dark, small size_ active & smart.
He found his Mother in this City, who had been emancipated some 20
yrs ago, and has since been residing in this City

To Shoes	\$1.18
" Carriage	.50
" Porterage	.18
" Socks	.12
" 1 shirt	.37 ½
" 3 days board	<u>1.50</u>
	\$3.85 ½

Sept 8/54

Arrived, Geo. Washington Brown (New ↑name↓ James White) he left Md in May last, since he has been living with Benj. Price of West Chester.

He was owned by James Kimmy, Farmer. Geo. says he was used bad, and on seeing a good chance embraced it. He is 17 yr's of age, chesnut color_ smart n&c. His parents are both dead.

To Cash	1.00
" 3 days board	1.50
" Porterage	.18
" Washing 3 shirts	<u>.18</u>
	<u>\$2.86</u>

Sept. 8/54

Arrived, Richmond Boon, from Northfolk, where he had been held by John B. Odum, Com. Merch^t Rich^d is about 22 yrs of age chesnut color. medium size, smart, intelligent, reads & writes, &c.

He was induced to leave on account of the disposition which his owner had of late manifested to sell him, because he was not willing to go live with his mas. Who lived about 80 m.s in the country: as he had always been raised in Norfolk_ Richmon^d was not willing to change.

Rich^d's Mother is in Texes_ her owner having moved there with her ↑& all the children↓ some years back. No Farther living.

Came in the Va.

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To Cash	2.50
" 2 daysboard	1.00
" 1 Pair of Shoes	1.18 $\frac{3}{4}$
" 1 " " Socks	.12 $\frac{1}{4}$
" 1 Doz. Shirts of wise Pusey [?] & Chrise [?]	4.50 $\frac{1}{4}$
	<u>\$9.31 $\frac{1}{4}$</u>

Sept. 14/54

To John Davis or Adams for \uparrow o \downarrow m Baltimore_ ~~from w~~ forward by J.A.

Bro.-in-law to Saml P. Dorsey¹⁰⁴ of this city_

To cash \$2.00

Sept 25/54

1 Arrived Chas. King & Robt. White¹⁰⁵ of Norfolk

Chas. Is 23 yrs. of age, dark medium size, smart & intelligent, and a ship Carpenter by trade_ And was owned by Martha M Hope. He had been acc \uparrow u \downarrow stomed to hire his time, for which he had usually pd \$10- per mo_ but his Mistress not being willing any longer to take their ten Dols. had added two more per mo. This Chas. felt unwilling to pay

¹⁰⁴ Samuel P. Dorsey, a merchant, lived at 20 Rodman Street.

¹⁰⁵ After arriving in Philadelphia, it is very likely that Robert White next went to New Bedford, Massachusetts, where he settled. See reference to "R. White" in letter of William Donar to William Still, 3 November 1854, incorrectly dated as "1859." Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 275.

hence the cause of his escape. He paid \$19. to the man who aided him.

He left his Mother, Eliza King, & 4~~[strikethrough 4]~~ sisters_ viz. Hannah, Rose, Rachel, Maria, Grace & Amelia_ ~~To~~ 2 Bros. David & Robt_ all slaves

Also left his wife, Elizabeth.

Robert is 35 yrs of age quite dark_ rather stout, intelligent &e

He was owned by Henry Harding had been acc~~o~~^ustomed to hire his time at \$9- per mo. \$3000_ in cash clear of all expences had already been pd the owner_ Notwithstanding all that the owner had obtained from Robert, he was about raising his wagers, which moved him to escape.

Left only one sister_

To 2 ½ daysboard

\$2.50

Sept 28/54

Paid Luke Goines for boarding Henry Carl

\$3.50

(2) Oct 7/54

Arrived, Robt. McCoy¹⁰⁶, from Norfolk. He had been owned ↑for the last 16 years↓ by ~~years~~ Hall the Trader, ~~for~~ As a house servant&c he had been employed_ Nevertheless his chances of seeing the Cruelty belonging to the Trade was in every way favourable; and his accts & discriptions of what he had seen & heard intelligently narrated in the most thrilling manner.

As to personally abuse he had fortunately shuned that_ probably had fared as well as most slaves, but yet he felt that he was willing to suffer almost any sacrifice in order to gain his liberty A late

¹⁰⁶ Robert McCoy was intimately familiar with the realm of slave trading on the auction block, so familiar that Still considered the statements "too revolting to be published." Despite suffering from chronic rheumatism, he successfully fled to Philadelphia and then to New Bedford, Massachusetts. One month later, Eliza McCoy, his wife, who was also enslaved in Norfolk, joined him in New Bedford. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 274-77.

from his owner to the effect that he should sell him soon only seemed to make him more expeditious in seeking his freedom. He was concealed 5 ½ mos._ For his passage he pd \$30- & \$5- for board._ Left a wife, concealed, Eliza McCoy._ Robt. Is 28 yrs of age_ medium size, dark molato_ intelligent.

With Robt. Arrived Elizabeth Frances¹⁰⁷ a young woman of 22, of prepossessing appearance, fine looking, genteel & intelligent. She had evidently been of the more favoured class_ having been hired out by her Mistress_ Sarah Shepperd, ~~who~~ Her owner however had sold her Mother from her, when a child of 10; also she had sold a Bro. & sister, all far south. Consequently the fear of sale & the desire of freedom rested ~~he~~ with great weight upon the mind of Elizabeth. Having saved \$35- she gave it for her passage_ afterward endured the privation of waiting 5 ½ mos. for a chance to come &c.

¹⁰⁷ Elizabeth Frances departed for New Bedford, Massachusetts, soon after arriving in Philadelphia. A letter expressing her great delight with her new residence is reprinted in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 275-76.

To Cash to Robt M ^c Coy	2.50	
" 5 ½ days board	2.75	
" Porterage from the Boat	.37	
" Telegraphic Dispatch to WW Brown	<u>.85</u>	
	\$6.47	

To Cash to Elizabeth Frances	3.00	
" Carriage _ Shorter		.50
" 6 ½ days board	<u>3.25</u>	
	\$6.75	

[Editorial Note: The above details are from strips of paper attached between pages 108 and 109 with information pertaining to assistance disbursed to Robert McCoy and Elizabeth Frances. They are displayed in the microfilm as overlays on page 109. Their position above duplicates their placement on the filmed page 109. The information from page 109 which also appears on the filmed page will be given on the following actual page 109]

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Sept. Oct. 7/54

Arrived, John ↑Dickson↓Dixon, from Dawson, Md. where he was owned by Rich^d Kaigh__ John is 30 yrs of age_ tall, well built, dark chesnut color, intelligent &c. He was caused to escape by_ ↑through↓ the fear of being sold._ Left a wife, Caraline Dickerson, but no children. The wife is a free woman. He left 2 Bros. & one sister, slaves. With regard to treatment, he did not complain, except that he had been shorted with clothing & foods of times.

To 2 ½ Days Board

" Cash

1.25
2.00
\$3.25

Cash to a man who came to the office with Thos. Madd
Arrant boy¹⁰⁸

.50
6
\$3.81

¹⁰⁸ Errand boy

Oct. 9/54

Arrived, Thos. Madd¹⁰⁹ from Easton Md. where he was owned by Ed. Ray, a very tyrannical slaveholder_ as the marks on Thos.'s person clearly proves. His back had been litterally ~~cut &~~ lacerated in ~~the~~ a most shocking manner. Thos. is 22 years of age_ dark. medium size; appearently of more than ordinary muscular strength &c. The Severe flogging of recent date, refered to, was brought upon him for not making the fire on Sunday morning about two weeks ago; 2 little boys having offered to do so in his Stead. The flogging was what prompted him to escape.

Left 4 Sis. & two Bro[↑]s_↓. owned by Ray_

To cash	2.50
" 2 ½ days board	1.25
" Shorter carriage	<u>.50</u>
	\$4.25

¹⁰⁹ William Still wrote that of all the fugitives he had met and examined over the years, "none brought a back so shamefully lacerated by the lash as Thomas Madden." His master had almost murdered him and this prompted his decisive flight. Madden arrived in the Niagara District of Canada West in late October 1854. A correspondent for Madden wrote to Still that Madden chopped wood to support himself and dearly missed the woman in his life, Rachel. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 294.

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Phil^a Oct. 10/54

Arrived Henry Wilson, old name Perry Wilson_ Left John Talbot who
resided near Balti. Md. Henry is 22 yrs of age, chesnut color_ medium
size_ Seem quite upright, and is intelligent_ Left because his owner
was a hard man_ Left his Mother Bros., & sisters, in Baltimore Delia
Wilson, was the name of his Mother.
To Board

1.00

Oct. 21/54

Arrived, John Malery_ he is rather about ~~he~~ medium size, chesnut color, intelligent ~~Left Norfolk, where he had~~ been owned by Eliza Anderson, of Norfolk. After the death of his old master he had been treated bad_ this induced him to escape. Left a wife, Mary Frances_ child Elizabeth_ both owned by James Furgerson. They have the promise of their freedom.

To Cash	\$2.50
" Board (2 days)	1.00
" Advertising Vig. com meetg at Wesley Ch. in Ledger & ↑Bun↓	2.35
" Freight on Box from Norfolk	1.62
" Porter	<u>.25</u>
	\$7.72

Oct 21/54

Arrived, Chas. Thompson, age 40 chessnut color, active, well informed &c. Bad treatment had driven Chas. to the necessity of making his escape. Adding to the natural promptings of his heart for liberty, he had recently been much stimulated by the reading of Uncle Toms Cabin. In looking over the pages of contents, at once, he was fairly aroused. Consequently he set himself to work to contrive a plan whereby he might escape. The thought struck him, that if he could get a route as a paper carrier_ he could succeed_ he got his route & did succeed_ He left a wife Mary Ann; and two children_ Emelia Ann & Louisa, all three live in Richmond. Chas. was owned by the widow Thornton, who hired him out for \$150- a year_ at the end of each year 50 cts was all the cash Ch. recd as his portion

To Cash & Board

\$4.75

Oct 21/54	
To Advertising in the Ledger & Bulletin For a meeting æ of WW Brown At the 1st Presbytirian Ch. ¹¹⁰	\$1.34
Oct 22	
To Meirihew[?] & Thompson ¹¹¹ , for Printg Handbils for meeting at Franklin	
Hall	2.25
" Geo. Christ_ for Striking Handbills	.50
" Advertising Frank. Hall ¹¹² meeting	2.16
" Franklin Hall Rent	8.00
" ¼ Quarters Rent of Room	8.00
	<u>\$2.091</u>

¹¹⁰ First Presbyterian Church was located on Washington Square on the south side of Walnut above Sixth Street. The Reverend Albert Barnes, a leader of the New School wing of the Presbyterian Church and an antislavery supporter, presided over the church in 1854.

¹¹¹ Merrihew & Thompson were printers in Philadelphia located at numbers 2 and 4 on Merchant Street just above Fourth. In 1854, they were the printers for the abolitionist newspaper, *The Pennsylvania Freeman*. See for example, *The Pennsylvania Freeman*, January 5, 1854. William Still praised them as "the only printers in the city who for many years dared to print such incendiary documents as anti-slavery papers and pamphlets" and as "one of the truest friends of the slave." Mr. Thompson was present as an observer when Henry "Box" Brown, a fugitive, emerged from the box in which he had been sent to the Anti-Slavery Office in Philadelphia at 107 North Fifth Street. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 82-84.

¹¹² Franklin Hall was a large meeting hall located in Philadelphia at the intersection of Sixth and Arch Streets.

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Oct. 26/54

Arrived, Sarah Airs, from Worcester Co. Md. Had been owned by W^m Purnell. Left last Christmas. Sarah is about 25 years of age, dark complexion. Left a husband Peter Airs_ The fear of being sold South was what caused her to escape.

To Cash
" Carriage

2.50
.75
\$3.25

Nov. 2/54

Arrived_ John Canon_ old name London Davis,_ John is about 21 yrs of age_ black. ~~Slender~~, tall, rather of a round built. Was owned by W^m Watson, who resided at Cedar neck near Milford_ from whom ~~he~~ ↑John↓ fled the later part of last August. John left two Bros. & one sister in Slavery_ The e↑l↓dest Bro., is ~~named~~ John Davis, youngest Bro. Geo. Davis_ both belong to Thos. Davis_ blind man_

John left ~~before~~ ↑because↓ he feared that he was to be sold. besides he had ~~farely~~ ↑fared↓ b adly_ had been beaten, starved &c._ Jno's Farther in law ↑Andrew↓ Wismer Milford.

To 2 ½ Days board

" Cash

\$1.25

2.00

\$3.25

Sennett_ May 19th 56
Mr Wm Still

Dear Sir

I take this opportunity of writing you a few lines to let you know that after I left you I got along well, I am now at work where I get twelve dollars per month. probably you have forgot me and to let you know who I am I will state that I came to your house about the 1st of November 1854- in the evening_ You will remember that Mr. Blow¹¹³, who went to New Bedford was there at the same time and that you went ↑with me to one↓ & ~~got some~~ of my acquaintance who assured you that I was a fugitive_ his name was Peter Lewis of Lewistown

[Editorial Note: Pages 126-129 in running head pagination comprise text from four letter pages laid over pages 116 and 117 in Still's Journal C. The text directly above is laid over page 117 while the text for page 127 is laid over 116. The text for page 128 is again laid over 117 and 129, 116. The transcription of actual text from Journal C resumes with page 117 on page 130, running head pagination.]

¹¹³ See entry for Anthony Blow on page 131 below.

& who was also acquainted with my Father & Mother_ & you took me to George Davis next door to big Wesleyan Church

You recollect that you sent a letter to Loucretia Tilman stating to her that a friend wished to see her & she did not come_ Also that I mentioned the name of Jacob Williams whom Jacob Cannon raised_ & who made his home at Lucretia Tillman's when I was in Philadelphia_ I am well acquainted with Cresey Cannon & Mary Cannon_ I need not say any more to let you know who I am_ I wish you would ask Jacob Williams how mother gets along in Delaware_ at a place called Milford_ My mother's name is Grace Mindsmore_ I wish

you would write me as soon as you can after you have got some information about my mother & friends in Delaware_ I am very anxious to hear from my old home_ dont neglect to write_ I have written a number of letters but have not heard a word from my people_ You will recollect that you wrote my name that I bore when at home_ Londen Davis_ also that I told you I would change my name to John Cannon_ this is the name by which I go now___ Please do not forget to write me to this place

Sennett Cayuga Co N.Y.

Your Friend_

John Cannon

London Davis
Nov. 1 1854
Wrote May 19/56
under the name of
John Cannon.

London Davis
Nov. 1854-
wrote May
19/56 over
the name of Jno.
Cannon.

*[Editorial Note: The six lines immediately above are actually inserted
in the filmed page turned 180° counterclockwise so they read
vertically.]*

Nov. 3/54

Arrived, Eliza Mc Coy_¹¹⁴ Eliza had been owned by Andrew Sigany_ of Norfolk_ She is about 38 yrs of age_ Molato_ of genteel appearnce_ & intelligent. Of the Cruelty of Slavrey she has experienced a great deal_ having to work very hard_ hade been sold, &c. Eliza had always wanted to be free_ and in failing to satisfy her owners with her labour she was induced to escape near 7 mos. She remained concealed before she got the chance to escape_ while in that condition she suffer beyond all discription.

¹¹⁴ Eliza McCoy was the wife of Robert McCoy, who escaped slavery one month earlier. She concealed herself in close quarters for several months before fleeing to Philadelphia. She then joined her husband in New Bedford, Massachusetts. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 276-77.

Nov. 3/54

Arrived, Andrew Blow¹¹⁵ _ ↑old name Henry Levison↓ Andrew had been owned ↑by↓ Mrs. Peters, widow, who died over one year ago_ leaving him to her Daughter who was the wife of James Lewis_ Mr. Lewis was not to com into possession of him however, till the first of Janu./54_ Now as Andrew was fully aware of the Tyranical spirit of this Mr. L. he had ↑Resolved↓ never #ie[?] to fall into his hands_ Mr. L. however thought otherwise and only a week or two before the time came for him totake possession of A. he had boasted that he could & would get \$1500- for him, as soon as he might come into his hands_ Consequently the dread of this monster induced Andrew to escape_ on the 1st day of Janu /54 he went into private quarters_ afterwards pd

¹¹⁵ Anthony Blow, as William Still refers to him in his book, escaped on the steamship "City of Richmond" after many arduous months of concealment. His friend Minkins located a safe covert for him on the ship. Anthony apparently settled in New Bedford, Massachusetts. Further details of Anthony's dramatic escape from slavery are contained in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 61-63.

a man \$30_ who promised to arrange some plan by which he could make a successful escape_ But week after week & month after month ↑passed and↓ nothing but disapointment seemed to be his lot, and ere he found it convenient to start near 10 mos. had passed away_

It may not be amiss to allude to the fact that Andrew was brought in to the troble growing out of the Pearl difficulty¹¹⁶_ At that time he was living in Washington. He was accused of being one of the Porters who attempted to escape_ and was about to be arrested & hand cuffed_ but being ~~be~~ resolute he was allowed to decline the cuffs. At the times the officers went to arrest him he was at work on a large anchor, weighing 1000 lbs.

¹¹⁶ The "Pearl difficulty" involved the 1848 flight of seventy-seven slaves from Washington, D.C. down the Potomac River on board the schooner "Pearl" commanded by Captain Paul Drayton. They were all apprehended and returned to Washington. The trial of the fugitives' white "conductors" became a national issue. Although he was not onboard the "Pearl," Anthony Blow was among the many blacks arrested for possible involvement in the failed escape. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 63.

To pass the difficulties he was brought into by being placed in the Georgian pen_ &c, it may be of interest to relate to other matters.

He had been shot 3 times in his life. The first time he was about 18_ He refused to be whipped, was the offence for which he was shot_ The 2nd time he was shot ↑by the Sherriff↓ about the head, with Squiarrell shot_ The offence in this instance arose from a Scrimmage which A. had had with 3 white ruffians who attempted to beat him_ but being strongly resisted were them self beaten_ Consequently the Sherriff interfared and besides shooting ↑had↓ him ↑had↓ flogged ↑him↓ the marks of which are now plain on his back. He was then about 19. The last & 3rd time when he was short, he was about

21 yrs of age The refusal to be beaten was the cause of this murderours attact. He was not badly wounded in this instance however.

With regard to employment, he had been a conn measurere¹¹⁷ stricker in machine shop, Butcher &c. But to omit details suffice it to say his physical appearance shows him to have been a man of double strength & activity, with an uncommon degree of intelect though uncultivated.

His height is 6 feet 3 Ins. and ~~appears in~~ his physical structure, in every respect, is a very ~~wonder~~ powerfull man_

After he had been stowed away on the boat, in a siting posture, with bearly enough room to Sit_ he was obliged to remain so for 8 days_ during which times as much be appearent he suffered to the utmost

¹¹⁷ A *conn measurer* is one who guides the steering of a ship.

extremely_ His location was near the Ranger directly over the Boiler.
where it was very hot_ which caused him to sweat at every pour.
Head winds, storms & thick ~~foet~~ fogs combined obstructed the Boat
from coming_ So instead of its getting here in its regular time which is
about 1 ½ day_ it was 8 days coming. But he had reso^lved to die
rather rather than give up to be taken into slavery. Of that system he
had seen its most cruel features_

He left a wife. She is owned by Capt. Cunigan of Washington
D.C. He has also, 3 children oldest Benjamin Blow_ next Julius B. the
next Alfred B.

The wife, Ann_

[Blank]

Philadelphia Nov. 13/54

Arrived_ Chas. Gilbert¹¹⁸ of Richmond, arrived per steamer On the 11th inst., He fled from Benj. Davis, a Trader in Richmond. The fear of being sold was what caused him to seek his~~m~~ freedom, his master having had him advertised for some months_ before he started.

Chas., on first contemplating escape ~~first when~~ went to ~~a~~↑the↓ Capt. Of a schooner runing to Boston-(having previously ↑heard↓ that he could be trusted)- and after ↑hearing↓ his case the Capt. Agreed to take him for \$10- providing he could succeed in geting to old Point Comfort, a distance of 160 miles from Rich^d. Chas. soon succeeded in getting to old Point &c_ by being secreted on a Boat. But as he had formly belonged to the neighboærhood of old&c

¹¹⁸ The extraordinary story of the escape of Charles Gilbert from slavery is further detailed in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 235-40.

& as a Reward of \$200_ had been offered ↑by↓ the owner, no pains was spared in that vicinity to ~~to~~ find out his whereabouts_ Chas. had some old fr'ds about Old Point, though the danger of aiding were so great that it was very rarely the case that he could avail himself of the privilege of the slightest favour_ ↑For↓ the first week after arriving at old Point he was entertained by ~~an~~ a young frd by the name of Ed. Sweney_ afterwards, in consequence of being persued by officers_ he left & went to the Highge Hotel_ a very large house, without a cellar_ built upon Pilers, some 2 or 3 ft above ground. One place alone near the cistren, was the only spot where he could conceal himself_ that ø was a dark corner & well suited for his purpose_ Four weeks he remained, there, of days_ of Bright coming out & going to the Slop Bucket to get his meals_ Sweet those

meals were, as his discribed them. One night, an Irish boy had occasion to go under the house after chickens_ when to Chas.' great alarm, the ↑boy was unconsciously↓ ~~was~~ about to approach him, ~~though unconsciously~~_ to frighten the unwelcome intruder_ Chas_ flew at him Dog fashin_ with a terrible snarl, which had its desired effect, causing the boy to leave speedily_ The boys Farther hearing the savage attact of the dog upon his son, declared he would kill him the next day_&c_ so Chas. concluded, on hearing the Farthers threat that he had better shift his quarters_ he did. So that night went next to Bay Shore. Stayed up an acorn tree all one day_ next stayed at a wash house, ~~wh~~ which was under the charge of Israbella, a ~~slave~~ young woman, ↑a slave↓ and a man by the name of John Thomas_ the young woman was an ald ~~ald~~ acquaintance of

Chas_ and was willing to do all she could to conceal him, but f↑e↓It
afraid. Chas, proposed to take up a plank & by so doing contrive to
hide himself under the floor_ for 2 weeks he remained secure under
the floor but suspicion having got out that he was secreted there_ 6
officers came_ knocked_ & soon gained admission_ searched but
found no body, he being under the floor_ \$25 they offered the man if
he would tell them of his whereabouts. Refused_ They left. Chas also
left_ went back to the Hotel again_ Stayed over a week_ one night
went out to Mr. Allen's Cottage, to sit in the bushes, ↑when↓ and old
man came along, which caused Chas. again to act the ~~barg~~ Barking &c
which frightened the old man much, which brought out a threat that
he would kill Stephen & his dogs too, as they had several times,
attactd him. (It so happened that it was a bad place for dogs)

Chas fled through the bushes & took lodgings in the marsh for a couple of hours_ He again returned to the hotel, where he stayed 2 days. At this time his Mother was making all possible arrangement for his escape_ finally a change[↑]ce[↓] was procured_ As it was the last day he expected to be in the neighborhood he f[↑]e[↓]lt desirous to spent the last night at the house where he had stayed under the floor_ so he went_ Before being there many hours 3 officers came in search of him_ one went upstairs while the other 2 talked with Israbella inquiring about her boarders &c. Now there was only a thin curtain that obscured Chas. from his persuers_ his hole under the floor he could not enter for fear of making a noise in pulling up the boards_ to use his own language a thousand

thoughts rushed in his mind in a minute_ as there were womens apparel within reach of him, he at once seized the opportunity to dress himself in a suit_ hood & all_ and walked out right by the officers_ one remarking to him "whose gale are you"? What is your name? My name is Delia_ I belong to Mr. Cocklin; "go on then, said the officers_ Chas. ~~next~~ was [↑]next_↓ conveyed to Norfolk_ where, after remaining 4 week_ he procured a passage for \$30_ his Mothers advancing \$20_

Chas. was owned by a wealthy Trader_ ~~500-50.~~ \$550_ he had offered as a reward_

He lef a Mother, Margaret Johnson_ 3 Bros. Henry, W^m & Sam'l Johnson (half Bro.) The Mother is free, purchased herself_ the Bros. all Slaves.

[Blank]

(1) Nov. 14/54

Arrived_ Henry allen, (new name Thos. Redden) arrived safely. He had formly been held by D^r Johnson of Wilmington, Del_ but in consequence of that gentleman having been ordered away in the U.S. Service ↑seven months since↓_ Henry had been hired out to Z. Glazer_ Lottery dealer. From him Henry escaped about 2 months since_ in the interval he's has been at work with Benj. Binder near Lionville.

Henry is a Smart & appearently intelligent young man_ only about 18 yrs of age_ He was caused to leave on account of bad treatment; could not get any learning_ While most every body else were free he felt that he was a Slave, therefore he feld. He is dark, round built, full face &c.

[Blank]

[Blank]

(4) Nov. 15/54

Four at one arrival_ Yesterday afternoon Robert Belt, (now Chas_ Williams) Nanthaniel Smith, (now John Hutchins) Ellen Cale, (now Sarah Johnson), and Mary Cale, now Jane Johnson. All arrived from Baltimore Co., where they had been held as follows: Robert had been owned by Joseph Kelly; Naethan ~~had been~~ by Thos. D Cockey_ Ellen, by Eliz[↑]sh[↓]a Parks also her sister Mary.

Robt. Is about 29; chesnut color, rather tall_ well bu[↑]i[↓]lt_ intelligent &c

Nathan is 24; dark, well built, intelligent & active.

Ellen is about 18; tall, chesnut color_ seems sensible & smart_

Mary is 16: not tall but rather thick set, with a round full face & pleasant countenance. Seems smart, modest & clever_

This party ~~was~~ were induced to escape to save themselves from falling into the hands of the Trader_ having previously forwarned of their danger by a friend.

They had lived in the neighborhood of Texes_ about 12 miles fro Balti.

Walked from home to Columbia_ from thence came in the Cars

The treatment which they had rec'd had been of a medium character, though they concluded, unanimously that they had been treated bard.

Nov. 21/54

Arrived_ Peter Johnson, had been known by the name of Peter Airs, before leaving his home in Berlin, Worcester Co. Md_ where he had been owned by Comfort & ~~Betsey~~ Betz[↑]ley Airs_ single woman_ Peter is about 30 years of age_ dark, seemingly intelligent &c He ran away "because" he "wanted to be with" his "woman". His wife having ~~left~~ left some months prior to his coming

Peter said he had never been abused like a great many_ He had however been wronged out of his over work which he would do of nights &c.

Nov. 21/54

____ Sam'l Davis, new name Benj. Johnson Sam'l is about 35 years of age; stout built, quite dark complexion, & seems intelligent. He fled from John Reed, who lived near Fairfax, Va. Sam'l has been used hard_ not allowed enough to eat &c Being fed & treated meanly, was the cause of his escape.

Nov. 27/54

1____ John Wesley ↑Gibson↓.¹¹⁹ John Wesley Gibson left W^m Y. Day, his owner & Father, about 6 weeks ago_ from Taylor's Mt. Md. ~~John~~ He is about 28 yrs of age, molatto, intelligent & good looking_ He took passage at Baltimore, as a white man, and so come away

¹¹⁹ The son of his master, John Wesley Gibson was so light-skinned that he discovered he could pass as white. Thus when he journeyed through Baltimore enroute to Philadelphia, he even held "up his head and put on airs." His master feared his neighbors would detect John's paternity, so he kept him confined to his plantation. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 301.

On his master's Farm he was the man depend. as he was Forman and intrusted with more responsibility than any of the other slaves_ He left because his master was so severe with him in relation to his going any where_

John left a mother ↑Harriet Peirce↓ & a sister ↑Frances E.↓ in Bondage_ belonging to his owner

Nov 29/54

_____ W^m Butcher¹²⁰_ ↑new name↓ W^m T. Mitchel arrived from Massey's Cross Roads_ near Georgetown_ W^m had been held by W^m Boyer_ a very hard man_ was abuseful &c He was a farmer W^m is about 28 yrs_ medium size, dark_ intelligent &c. The fear of being sold_ having been threatened by his owner_ was the cause of his escape. Left a wife, Phillis Anne Butcher_ child John Wesley. They are Free_ His child he wishes to send for.

¹²⁰ Further details on William Butcher are contained in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 300-01.

Dec. 5/54

Arrived_ W^m James Williams, old name, Geo. Washington_ arrived from Harford Co. Bellair_ Md. Hios owner was named W^m Fenandus[?] farmer. James, is 19 yrs of age_ chesnut color &c Left because his owner talked of selling him. Had been treated as well as could be expected, except the the threat of sale.

Dec. 12/54

1_____ Jesse Smith just from Norfolk, reached this city in good health&c. Jesse is about 34 yrs of age_ dark molato & intelligent&c. He was ↑owned↓ Cornelius Herman Jesse hads been treated very bad_ as bad as could be.

Dec. 16/54

1_____ Geo. Anderson. now Henry Jones. arrived safely from Herberts Cross Roads, where Harman Stump. He was a hard man_ Geo. is 19 yr's of age, dark chesnut color, stout made not very

Bright in his appearance. Left because of bad treatment. \$1000_

Shot Dec 21/54

Broke Jail

Lived in a hole

_____ Isaac Williams¹²¹ safely arrived from King George County, Hampstead, Va. Isaac is about 26 yrs of age_ dark chesnut color. stout made & intelligent_ He had been owned by D^r James who has lately purchased him for the Southern market. Before fallen into the hands of D^r J. he had been owned by a Mr. D. Fitchens who was a very hard man.

Isaac left because his owner was about selling him South against his will_ Fish fled to the woods_ stayed there 2 weeks, then beeing persued was shot while fleeing_ was badly wounded, & captured, and taken to King George Jail_ was kept there for 1 month broke jail and fled again to the woods_ Dug a whole in the ground and there stayed for 3 months

¹²¹ A more detailed account of Isaac Williams' travails in slavery and his perilous flight to the woods is recorded in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 284-86. Isaac was accompanied into the woods by Henry Banks and later by their supportive friend, Kit Nickless.

and then came on, having to suffer hungar, cold wet &c

Isaac left a wife, Eliza, the names the children as follows_ Isaac, Estel Williams & Ellen_ They all æt belong to his old master Fitchugh

In the wood he lived on hogs, managed to get meal_ &c

1_____ Henry Banks¹²² arrived from King George's County where he fled from a Trader, D^r James of Tennessee, who was in the act of taking him south_ It happened that Henry had previously made an effort to escape only a few months before fallen into the hands of the Trader_ indeed th the attempt to escape was the cause of his being sold_ In May his first effort was made_ stayed in the wood about 3 mos, then got a far as Washington_

¹²² Further details of the flight of Henry Banks with his companion, Isaac Williams, into the woods of Virginia are contained in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 285.

was there captured & taken back_ was put in Fredrickburg Jail_ keep a month. was then Sold to Georege Ailler ~~At Ailler_ left him after-st~~ was sold [↑]to D^r James_↓ after being in his hands one week_ fled from [↑]the_↓ D^r ~~in~~ the same day he was bought_ went to the wood with Isaac refered to above_ stayed there 2 weeks_ and was then captured by being badly shot_ was put in Prison [↑]for 1 mo._↓ and Dockered_ then broke jail_ come away_

Henry left his Parents, Bros. & Sisters, all owned by different owners Henry was first induced to leave because his master would not half feed him, or clothe him, nor could never do enough to please him_ wanted to whip him &c. Henry is 19_ dark_ well made & intelligent.

1_____ Kit Nickless¹²³ arrived. from King George County_ Va where he had been owned by General Washington, Farmer_ and a very hard master_ The marks of cruel treatments ~~are in~~ ↑from↓ the appearance of the ~~marks from~~ the lash are now visible on Kits back_ His owner drank hard, consequently could not be pleased. He left because of beatins rec'd the Friday before leaving_ K. is about 45 stout, dark &c
Left a wife Matilda_ Three children as follows_ Sarah Ann, Jane Frances, & Ellen_ 3 years ago Kit started for his freedom but was captured_ was badly flogged &c.

¹²³ Kit Nickless joined Henry Banks and Isaac Williams when they fled enslavement in Virginia. See Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 285-86.

Dec. 29/54

1

Arrived_ W^m Thompson arrived safely from Horses Cross Roads, Del. where he had been owned Lewis N. Wright, Farmer He was a very hard master, and owned ten slaves. W^m is of Small Stature_ smart & ↑of↓ chesnut color. Left because he wanted to do better, and because the owner was about to sell him.

1_____ Geo. Ross, now John Brown, also arrived with W^m Tho↑m↓pson_ from the same owner. age 26, dark_ intelligent_ "Wanted to do better was the reason of his escape Left a wife, Luisa. Son Isaac H. His Farther in law is named Dennis Betts_ To the Farther in law I am to write for Geo.'s wife to come on Letter to be directed to Seaford, Del.

Harriet Tubman Dec. 29/54

(6) Arrived_ John Chase, (now Dan. Lloyd), Benj. Ross (now Jas. Stewart) {Henry Ross,}(now Lewis Stewart), Peter Jackson, (now Stanch Tilghman) Jane Kane, (now Catherine K.) Robert Ross¹²⁴

John is 20 yrs of age, chesnut color, spair built, Smart &c He fled from ~~Henry John Camble~~ John Campbell Henry, a farmer, who resided at Cambridge, Dorchester, Md. John spoke of his master as being a hard man_ owns 140 slaves. Some hes sells, occasionally_ The owner would not allow John to Seek his own master_ this was the cause of his escape

Left behind ~~Father~~, mother, Bro's, & sisters, all slaves.

Benj. Is 28 yrs of age, chesnut ~~et~~ color, medium size, intelligent &c He was owned by Eliza Ann Brodius_ lived neart Beecktown_ Cambridge Md.

¹²⁴ John Chase, Benjamin Ross, Henry Ross, Peter Jackson, Jane Kane, and Robert Ross are all discussed briefly in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 296-99. They all intended to settle in Canada. Still did not note in either his journal or book that the three Ross men were the brothers of Harriet Tubman. See Jean M. Humez, *Harriet Tubman: The Life and the Life Stories* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2004), 219-22.

The Mistress was discribed as being "very Devilish"_ ↑Three slaves finding↓ It being difficult for ~~3~~ slaves to support a family of 8 (whites) they had come to the conclusion to escape to save themselves from being sold. had been threatened_

Left Parents, 1 Sister Mary Ann Williams, she wants to come away

Henry Left a wife, Harriet Ann_ (Sophia ↑Brown↓ She is to be known by now)_ He belonged to Eliza A. Brodius He is Smart, 22 yr's of age, chesnut color, &c. Two little sons, he was obliged to leave behind.

Peter came from Cambridge, had been owned by Geo. Wentthrop, Farmer, who had used him hard. Left Free Parents_ He ~~be~~ was born however ~~wh~~ before the liberation of his Mother.

Catherine Kane, age 22, owned by Rash Jones_ the worst man in the County ~~where~~ in which he lived

at least was so thought to be by Catherine_ who had been very hardly used by him.

Robt. Is 35 yrs of age, chesnut color_ well made &c. Left
↑2↓ ~~to~~ childer↑e↓n_ From him a full statement was received but for
want of time was not intereded in the book.

1 Author Fowler¹²⁵ ↑new name Benj. Johnson↓ arrived from Spring Hill, Md. where he had been owned by Ed. Fowler. A. is 30, medium size, dark, seems intelligent, A. was induced to flee because he feared that he might soon fall into the hands of young he↑i↓rs, from whom he could look for nothing but cruelty, and likewise the sale of himself, as they were noted for their extravagance &c. He Suffered Severely while escaping_ got his feet badly frosted &c.

¹²⁵ For further details on Arthur Fowler and his flight, see Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 305.

Jan. 1st 1855

(1) Arrived_ Verena Mercer¹²⁶ arrived from ~~Norfolk~~ ↑Richmond↓ per (S. Pa.¹²⁷) She is about 41 years of age. well made, dark chesnut color, intelligent &c. She had been a slave all her life. For the last 8 yrs of her life She had been owned by Henry W. Guase Quase_ from whom she had not rec'd very severe treatment.

After her first marriage ~~She~~ her husband was sold away from her_ after remaining single 9 yr's she married again, a(. James Mercer) who fled last Feb. Altogether She has the appearance of a woman of superior mind_ genteel_ reads & writes &c.

¹²⁶ Verena Mercer fled Virginia to be reunited with her husband, James, who had departed Richmond nine months earlier. The Vigilance Committee forwarded her to Canada, where she settled with James in Toronto. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 309.

¹²⁷ The steamship, *Pennsylvania*.

Jan. 1st 1854

(1)Arrived_ Peter Derrickson¹²⁸ arrived from Berlin, Worcester Co. Md. Peter is this day 26 yrs of age_ dark_ medium size & intelligent_ Fled from John Derrickson_ Farmer ↑who↓ owned 20 Slaves_ was regarded as a mi↑l↓ld master, Peter left because he got tired of working for nothing_ wanted the benefit of his own labour. Left his mother 3 Bros. & 4 Sisters, all slaves_ they knew nothing of the fact of Peter's Scheme to escape.

(1)_____ Chas. Purnell¹²⁹, came in Company with Peter_ had been raised near where he was brought up.

¹²⁸ Peter Derrickson recruited Charles Purnell to run away with him. They hoped to reach Canada. See Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 309-10.

¹²⁹ When asked what made him flee slavery, Charles Purnell asserted that "I left because I wanted my time and money for myself." Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 310.

Age 24_ dark chesnut color, medium size & smart. Left because he want↑ed↓ his time & money for himself. Left Parā↑e↓nts 3 Bros. & 5 Sisters, all Slaves, but the mother & eldest Sister_ all the children ___ are intitled to their Freedom at the age of 28_

(1)_____ John Robinson arrived from Black Bird, New Castle Co. Md. had been owned by W^m Wilson, Farmer, John declar↑e↓s that his master was a very hard man_ would beart & slash severely. John was induced to leave that th he might shun the abuse of his master, and at the same time take care of his wife whom he brought with him_

(1)_____ Mary Ann is the name of the wife_ she is dark, medium size &c_ age about 19. Free

Jan. 10/55

(2) at one arrival_ Lloyd Hacket¹³⁰ new name Perry Watkins & W^m Henry Johnson¹³¹, new name John Wesley. both arrived from Md where they had been owned_ by Lloyd by John Griffin_ & W^m, by John Hall. Lloyd is about 55 dark Molato_ intelligent, and has the appearance of having ↑been a man of sobriety & industry.↓ ~~done more for himself than most who are Liberated as he had been, generally do~~ His master he discribes as have↑ing↓ been severe_ quite a fighter, but not good to feed & clothes_ never suffered the slaves to stop for the badest of weather_ But would readily sell to Georgia_ Lloyd left a wife (Free) and one child_ the wifes name is Mary Ann. the child, Wilburn_ L. left behind, in the possession of his old Master, the following Relatives

¹³⁰ Further details of Lloyd Hacket's flight from slavery with William Henry Johnson are contained in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 310-11.

¹³¹ Further details on William Henry Johnson are in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 310-11.

1 Bro. 1 sister & 2 neices_

The fear of being sold was the cause of their escape_ Suffered much in walking_ & with hunger, other wise they managed to get on well.

W^m is 24, dark Molato, well made, intelligent_ ~~well~~ and is also of the more cultivated order. His master was noted for tyranny and rufness. W^m has suffered from his hands frequently_

(1) Jan. 15/55

Arrived_ David Edmonds¹³² arrived from Petersburg_ had been ↑owned by↓ John J Slatter Coaches Maker, He was a ha↑r↓d man_ only allowed him to \$1.00 per week for board. John is about 30_ black, weighs about 145_ Left a wife behind.

(2) Jan. 17

Arrived_ Heseekiah Hill¹³³ & James Anderson¹³⁴, both per st. "P.",¹³⁵ from Richmond, Va. Heseekiah is 30 yrs of age, well made_ dark complexion, and intelligent. For 13 months he had been Secreted with fr'nds in Rich^d waiting an opportunity to escape. several times had made attempts to get away while secreted but had failed_

His first attempt to escape was induced by having heard that he was about to be sold_ indeed the Trader had actually made his

¹³² Soon after arriving in Philadelphia, David Edwards departed for Canada with numerous letters of introduction. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 311.

¹³³ Hezekiah Hill was the uncle of John Henry Hill. Despite nearly escaping by boat several times, Hezekiah hid himself in a space under a floor for thirteen months. A tall and muscular man, his discomfort was enormous. He went on to Canada West, where he settled in Toronto. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 200-02.

¹³⁴ The seven-year old James Anderson fled enslavement with Hezekiah Hill. They both arrived safely in Toronto, Canada West, in January 1856. After the Civil War James settled in Boston. See Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 202-03.

¹³⁵ The steamship, *Pennsylvania*.

appearance after him_ a moment being allowed him, to get his coat, he ~~has~~ Seized it_ fled, was persued ~~and~~ but not captured_ He then resolved to have his liberty if possible_ At this time he resided in Petersburg_ Walked from Petersburg that night ↑to Richmond↓ and there found frds_ To pass minor matt↑ers↓ it is worthy of note to state that Hill had pd. at different times \$1900- for himself. ↑Every Dols of which he was↓ ~~But as his owners were irresponsible~~ he was wronged out of, every Dols of what he had pd.

Left a wife Louisa, children_ Heseekiah Henry & Manuel. All Free. \$100_ passage was pd for H.

James is 7 yr's of age, quite a smart, & sensible boy, and is the son of Julius Anderson. with whom Heseekiah was Secreted. He is to come soon.

(2) Jan. 18th 1855

Arrived__ Geo. Walker¹³⁶, new name Austin Valentine, arrived from Petersburg per St. P.¹³⁷ Austin is about 43, 6 feet high, well built, and intelligent__ He had been owned by Eliza Jones of Petersburg. Geo. was moved to leave for the reason that he desired to be a free man, Had worked in a Tobacco Factory as the Forman__ Had been married twice__ not being allowed ↑by his owner↓ to keep his first wife by whom he had had 6 children, he was obliged to leave her & take another.

This story is thrilling but time will not allow for it to be fined¹³⁸.

Bebley Good¹³⁹ came in Company with Geo. Val. Is 24 yrs of age, dark, medium size Smart, &c Had been owned by Rich^d Perry of Petersburg

¹³⁶ After settling in Toronto, Canada West, George Walker continued to seek his wife who remained in Petersburg. See the letter in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 311-12.

¹³⁷ The steamship, *Pennsylvania*.

¹³⁸ Finished.

¹³⁹ Beverly Good had been prompted to use the underground railroad after a covert local agent had approached him. He settled with his friend, George Walker, in Toronto, Canada West. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 311-12.

Bebley left behind a Mother amnd other relatives.

Jan. 20/55

(1) Arrived_ Adam Brooks¹⁴⁰ new name W^m Smith, arrived from Hardtown, Montgomery Co, Md._ Had been owned by John Phillips. The fear of being sold was the cause of his escape. his Mother, Bro. & Sister having had to share that fate only 2 yr's previous. W^m is Small of Stature, black, of pleasant appearance, and intelligent_ According to his storry he had been hard used_ After he escaped into this state he was pursued &c.

¹⁴⁰ Further details on Adam Brooks and his settlement in Canada are contained in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 312-13.

(1) Jan. 29th 1855

Arrived_ Sheridan Ford¹⁴¹ safely arrived from Portsmouth, where he had been held by Elizabeth Brown, single woman.

Sheridan is about 28 yr's of age_ Dark molato, well built and tall_ First made the effort to escape on the 14th of last Nov._ was induced so to do to keep from being sold_ as plans were then being arranged for the sale_ The first day he passed in the woods, in prayer; ~~that~~↑at↓ night was Secreted, and remained so for 4 days_ two days suffered severly with cold hungar, thirst &c. ↑His protector got into a difficulty↓ ~~Was seen~~ ↑consequently he↓ obliged to leave the place where he was first secreted in ~~consequence of his protector~~_ after passing several mos. in his secluded state he at last found a fr'd who brought him safe here, not without a pretty handsome pecuniary consideration, however_ Of the treatment he had received, as a general thing, he did not very much complain, though,

¹⁴¹ Sheridan Ford escaped slavery in Virginia when he was secreted onboard a steamship going to Philadelphia. The Vigilance Committee helped him remove to Boston where he longed to reside. It "must be a pretty safe place for the fugitive," he said, because he had heard the slaveholders curse it so much. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 67-68. In February 1855, Sheridan sent a letter to Still from Boston seeking his urgent assistance in securing the release of his wife and child from a jail in Norfolk, Virginia. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 42-43.

To use his own language the "best of usage is ↑was↓ bad enough". he had however received a most brutal flogging ↑a while before he left by↓ being tied up_ by the ↑his↓ ha↑n↓ds of the-overseer_

He leave left a wife, behind, in Prison_ having been put there on account of the escape of her husband_ She would was to be sold. The wife had suffered very severely as a slave_ had very commonly been flogged_ had rec'd ↑a↓ cut on her head_ been starved, &c &c Her name is Julia_ and she had two children, but The-priviledge-of-the-care of-the-children-the-mother had never been allowed to-injoy_ the age 28-yr's_ priviledge of their care of-her-children

Jan. 30/55

(1)Arrived_ Sarah A, Dunagan¹⁴² arrived from Del. Said She was born free but had been ~~hired-out~~ bound out by her Mother to a man by the name of Geo. Churchman, who was cruel to her_ Having no one to care for her_, She was liable to be sold. a fate which had been threatened her, which was the cause of her escaping. She had been much abused by flogging &c age 18 yr's_ molato, medium size &c. Left her mother living in New Castle Del. Anna Eliza Kingslow alias Dunagan

Jan, 30/55

(1)Arrived Joseph Hall¹⁴³ fr. Son of Joseph Hall of Norfolk. Forwarded.

¹⁴² Although born legally free, Sarah Dunagan feared that she would never secure that freedom. Thus, she determined to flee north. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 313.

¹⁴³ Joseph Hall is briefly mentioned in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 313.

Feb. 1/55

(1)Arrived_ Isaac D. Davis¹⁴⁴ arrived_ had been away from Md. for 18 mos. according to his statement, but not feeling to be in great danger, until lately, he had stopped in West Phil^a_ had married a wife &c_ recently however he had become allarmed from hearing that his master was on pursuit_ hence his escape_ The masters name ~~was~~ Jesse Clark.

Feb. 7th 1855

(1)Arrived_ Jacob Mathias ~~Bry~~ Borye¹⁴⁵, arrived from Annapolis, where he had been owned by Richard Carman ↑(now dead)↓, Cashieer of a Bank, (~~Now dead~~)_ Jacob is about 20 yr's of age, rather below the medium Stature, dark &c._ Left on the 25th of Dec.; the fear of being Sold had prompted him to take to the U.G.R.R.

¹⁴⁴ After recognizing the peril of remaining in Philadelphia, Isaac Davis sought assistance from the Vigilance Committee, which safely forwarded him and his wife to Canada. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 313-14.

¹⁴⁵ Further details on Jacob Matthias Boyer are contained in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 314.

(1) Feb. 25th 1855
Arrived_ Zaca↑r↓iah Meads¹⁴⁶, now John Williams, arrived here, from
Md. on the 23rd inst. ~~Chescilla Owens was the owner of ZY~~ He fled
from Chescilla Owens ~~who~~ with whom he had lived for about 18 yr's,
and to whom he belonged. she ~~is a~~ had ↑was↓ ~~most~~ ↑a hard↓
Mistress_ has had ↑at one time owned↓ some time 20 slaves; all of
whom had fled but 5_ Zacariah is about 20 yr's of age_ medium size_
seems to be of well disposed turn, intelligent &c Left Farther &
Mother; his Farther being Free, but his Mother was a slave, He also
left 3 Brothers, in slavery_

¹⁴⁶ Further details on Zechariah Mead are contained in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 314.

Feb. 27/55

(1) Arrived_ Was[↑]h[↓]ington Somlor¹⁴⁷ (new name James Moore)_ arrived per "Pa."¹⁴⁸, from Norfolk. Washington is about 32 yr's of age, medium size & intelligent. He had been owned by Benj. Smith, Merchant, for about 18 mos. before leaving_ was induced to leave to keep from being sold_ his master having declared his intention so to do_ His master owned altogeather, about 25_ head_ ~~was a~~ he was a very fractious & cruel man_ on one occasion, about 2 mos. before Wash. Left, he had five of the slaves very severely "Cobed" or "padled", by ~~mak~~ causing them to be "lashed acrost a B'll."_ Whipping with cow hide, women as well as men, ~~were~~ [↑]was[↓] a common practice_ a few months ~~↑ a few months ago.~~ [↓] Since The master was pressed by his creditors, ~~and was obliged~~ [↑]which caused him to advertise[↓] ~~to sell~~ his slaves; whether he sold [↑]all[↓] or not, Wash. could

¹⁴⁷ Further details of the remarkable trials and triumphs of Washington Somlor are contained in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 304-05.

¹⁴⁸ The steamship, *Pennsylvania*.

not tell_ ↑he heard however ~~that his wife↓ Among those sold however~~
~~he learned~~ ↑after he left↓ that his wife ↑had been sold↓ ~~was one_~~ She
had a young child about 2 yr's of age_ it was given to a Neice of the
master, hence it was not permitted to go with its mother who was
bought by a North Carolinian &c.

Wash. left his owner on the 17th of June/54 and remained
secreted in Norfolk for 8 ½ ↑mos.↓ Twice he attempted to come
away_ once on the City of Richmond¹⁴⁹, and once on the "Pa". The
first time got within 60 miles of here, but in consequence of the Ice
~~was obliged to~~ the Boat was obliged to go back_ Before it ~~the Boat~~
had left ↑the first time↓ ~~the~~ ↑it↓ was Searched closely, and he was
got off ↑under the eye of↓ ~~right at the time of the search.~~ the officers
~~were in the act of Searching.~~

(1) Mar. 1st 1855

To Mrs. Hall, wife of ↑a once↓ ~~an~~ active agent on the U.G.R.R., ~~Cash~~
aid was rendered.

¹⁴⁹ A steamship.

(3) March 7th 1855

Arrived, Mary Epps¹⁵⁰, new name Emma Brown, & Joseph & Robert Robinson¹⁵¹ — Mary safely arrived, Mary from Petersburg & the other two from Richmond Va.

Mary is 45 yr's of age, dark complexion, round built, intelligent & genteel_ She had been owned by Littleton Reeves, deceased, whom she represented as having been kind to her, but her Mistress had always been very hard; being ↑of a↓ Jealous disposition She caused M. to be hired out with a hard family where she was much abused: had frequently suffered from severe flogging, been stinted for food &c. She had been the Mother of 15 children, 4 of whom had been sold away from her, one is still held in Petersburg, the others are all dead. At the sale of one of her children she ~~grieved~~ was thrown into such a state of grief that she lost her speech ↑for a month↓ in consequence thereof; Convulsions was very frequently brought on. Her husband Frances Epps, a slave also, paid \$100_ for her passage here, hoping that by sending her on head the chance

¹⁵⁰ Mary Epps was carried from Petersburg on the vessel of Captain Bayliss, a passage for which her husband paid \$100. He intended to follow her as soon as he could raise the money. She arrived in Toronto, Canada West, in March and wrote William Still of her safe journey. Once in Canada, she separated from her fellow travelers, Josephh and Robert Robinson. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 74-76.

¹⁵¹ Joseph and Robert Robinson fled enslavement in Richmond. After taking the requisite sum from his master's cash drawer, Robert was able to pay Captain Bayliss for his passage and that of his brother. By April 1855, they had arrived safely in St. Catherine's, Canada West. Sometime after their settlement there, they sent a taunting letter to their former masters in Richmond, encouraging them to come and join them in Canada but to be careful along the way. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 76-79.

for himself could the more easily be obtained.

Joseph is near 30 yr's of age, dark orange complexion, medium size, very active & intelligent, with genteel address. He had in the course of his life, been sold on the auction block 3 times, and each successive time had the misfortune to fall into the hands of a cruel master. Consequently he was denied all priviledges, Sundays or weeks ↑days↓, alike he was kept lightly or [?]. Had frequently been knocked & beaten shamefully_ He was a married man, and spoke highly of his wife though ↑when↓ ~~went~~ he left he did not feel at liberty to apprise her of his movements fearing that it would not be safe so to do. He left behind four little children to whom he seemed ardently attached. he said he stuck to them as long as he could_ Geo. E. Sadler was the man whom he was compeled to call master, he was the keeper of an oyster House. The bad treatment which he daily received was the cause of his leaving.

The name of his wife was Betsey

Robert ↑was owned by↓ Slater, the Trader. He is 22 yr's of age dark, orange Color, intelligent genteel, & good looking ↑single man↓. For eight yr's he had been employed at the Slave Prison_ His duty was to lock up the Prison, prepare the slaves for sale, ~~by~~ &c &c. A very thrilling description of the treatment of slaves, as in various ways was detailed_ The Custom of Greasing ↑&↓ other modes to brighten the slaves up for sale was also related_ Females as well as males were not uncommonly stripped naked, lashed flat to a bench and then held by 2 men_ some times 4_ whilst the Trader would flog them unmercifully with a broad leather strap_ the strap was used in the place of a cow skin, to keep from cutting the skin_ which would spoil the sale. One hundred lashes would only be a common flogging. The seperation of families was thought nothing of_ Robt. had on some occasions, been severely flogged for refusing to flogg others. He was the "Turn Key" of the Prison. Most sick↑ning↓ were the scenes by himself, as he discribed them, which he was daily obliged to witness.

(1) March 13th 1855

Arrived_ Jenkins, form Norfolk. Arrived about 4 months since_ He is about 35 years of age_ dark, intelligent &_ He went directly after leaving to New Bedford, there he meet with an accident by geting one of his hands cripled_ which disabled him from work_ Consequently he went to a friend of his, living in this City, who gave him the invitation to come on here; that he should be doctored free of charge &_ Accordingly, he came, afterwards, ~~however,~~ he had a spell of sicking[?] &c. J.C.W. & W.S. being fully satisfied of the correctness of his story sent him off.

(2)Arrived_

_____ Sam'l Nixion¹⁵², new name Thos. Bayne. safely arrived_ in company with Henry Baker ↑now Chas. Lightfoot↓_ both from Norfolk. Sam'l had followed the profession of Dentistry in the service of Dr. C.F. Martin who owned him As a workman he had gained a good reputation and attended too the principle part of the mechanical department of his master's large business. Often was allowed to go off at a distance to fulfill his masters engagements_ The business being worth \$3000_ a year , Sam'l thought that he had been worth at least \$1000_ a year to the master_ As he could read, write cipher well, and had often to attend to the Books, he concluded that his estimate was by no means exaggerated.

In stature he is rather below the medium size, complexion quite dark, intelligent face, ready talker & of quick motion, age 31_ Left a wife, Edna, daughter, Elizabeth_ both slaves to E.P. Tabb, hardware Merchant of Norfolk_ He was

¹⁵² William Still offers significant additional information on Sam Nixon, or Dr. Thomas Bayne as he newly called himself, in *Underground Rail Road*, 254-59. Bayne was an accomplished dentist in Norfolk and had stated to Abigail Goodwin, a Quaker conductor who briefly housed Bayne in Salem, New Jersey, that "nobody can make a better set of teeth than he can." Bayne was an active member of the underground railroad in Norfolk and forwarded a number of individuals to Philadelphia. He determined to leave Norfolk in part because he was certain local slaveholders were increasingly suspicious of him. The Vigilance Committee strongly encouraged Bayne to seek safety in Canada, but he doubted that it would afford the level of opportunity he sought for himself. By mid-1855 he chose instead to settle in New Bedford, Massachusetts, where he believed his dentistry practice would flourish—and indeed it did. As black men could vote in Massachusetts, Bayne became an ardent citizen and within four years was elected to the City Council. He was also an outspoken advocate of temperance and regularly participated in antislavery meetings. He constantly pursued further medical and dental education and received numerous professional texts by the mail from Still. With the conclusion of the Civil War, Bayne returned to Norfolk, where he ran for a seat in Congress and was only barely defeated.

not at liberty to make known to his wife that he was about to leave_ so he left by stealth altogether.

Many Sam'l had helped to gain their freedom, ere he sought his own_ The cause of his availing himself of the present opportunity was induced through the fear that he would be arrested if he remained_ Several times he had been sold on the Block_ especially in his young↑er↓ days had known the smart of the severest abuse.

(1) Ap. 27/55

Arrived_ John Hall¹⁵³ arrived Safely from Richmond, per Sch_ Cap. B.¹⁵⁴ _ was ↑owned by↓ James Sep Dunlop_ Merchant_ Had been several times sold, ~~but still does not complain~~ had therefore some knowledge & experience of hard usage_ especially ~~by one of~~ was he cruelly used one of his ~~own~~ owners by the name of Burke_ John & a sister, when young, where sold away by Burke from

¹⁵³ John Hall—of very light complexion—determined to flee enslavement in Richmond in concert with an Irish woman, Mary Weaver, with whom he had fallen in love and desired to marry. John left first and soon arrived in Hamilton, Canada West. Mary arrived a number of months later with assistance from the underground railroad. Within a matter of days, they were married. Hall continued to write letters to William Still seeking his help in bringing other enslaved friends out of Virginia. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 250-54.

¹⁵⁴ Captain Bayliss was a ship captain who carried innumerable fugitives to freedom from Richmond and Norfolk, Virginia. He routinely charged for the service, often commanding as much as \$100 per passenger. See Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 74-75 and "Second Letter" in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 252.

their Mother, and he never saw either of them afterwards_ he being sold one way and his sister another_ For the last 3 or 4 years he had it in his head to seek his liberty_ Being "imposed upon an not have↑ing↓ his "own choice about" his "living"_ as he desired to do, was the cause of his escape_ He is about 35, yellow_ fine looking intelligent, genteel & well made & tall. Worth \$1000_ at least His owner held at that_ Paid \$100_ for his Passage, besides other Expences_

(1) May 14/55
Arrived_ Emory Roberts¹⁵⁵, now Fred^k W^m Kemp, arrived safely from Prestkeal¹⁵⁶, Talbot Co_ Md. where he had been owned by Ed. Lloyd_ From his Master he said he had received very bad treatment_ ~~Had~~ frequently the master was in the habit of using the lash on his slaves of whom he owned_ Emory thinks, over 500_ As for food the slaves were kept constantly

¹⁵⁵ Further details on Emory Roberts are contained in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 306.

¹⁵⁶ Near the Wye River in Eastern Shore Maryland, "Presqu'île" was a large mansion in Talbot County which Colonel Edward Lloyd V, Maryland's wealthiest and largest slaveholder in the early nineteenth century, had built for his son, James Murray Lloyd.

stinted.____ Emory was caused to leave to save himself from a threatened flogging which his master had designed to administer to him on the coming Monday.

℞ Emory left a wife, Mary, who hired off on another place____ had a mother living____ also a Brother & sister____ W^m Richardson & Rose Richardson

(1) May 24/55

Arrived____ David Payne¹⁵⁷ arrived from Richmond, Va. was advanced in yrs____ unwell and &c. Was known by M.W. Morris____ Had been sick for a few mo. in this city.

¹⁵⁷ Daniel Payne, an elderly and infirm man, was aided by the Vigilance Committee on his way to Canada. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 306.

June 1/55

Arried_ (3) Harriet Mayo¹⁵⁸, John Judah¹⁵⁹, Richard Bradley¹⁶⁰ all came from Va_ H from Petersburg, and the other two from Richmond_

Harriet is 22, tall, well made, intelligent &c and had been owned by James Cuffbert_ ower of two more the hard man_ his wife still worse. H. had once been sold_ Through life has been treated kindly for a slave_ She left her mother, Loisz Christopher, three Bros., Jos. Mayo, Aaron & Richd. They aided her in making her escape.

John is about 32_ molato good looking_ well dressed, genteel, & intelligence_ Had been own↑d by↓ Miss Eliza Lambert_ ~~By her~~ ↑who↓ hired ↑him↓ out for \$110_ per year_ His mistress was hard_ In hiring ~~out~~ John_ she care only for the money_ nothing about how he fared

¹⁵⁸ Although the entry above on Harriet Mayo indicates tha "through life has been treated kindly for a slave," William Still wrote in his book that she actually "spoke with feelings of much bitterness against her master" who was a "very hard man" and his wife who "was still worse." However, she did also recall "having been treated kindly a part of her life." Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 306-07.

¹⁵⁹ John Judah "was fond of nice clothing" and worked very hard to procure the funds to buy them. He was married to a free black woman who eventually followed him to Canada. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 307.

¹⁶⁰ Further details concerning Richard Bradley are contained in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 307.

of the abuses of slavery he had seen much but had not felt ~~the~~ it himself. Left a free wife_ Nancy Judah_ She was privy to his leaving and will come on_ Left Farther & Bro. and half a doz. Sisters all free.

Rich^d is about 27_ black well made good looking intelligent &c Had been owned by Saml Ball_ very hard man_ would give his servants no chances what ever_ He had long had the idea of escape in his head_ wanted to shun the cruelty which was his lot in Bondage. Left a wife belonging to W^m Bolden_ her name was Emily_ she was not apprised of the fact of ~~his~~ her husbands leaving

The above three are all valuable_ Harriet had been sold for 850_ Brought by Cap. B.

June 2/55

Arrived_ (4) James Crummill, Sam'l Jones, Tolburt Jones & Henry Howard¹⁶¹_ arrived safely from Ladies Manor_ Havorford Co. Md. James had been owned by W^m Hutchins, so had Saml. & Tolbert belonged to the same Master. Hutchins, they said ~~their owner~~ was a very hard master, froliccing &c. Henry had been owned by Phillip Garrison_ Lived Hutchins Farm. Since the death "of the old master he had seen ruff usage_ Had¹is master had¹ been threatened to sell him south frequently.

All of th 4 are of medium size, quite above average in point of intilect, and seem ~~intell~~ to be of sobour temper^ament. ~~Letf~~ Left on Wis¹⁶²

James M Crummill left a wife, free, named Charllotte_ She was privey to her husbands leaving.

¹⁶¹ These four men and their escape are briefly detailed in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 307-08.

¹⁶² Probably a reference to Whitsunday, the day celebrating the Pentecost, or Whitsuntide, the week following Whitsunday.

(1) June 2/55

Arrived_ Lewis Chiles¹⁶³ arrived per Sch. From Richmond_ Brought by Cap._ Had been owned by Lewis Hill_ His business was to hire out servants_ Lewis Chiles is stout, 6 ft high_ fine look dark chesnut color intelligent &c. Had been used pretty well with the exception of having been sold several times. He left on the 23rd of Ap. and had been meeting with obstructions up to Last Sunday night. Paid \$25_ for his passage. Left a wife, Louisa_ slave_ knews nothing of her husbands intentions of leaving.

¹⁶³ An underground railroad agent in Richmond alerted Lewis Giles to the availability of space on a schooner departing the city, and he availed himself of it. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 308.

June 11/55

Arrived_(4) David Bennett¹⁶⁴, new name Henry Washington, and wife Ma↑r↓tha¹⁶⁵, & their two children_ oldest, Geo., youngest 1 month old without a name._ From Lowdon Co. Aldee P.O. Had been owned by Capt. James Taylor his wife was owned by Geo. Carter.

The wife's master was the owner of only two_ but a most brutal man. Flogging Females when stripped naked was common with him_ Martha had been stripped and flogged shamefully after her marriage. David is about 32, his wife about 27, two young children. All hail and "likely" &c

¹⁶⁴ Further brief details on Daniel Bennett are provided in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 308-09.

¹⁶⁵ The brutality to which Martha was subjected is highlighted in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 308-07.

June 19/55

Arrived_(2) Henry Washington¹⁶⁶ new name Anthony Henley_ safely arrived from Norfolk where he had been held by Seth March; a mild tempered man. Was excessively close, in money matters however_ Allowing Henry only \$1.50 a week to pay his board and find his clothes_ for ~~th~~ his wife therefore he could do nothing ~~for~~. Henry is turned of 50_ dark, intelligent well made &c. Left a wife, named Polly._ Henry left ~~to~~ purely because he was allowed no priviledge to do any thing for his wife. Had not been treated very ruffly.

Henry Stewart¹⁶⁷ also came in company with the above named individuals He left Plymouth N.C. ~~left~~ about a week since_ Is 23 yrs of age dark, very intelligent and active, and had been hired out

¹⁶⁶ Despite the pain of leaving his wife, Henry Washington fled slavery in Norfolk and eventually settled in St. Catherines, Canada West. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 260-61.

¹⁶⁷ After arriving in Norfolk with a pass he had procured, Henry Stewart contacted a local agent of the underground railroad who helped him travel to Philadelphia. From there, he accompanied Henry Washington to Canada. Further details of this young man's life are contained in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 261-62.

for \$182_ Dols. per year_ would bring in the Market \$1500_ Had been owned by James Monroe Woodhouse, Farmer a moderate man_ didnt flog, but would not give a slave a cent of money, s↑c↓arcely, upon any consideration He left a wife, Martha Bell, and two children, Mary Ann & Susan Jane_ He ~~was-obliged~~ thought it most prudent not to tell his wife of his designs to escape. Had procured a pass to go to Norfolk, for a week.

(5) June 22/55

Arrived W^m Nelson¹⁶⁸ and Susan his wife¹⁶⁹, and his son W^m Thomas; also Louisa Bell¹⁷⁰ & Elias Jasper¹⁷¹, all arrived from Norfolk, per Capt. B.

W^m is about 40, dark chesnut, medium size, very intelligent_ member of the Methodist Church, under the charge of the Rev. Mr. Jones. His owner's name was Turner & Whitehead_ ~~wh~~ with whom he had served for 20 yr's in the capacity of "Packer". He had been treated with mildness in some respects_ though had been very tightly worked_ allowed only \$1.50 per week to board ↑& clothe↓ himself and family upon_ Consequently he was obliged to make up the balance as he could. Had been sold over. one sister had been sold also. He was prompted to escape because he wanted his liberty_ was not satisfied with not having the ~~h~~ privilege of providing for his family, His value \$1000_ Paid \$240_ for himself, wife & child & Mrs Bell.

Susan is about 30, dark, rather above medium size, well made

¹⁶⁸ William Nelson was a deeply religious man despite the pro-slavery orientation of the southern Methodist Church. He settled with his wife, Susan Bell, and child, William Thomas, in St. Catherines, Canada West, and there changed his name to Thomas Russell. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 262-63.

¹⁶⁹ Susan Bell settled in St. Catherines, Canada West, with her husband and child. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 263-64.

¹⁷⁰ Further details on Louisa Bell are contained in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 264-65. She settled in St. Catherines, Canada West, where she found good employment.

¹⁷¹ Further details on Elias Jasper are contained in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 265.

good looking, intelligent &c, and a member of the same church to which her husband belonged_ Was owned by Thos. Bottimore with whom she had lived for 7 yr's_ Her treatment ~~had been~~ a part of the time had been mild_ the marriage of her master however made a change_ after ward she had been treated badly_ Her master to gratify his wife constantly threatening to sell her. 4 of her Sisters had been sold away to parts unknown years ago. Left Father & mother, 3 Brothers & one sister. Still in Verginia_ living about 100 miles from Norfolk. \$1000 was the demand of the owner for Susan & her child 22 mos. old.

Louisa Bell is the wife of a free man. is about 28 chesnut color good looking_ intelligent, genteel, and a member of no church. Was owned ~~Stassen~~ by L. Stasson, Confectioner_ He lot had been terrible on account of the continual threats to sell her. Had once been sold_ had also had 5 sisters sold besides her Mother. Th Louisa was oblige to leave

two of her children behind_ a boy 6 yrs & a girl 2 ½ yrs_ the boys names was Robt. & the girls Mary. Her husband, James Bell is to come on.

Elias Jasper is about 32 yrs, ~~about~~ dark, well featured, very gifted with his tounge & hands_ had worked at the following trades_ Rope making, Carpentering, Engineering, ↑Chair making↓ Painting, Mechanist & ~~De~~ Degaurreotyp↑ing,↓ at which calling he was ~~employ~~ employed when he left. For several yrs he had been in the habit of hiring his time for which he had paid \$10. per month_ In learning the above trades ~~so~~ he was obliged to gain the insight by his own ingenuity_ paying occasionally for a lesson. His Master's Bayham, a retired gentleman_ Had been sold once Had suffered by various exposures, by flogging, ~~envy~~, &c. Left a wife, Mary, but no child. Was not at liberty to inform her of his scheme to leave. She is owned ↑by↓ ~~Mrs~~ the Miss. Portlock's_ Has been used tolerable well_ pays \$55_ per year_, washes &c.

He is a member of the Methodist Ch. Often heard his ~~m~~↑P↓aster
preach up obedience to the slaves_ Value \$1200_

(1) June 23/55

Mrs. Maria Joiner¹⁷², arrived per Capt. F., is 33 yr's of age, molato, a
fine hearty looking, and intelligent woman_ Left__ her husband, and
one Sister. The name of her husband was Peter Joiner_ the Sister,
Ann_ Had not been badly treated until lately, after the death of the old
master_ when she fell into the hands of his daughter who drank and
was very abuseful_ using great violence_ For this she was induced to
leave_ For 8 mos she was kept in private quarters where she suffered
severely from cold &c. Owner, Catherine Gordon Value \$800_

¹⁷² Maria Joiner was carried to Philadelphia on the steamship of Captain Fountain where she was stowed away very uncomfortably. For fear of being discovered, she alerted neither her husband nor her sister about her plans. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 265-66.

June 29th 1855

Arrived_(2) Rich^d Green ↑new name W^m Smith↓ & his Bro. Geo.¹⁷³ arrived from Baltimore where they had been owned by Geo. Chambers. Rich^d is about 25_ his Bro. Geo. 23_ both are well made, rather tall, dark chesnut & color, & intelligente They were caused to escape because they had been denied the priviledge of going to visit their Parents any more.

The master, about 30 yrs ago, when living in Cabot Co. released Dina ↑to her husband↓, (the mother of those boys_) of all claim, and gave her writings signed, & witnessed by his wifes mother, Mary Ann Meed. The masters motives in releasing her however ~~for~~ was merely to get out of [m?] her; Dina being in misrable health with no signs of recovery was a fit subject in the master's opinion to Set free. He was particular to give the paper of release ~~to~~ So in case the law should require

¹⁷³ Further details of the life of Richard and George Green and the travails of their mother to protect them from her former owner are recounted in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 266-68.

him to look after her he would be prepared for his defence.

Dinna was then the wife of a slave by the name of Jacob Green_ then owned by Nathan Childs for a term of years only_ after the Farther's times expired, he moved with his wife, Dinna, to Baltimore_ where her health, in the course of a few yrs improved, and she became the mother of another child, boy. The boy grew finely in the hands of his parents, unmolested, until a little over a year ago when her old master got wind of the existence of the child_ (having himself moved to Baltimore with his slaves_) and very slyly to approach the house taking Geo. with him. He was no sooner in before he wished to know of Dinna whose child was this, ~~fe~~ pointing to the little boy_ ask Jacob was the reply of the mother, the question was then put to the Father, to which he replied: I did not think that you would request any thing like that of him_ he had the priviledge of

Any one he pleased in his house_ "where is he from" inquired the master_ "I have a right to have who I please in my house. I ~~He is mine~~ replied the Father_ I am my own man &c: "W replied the slave hunter, I found out whose it is presently I am going to take it home with me seizing the little fellow, at the same time ordering Dinna to put ~~its~~ ↑his↓ clothes on, The father by this time had also seized ~~the boy~~ his son, and told the slave holder to take not in that he was not in the country pulling an hauling people about &c. "I will have him or leave my heart blood in the house, was the savage answer of the monster_ He also threatened to shoot the Father_ In the mids of the excitement Geo. called in two officers to settle the difficulty_ He officers inquired of the slaveholder ↑to know↓ what he was doing there_ "I am after my rights, ~~ans'ed the he answered~~ this boy" ans^d the master_ Have you ever seen it inquired the officers_ No, said the the master_ How

do you know he belongs to you then"? I believe he is mine" said the savage. All ~~they~~ were then taken before an alderman, ~~Before the alderman~~ The Father owned the child but the mother did not_ The child was then given to its Father_ The master then thought he would gain some satisfaction at least, then claimed the mother; proceedings being thrown in Court nearly 1 year transpired before ~~it~~ the trial was concluded. Happily, however, by the mothers having carefully preserved ~~her her~~ the release given her, the Court pronounced her free, about two mos. since

July 18/55

(1)

Arrived_ Henry Crummell¹⁷⁴ arrived from Baltimore Co.,
Goughingstown, Md. Had been owned by W^m Roberts, Farmer, and
hard master. Had 7 others_ all young_ Henry left on last Saturday
night_ Walked to Harrisburg, from thence came on the Burthen train.

— Henry is six feet high, black, 25 years of age face rather inclined
to long and spair. Left no wife, nor parā↑e↓nts, nor Brothers & sisters_

July 30/55

(1)

Arrived_ Henry Bohm¹⁷⁵ arrived from Va_ near Norfolk. About 25 yrs
of age_ Stout built, dark &c.

¹⁷⁴ The escape of Henry Cromwell is briefly recounted in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 268.

¹⁷⁵ The sparse details of the flight of Henry Bohm are recounted in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 268.

‡ Aug. 1st 1855

Arrived_ (8) Ralph Whiting¹⁷⁶, James H. Forman¹⁷⁷, Anthony Atkinson¹⁷⁸, Auther James¹⁷⁹, Isaiah Nixon¹⁸⁰ Jos. Harris¹⁸¹, John Morris¹⁸² & Henry Hodges¹⁸³. arrived from Norfolk Va.

Ralf is about 26 yrs of age, 5 ft 10 ins high, dark, well made, intelligent and a member of the Methodist Ch. Geo. W Kemp claimed him as his property He was a moderate man; and was cashier of the Exchange Bank. He left a wife, slave owned by Mr Weston. Her name is Lydia. Left 2 children EAnna Eliza & Cornelius.

James is 23, dark molato- fine looking, w near 6 feet high. Was owed or held held by James Saunders. Left for freedom sake_ and to Keep ~~by~~ from being sold. Left two Sisters_ besides his Parents.

¹⁷⁶ The details of the life and flight of Ralph Whiting are repeated in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 269.

¹⁷⁷ The details of the life and flight of James Forman are repeated in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 269-70. Forman settled in Niagara Falls, Canada West, and by early July 1856 his betrothed, Mariah Moore, arrived in Niagara Falls. They were married on the 22nd of the month.

¹⁷⁸ Anthony fled Norfolk in the close quarters of a ship's hold. He settled in Canada. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 270.

¹⁷⁹ The brief details of the life and flight of Arthur Jones are repeated in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 270.

¹⁸⁰ The life and flight of Isaiah Nixon are briefly recounted in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 270.

¹⁸¹ The life and flight of Joseph Harris are briefly recounted in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 270.

¹⁸² John Morris suffered horribly during the seven months he was secreted, waiting for the right moment to flee. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 271.

¹⁸³ Henry Hodges was enslaved in Plymouth County, North Carolina, by the same man, Samuel Simmons, as Isaiah Nixon. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 271.

Anthony is about 36, Dark molato, near 6 ft high, well made, genteel, intelligent &c. Was owned by Josiah Weles of Norfolk._ Left because he wanted his freedom. Left a wife_ no children. Father & one sister & two Bros. A. had been sold three times.

Auther is 41, 6 ft high, [we]ll made, chesnut color, & intelligent. He was owned by John Jones, Farmer, & of moderate temporement. "I wanted my liberty, said Auther," was the cause of my leaving. Left mother, two sisters & 3 Bros_ all slaves.

Isaiah is about 22, Black, smart small &c. He was owned by Sam. S. Simmons_ ↑a↓ very hard Master. He left on account of bad treatment, Left a mother & 3 Bros, all slaves,

Joseph is 23 yrs of age, dark well made, sizable, & intelligent. Left David Morris, moderate man. The ~~de~~ want of liberty caused J. to escape.

Left Parents, 3 Bros. & two sisters. Henry left s. Simmons of Plymouth, N.C. He is 23 yrs of age well made &c

[John] is 21 yr's of age, about 5 feet [*i*]ns. [Editor's Note: number of inches is completely covered by ink blot] dark, &c He had been secreted for 7 mos.

Was owned by Ed. Bloomer. His master was disposed to sell him_ this caused him to leave

Left mother, 1 sister & two Bros. all in Norfolk & Portsmouth.

Henry W^m Hodges is about 25 from N.C.

August 2nd /55

Arrived, (2) Robert Jones & wife¹⁸⁴ arrived from Petersburg, Va. R. is about 35, chesnut color, medium size, genteele & intelligent, and had been owned by Thomas N. Lee, a very hard man. Left because he wanted his liberty_ always had from a boy ~~wanted his freedom~~_ Eliza is about 40 yrs of age. chesnut color, nice looking, well dressed &c. she belonged to Eliza H. Riche, who was called moderate woman.

Aug 4/55

Arrived_ ↑(1)↓ Rebecca Hall¹⁸⁵, (old name Louisa Harding) R. is 17 yrs of age, molato, nice looking, & seems to be a Smart girl_. Left because she wanted to be free. Had been owned by Lawer Magill

¹⁸⁴ The life and flight of Robert Jones and his wife, Eliza, to Philadelphia and then to Hamilton, Canada West, are recounted in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 271-72. Once in Canada, Robert became an active correspondent with William Still and described his various efforts to improve himself and the conditions of the fugitives in Canada. In one letter, he detailed how he had created a military company among the local black men and secured the Governor General of Canada West's sanction for it. It was designated Queen Victoria's Rifle Guards.

¹⁸⁵ The life and flight of Rebecca Hall are briefly recounted in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 289.

of Baltimore. Left Mother & 1 Bro. (Moses Harding)_ the mother was free but the Bro. was not.

(1) Arrived_ John Mackintosh¹⁸⁶, arrived from DariAnn¹⁸⁷ Georgia was owned by Thos Mackintosh. John is 44_ had had a hard times

(1) Aug. 7/55

Arrived_ Chas. Hickman, (new name Robinson) & Geo. Houston both safely arrived from Indian River, Del. Left_ Chas., Henry Hickman & Isaac Houston_ Farmers. Chas. & Geo. were both single. About 6 feet high very aethlethic and stout made_ chesnut color &c

¹⁸⁶ John Mackintosh is briefly mentioned in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 289.

¹⁸⁷ Darien, Georgia.

(1) Aug. 14/55

Arrived_ Marria Jane Houston¹⁸⁸, arrived from Cantwells Bridge Del. She is about 21 yr's, tall, dark & well made. Lawfully she was entitled to her freedom at the age of 21, but was about to be cheated out of it.

Aug. 15/55

(1)

Arrived_ Miles Hooper¹⁸⁹ safely reached here from N.C. (Federal)_ Fled from Chas. Montigue, ~~Farmer~~ of the ab. named place. Miles is about 23 yr's of age, dark, not stout, intelligent &c. _ His owner was a hard master. Left parents, living_ also Bros. & sisters_ all scattered_

(1) Saml Miles¹⁹⁰ (new name Robt. King) left Henry Miles, Revels Neck, Summersett Co. Md. The

¹⁸⁸ The life of Maria Jane Houston is briefly recounted in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 289.

¹⁸⁹ The life and flight of Miles Hooper are recounted in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 290.

¹⁹⁰ Samuel Miles fled successfully to Philadelphia and then to St. Catherines, Canada West, where he settled. In late August 1855, he wrote William Still about assisting his wife and child to his refuge in Canada. They were both free. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 290.

master had been a fractious man_ hard to please &c._ saml is about 31 yr's. of age, well made, dark, sensible &c. Left because he was denied the liberty of visiting his wife, besides allowed no liberties of any kind. Left a wife, Sarah Miles, one child, Littleton Henry. Free.
(1)

James Hinson¹⁹¹ new name David Coldwell, Left Cecil Co. Md. a week ago., where he had been owened by Joel Brown, last owner was Jacob Johnson. James was entited to his freedom at the age of 28 ~~yr~~ but his owner had kept him out of it.

He is about 32, well made, intelligent, and gives evidence of possessing much determination of mi↑n↓d.

Left a wife & child, both Free.

¹⁹¹ The details of the life and flight of James Henson are contained in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 291.

(1) Aug. 16/55

Arrived_ Laura Lewis¹⁹² arrived from ~~Ky.~~ Louisville Ky. had been owned by a widow lady, Mrs. Lewis, who died last March leaving her property to be divided amongst her heirs_ Consequently Laura with the rest of the slaves were all to be sold. To keep from being sold was what caused her to escape.

Laura is about 25 yrs of age, of portly stature, molato, intelligent & prepossessing. Certainly has been a highly favoured Slave_ Several times had been North with her Mrs. &c. Left behind her mother Bro. & sister, living at Louisville

¹⁹² The life and flight of Laura Lewis are recounted in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 291.

(1) Aug. 17/55
Arrived_ Elizabeth Banks¹⁹³ came from near Easton Md. Left about 2 ½ yr's ago. Was owned by James Tomlinson. Until recently Elizabeth had felt herself Secure, but ~~present indications~~ a few days ago being informed that her owner ↑was↓ were in persuit she became alarmed & anxious to leave for Canada.

She is about 25 yr's of age dark, spair built &c.

(1) Aug. 29/55
Arrived_ Simon Hill¹⁹⁴ reached here from Va._ Is about 25 yrs of age_ dark, modest in his manners and seemed to be intelligent. Left because he was badly treated.

¹⁹³ Elizabeth Banks actually fled enslavement two and a half years earlier and was living in Pennsylvania. Alarmed by reports that her owner was stalking her, she sought help from the Vigilance Committee and was forwarded to Canada. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 291.

¹⁹⁴ The Vigilance Committee helped Simon Hill go to Canada. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 291.

Aug. 30/55

(1)

Arrived, Frances Hilliard¹⁹⁵, arrived safely_ from Richmond Va. Had been owned by Beverly Blair, of Richmond. was hired out by ~~him~~ a Mr. Green for \$70_ a yr. Her Clothes ~~and~~ house rent & food he had to find herself_ her time she had hired herself. Had been used well. Had been sold 4 times in her life. The cause of her being first sold was owing to the failure of her master. The other times ~~were~~ She was in the hands of the Traders. sold from one to another

Frances was designed by the traders to be sold for a "fancy Gale"; was dresed handsomely &c. but Frances had to much regard for her husband to consent to ~~te~~ suffer herself to ~~te~~ comply with they base demands

¹⁹⁵ Frances Hilliard was secreted on a steamer departing Richmond by one of the black laborers on the vessel. Upon leaving Philadelphia, she went to Toronto, Canada West, in search of her husband. In a letter she wrote to William Still, she indicated that she was unable to go to him until Still sent her money that she was due from a Mr. Swan. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 288-89.

She is about 29_ orange coltor, very intelligent, can read, &c.

Her husband fled last Sep. he escaped from Tait's Jail through the assistance of his wife.

Left her mother, Sarah Corbin Sister Maria,

(2) Aug. 31/55

Arrived_ Geo. Williams¹⁹⁶ reached here safely. Came from St. Louis, where he had been owned by Isaac Hill, Planter. Left because he was used badly by his Mistress. He is about 22 yrs of age,

Chas. Holladay¹⁹⁷ came from Baltimore, owned by Mr. F. Smith. Has seen pretty rough times. Is about 22 yrs of age_ Had only about 1 ½ yr to remain_

¹⁹⁶ George Williams encountered Charles Holladay on the road as they were both fleeing enslavement. Further details about Williams are contained in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 293.

¹⁹⁷ Charles Holladay walked from Baltimore to freedom in Philadelphia. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 293.

(2) Sep. 7/55

Arrived_ Geo Anthony & Albert Brown¹⁹⁸ (Bros.) from Tanners Creek, within 5 miles of Norfolk. They had belonged to John & Henry Holland, oysterman_ poor men.

They had much fault to find with their treatment_ Their owners being hard & profane men who could never be satisfied_ The plan they adopted to escape were as follows_ They took one of the small oyster Boats (sale boat) having prevailed upon two other fr'ds to accompany them, and thus sale themselves away_ Coming ~~within~~ about 25 miles this side of Baltimore. There they landed not, knowing the danger of that locality_ fortunately however they persued on and succeeded in safely reaching this place. Brave men.

Anthony is 29, Albert 27 yrs of age. Both smart & intelligent.

¹⁹⁸ Brothers Anthony and Albert Brown settled in Hamilton, Canada West, soon after leaving Philadelphia. They found employment in local hotels. They wrote regularly to William Still and especially sought information on their wives back in Virginia. Apparently, by June 1856, Anthony's wife, Alexenia, had arrived in Philadelphia and he was very anxious for her to be forwarded safely to him in Canada. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 291-93.

Both left their wife, free. Anthony's is named Alexenia Albert's, Ellen.
both live in Norfolk

(1) Sep. 26/55
W^m Govan¹⁹⁹, arrived (per C.B.) from Petersburg where he had been
owned by Mark Davis, a gentleman retired_ had been a Negro Trader.
W^m is about 33 yrs of age, bright orange color. Left purely because he
naturally desired his freedom. In Stature he is medium size, well
made & fine look, & intelligent Valued at \$1000.

(10) Ten arrived and were care for during the two last weeks in Sept.
while one of the corn^{er} [?] was on a visit to Canada.
Oct 1/55

¹⁹⁹ William Govan escaped enslavement in Petersburg, Virginia on the schooner of Captain Bayliss. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 293-94.

(2)

Mary Jane Freeman & Emily Clark, from Md_ were attended to tickets furnished at Kimberton

(1) oct. 6/55

John Williams of Maryland reached here last evening. He is about 25 yr's of age, smart and intelligent.

(1) Oct. 7th/55

Arrived Saml Sparrow²⁰⁰ (Peter Matthews old ~~name~~ ↑name↓) arrived from Virginia_ He is about 35 yr's of age, dark, well made and intelligent. He belonged to W^m S. Mathews of Oak Hall near Temperanceville._ The master was not a hard man, but the man to whom Sam'l was hired was a very cruel man_ "I might as well been in the Penitentiary", said he. His name was Geo. Matthews.

Sam'l was ↑forced↓ ~~prevented~~ to leave his wife_ not being permitted to see ↑her↓ on account of his employer.

²⁰⁰ Further details of the flight of Samuel Sparrows are contained in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 295-96.

Two weeks before he left he attempted to flog Sam'l, got his Gun and threatened to shoot him_ daring him to open his mouth and said he would put the whole load in him, also he took out a large dirk knife & attempted to stab him, but Saml managed to keep out of his way_ This outrage was brought on in consequence of an unruly ox having broke into a truck patch, which on being turned out ~~was~~ received some chastisement from the vexed servant. The slave however rec'd a pretty severe cudgeling ~~at~~ from the infureated master. This outrage put the spirit of liberty very deeply in the bondman_ Consequently the next Sunday, he with \$4_ in cash, ~~but~~ \$1_ of which he paid for an old Pistol, he bid farewell to ill usage, working night & day, wife, Bros. & sisters, and started for Canada_ on the way

about 200 miles from home he was discovered by a man whom he had once lived with_ who give chase supposing that he was runing off as doubtless. Many other interesting incidents might be related if time would admit._ In the market he would bring \$1000_

(1) Oct. 24th/55

Franklin Wilson_ F. left Smyrna Del. a few days Since. He is about 18 yrs. of age_ orange Color, good looking and Smart. Had been owned by Dr W^m Daniels.

Oct. 25/55

(1) "Bill Paul" alias James Bowlegs²⁰¹ Bowleg is a stout young man weighing about 180; sound built, and of uncommon muscular strength: complexion light brown. Quite intelligent. He was born a Slave in the state of Georgia, Ogletop Co. where he was owned D^r by D^r Thomas Stephens_ of Lexington. His Mother,

²⁰¹ Twenty-six years old when he fled successfully from the Charleston, South Carolina region, James Bow-Legs had dedicated the greater part of the preceding six years to escaping and challenging slaveholders. His father was a full-blooded Native American and his mother was a full-blooded African. James was noted for his inordinate physical strength. Unable to read and write, James possessed an extraordinary memory that aided him in his numerous escape attempts. He was also an excellent carpenter and cobbler. Although owners and magistrates often attempted to sell the unruly James, he was fearless before whites and many potential buyers found him too assertive and threatening. By 1855, he had finally made his way to Canada where he often recounted his narratives to rapt audiences. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 240-42.

Dicy was

Dec. 11

(2) Arrived Delia Cornish ~~from~~ and Henrietta, her Daughter from the Eastern Shore of md.

Sam'l Green_

Persued after having been in this state for nine years; and after having purchased himself a house & lot was obliged to escape from Hestonville

[Blank]

[Blank]

[Blank]

1855 (1)

207

Oct. 31st Margaret Jones_ Mrs. Jones came from Baltimore_ where she had been held in bondage though not as tighly oppressed as some.
(1)

Oct. 31st W^m Edwards_ W^m came from Alexander. He He is about 22 yrs of age_ dark, good looking and intelligent.

(6) Nov. 8/55 **(Cut)** 11 head in carriages)
Arrived_ Harriet Shepherd²⁰² of America Co. Md. arrived with her 5 children, as follows: Anna Maria, Edwin, Eliza, Jane, Mary Amanda & John Henry; all hail looking. Her husband, who lived near Chestertown, was left behind.

Harriet left because she did not receive kind treatment from her Mistress, besides her Master's Farther was a "Georgia Trader", and she was fearful of falling into his hands.

To facilitate their flight the mother

²⁰² Because of her audacity in fleeing with so many children in their master's carriage, Harriet and her children and companions were closely pursued. She was promptly assisted by Thomas Garrett, the indefatigable Quaker conductor in Wilmington, Delaware. He forwarded them safely to underground stations in southeastern Pennsylvania, from which they ultimately arrived in Philadelphia. Once there, the Vigilance Committee wasted no time in placing them on safe trains for Canada. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 39-40, 302-03.

with her children, with 5 others helped themselves to their masters horses & carriages (two carriages) and so came – rode into Wilmington, and from thence, after leaving the carriages, were sent on a by way. They↑ir↓ opportunities for improvement had not been favourable, evidently_ as ~~was the clearly evidenced by~~ their manners and ways indicated.

Nov. 12/55

(1) Henry Jones_ arrived from Md_is about 19 yr's of age dark Sambo, Dull in his manners, large of his age &c sent to N.Y.

Nov. 15/55

(1) Arrived_ Catherine Pitts, arrived from Berlin, Md, where she was owned by John Pitts who was a hard master and had always used her bad which was the cause of her escape. She is small of stature & quite dark.

Nov. 17/55

Arrived_ (2) Oliver Purnell²⁰³ & Isaac Fidget²⁰⁴, both from Berlin Md. Had been held by the follow owners: Oliver by Moses Purnell, Farmer, who was tolerable moderate, Slaveholder, but fractious sometimes _ Oliver left because he wanted the earnings of his own hands_ He is about 26, chesnut color_, intelligent and well made_ Left his Parents, 2 Bros. & three sisters, all slaves and owned by the Same man that he fled from.

Isaac is about 30 yrs of age, dark, of ordinary intelligence &c He left hoping to find his wife who left last Spring, since which time she has not been heard ~~of~~ since of_ He was owned by Henry Fitget, a lady, she wus ~~een~~ considered kind_ used her slaves as well as the most of slave owners are accustomed to do

²⁰³ Further details of the life of Oliver Purnell in slavery are contained in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 342.

²⁰⁴ Further details on Isaac Fidget are contained in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 342-43.

Nov. 20/55

(21) at one arrival_ arrived from Norfolk, per Cap. F.²⁰⁵, the following passengers_ Allan Tatam²⁰⁶, Daniel Car²⁰⁷, Michael Vaughn²⁰⁸, Thos. Nixon²⁰⁹_ Fredrick Nixon²¹⁰, Peter Petty²¹¹, Nathaniel Gardner, John Brown, Thos. Teamour, James Foster, Godfrey Scott, Willis Wilson, Nancy Little, John Smith, Frances Haines, David Johnson, Phillis Gault, Alice Jones, Ned. Wilson Sarah C. Wilson²¹²

Alan is about 30 yrs of age medium size, dark, intelligent and appears ~~of~~ to be of moral habits. For the last 14 yrs had been owned by Lovey White, a widdow, who was the owner of 9 slaves. from whom she derived her support. In her habits she was considered moderate was a member of the Methodist Ch. Alan had been ~~used~~ in the habit of hiring his time for the last ten years_ for which he ~~had~~ pd \$120_ himself having to ~~lose~~ make up besides the sick time

²⁰⁵ Captain Fountain was an antislavery ship captain who operated a schooner between Chesapeake-region ports such as Norfolk, Petersburg, and Richmond, and Delaware River ports such as Wilmington and Philadelphia. In 1854, both an Abraham and a John Fountain worked in Philadelphia as ship carpenters. Many of the enslaved in these towns, especially those who worked on or about the wharves, knew of his services; some were even willing to pay for his assistance. He was responsible for covertly transporting a large number of fugitives to Philadelphia. His efforts were unusually perilous, and on several occasions, he was challenged by local southern authorities who were determined to uncover slaves they were certain were secreted on his vessel. While in the port of Norfolk with fugitives hidden on his ship, Captain Fountain's vessel was subjected to a close inspection by the town's mayor and a number of his officers. They speared the wheat with long lances and hacked at the floorboards with axes in search of fugitives, but the composed Captain successfully deflected them from the fugitives' coverts. At one point, he even assisted them with the chopping. They soon left grumbling, and he sailed away with his precious cargo. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 165-68.

²⁰⁶ These details of Alan Tatum's life are recounted in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 168.

²⁰⁷ The life and perilous flights of Daniel Carr are recounted in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 168-69.

²⁰⁸ Michael Vaughn sorely missed his wife and child after his escape. After leaving Philadelphia, he settled in New Bedford, Massachusetts from where he wrote William Still seeking assistance for the escape of his wife and child. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 169-70.

²⁰⁹ These details of the life of Thomas Nixon in slavery are recounted in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 170.

²¹⁰ Frederick Nixon fled slavery in large part because of how it so brutally separated him from his wife and child. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 170.

²¹¹ The details of the life in slavery of the very devout Peter Petty are recounted in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 170-71.

²¹² The balance of the individuals transported by Captain Fountain were not discussed in Still's volume but he did observe that "[a]mong them were some good mechanics—one excellent dress-maker, some "prime" waiters and chambermaids; --men and women with brains, some of them evincing remarkable intelligence and decided bravery, just the kind of passengers that gave the greatest satisfaction to the Vigilance Committee." Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 168.

and find his own clothes. He was prompted because he disliked his Mrs. Said she was a mean principled woman. Left 3 sisters, & 1 Bro. and a daughter. The names of the sisters & Bro were as follows: Mary, Ann, Rachel, W^m, daughter Mary.

Daniel is about 38 yrs of age, dark molato, well made, intelligent and manly in his appearance. He had belonged to a man by the name of John C. M^cBole ↑(steam mill)↓ of Plymouth N.C. By M^cBole he had ~~own~~ only been ~~owne~~ owned 2 yrs_ M^cB having paid \$1150_ for him. A Before M^cB bought him he had lived in Portsmouth Va. where he had been raised. Since he had been sold. In life, a part of the time he had been used hard. Since after being sold to N.C. he made ~~uncessful~~ unsuccessful attempts to escape for which on one occasion especially

he was stripped naked and flogged severely. For 3 months ~~he~~ prior to his last escape he fled to the ~~stan~~ swamp and their surrounded with snakes, wild cats, Bears, Coons &c.&c. remained till his chance offered to come north. He had a wife in Portsmouth before he was sold, was after he was taken to N.C. he only was allowed the priviledge of visiting her once. Being thus debared he resolved to escape. His wife has three children, all are slaves _ The wife, Hannah,; children, Sam, Daniel & the babies ~~me~~ he never saw_ it name he does not know.
Member of the Methodist

Michael is about 31 yrs of age, rather stout, quite intelligent, dark &c. He left because his Mrs. was a very disagreeable woman. For all his life he had belonged to her_ But for

the the last 8 yr's he had hired his time annually_ at \$120_ a year for part of the time, having to find his board, clothing and all of the Expences_ Had a wife & one child, who were slaves, but not to the same owners to whom he belonged_ Had to leave without feeling at liberty to apprise his wife of the fact of his being about so to do; as he could do nothing for her he feared if he told her it might create an excitement. Her name was Esther. Worked in a Foundrey _____

Belonged to the methodist ch. His Mistress was a member of the Baptist Ch.

Thos. is about 19 yrs of age, quite Black, and quite sensible, He left because he had got tired of staying with his owners; fearing that they might sell him he concluded to

take such such steps as would ~~safe~~ save them the trouble, His owners were not so bad about whipping ~~w~~ but was very close, did not want to allow servants any chance to make any thing extra. His owner was named Bockover_ He was a wholesale grocerer, and lived no. 12 Brewer st._ He ~~had~~ ^{↑left↓} behind, his Mother & 3 Bros._ his Farther he never saw_ being sold away when he was a little boy. Member of the Methodist ch. His owner also belonged to the same ch.

Fredrick is about 33 yrs of age, dark, medium size, well made, smart & a member of the Methodist Ch. He fled because his owners wanted to work him hard without allowing him any thing. As to usage he had been used ruff_ especially in his younger days. His ~~own~~ owner was a Mr;

Bockover. merchant and a member of the Methodist Church. He lef his wife, Elizabeth and 4 Children. They were living in Eatontown N.C. He had not seen them for nearly 1 year_ nor had he any prospect of being United with her should he have remained. Since he was first separated from his wife three yrs had elap↑s↓ed.

Peter is about 24 yrs of age, of slender make, pleasant countenance, genteel manners, intelligent and active. He had been owned by Jos. Bonkley, Hair inspector, ~~roudises~~ roudeish in his habit, deceitful and Slye would readily sell his slaves. P. left because of "hard bonage, something like the children of Israel." For his hire he was compeled to pay \$156_ per. Annum. Even when he lost time by sickness or rainey days he was oblige to make up all that time

besides find all his clothes &c. He left a wife, ~~Eliza and child Vina~~
Louvina, and child Eliza_ slaves_ He ~~could~~ told his wife of his
intentions to which he agreed_ He left Parents_ all ~~the~~ his Bros. &
sisters were sold_ He would have sold Peter but beleiving that he had
"too good religion to run away" kept him. His master was a Methodist,
also ~~w~~ the Peter belonged to the same church. Speciman of
Preaching_ "servants obey your Masters" - "Good servants makes
good masters"__ "when your mrstress speaks to you don't pout out
your mouths"__ "when you want to go to church ask your mistress &
master"__ Never heard but one Preacher preach against slavery_ and
he had to leave, and come north. A Quaker lady spoke against
Slavery in meeting one day which caused

An out brake and which resulted in the braking up of the meeting
~~Phillis Gault.~~

(1)

Boy_ Thanksgiving Day Nov. 22/55

Arrived_ Ann Maria Whims²¹³, now Ellen Capron, arrived this day from Washinton, though the aid of Dr. H_y_ She ↑is↓ about 15 yrs of age, bright molato, well grown, smart and good looking_ For the last 3 yrs or about that length of time she had been owned by Chas. M. Price, Negro Trader, of Rockville Md. Mr. P. is given considerably to entemperance and great profanity._ Buys & sells many Slaves in the course of the year. His wife is a cross, pevish & fretfull woman_ one little boy, ~~pe~~ slave, she used to take great pleasure in taurtur↑e↓ing_ He was the son of His master, ~~which~~ ↑and↓ was owned by him_ this was the cause of the Mistress' spite.

Ann Maria had always desired her freedom from childhood, and though

²¹³ The narrative of Ann Maria Weems is recounted at length in Still's *Underground Rail Road*. A very precocious child, she had long impressed many adults in her community, some of whom opposed slavery. James Bigelow, an attorney in Washington, D.C., secured both funds to finance Ann Maria's flight as well as the assistance of the redoubtable Dr. H____, who would transport her from Washington to Philadelphia. Once all was in place, they exploited an opportunity for her to journey the brief distance to Washington and she was hidden in a pre-arranged location. Dr. H____ then met with her and not only prepared Ann Maria to appear servile with him, but explained that he would have her travel as his slave boy, Joe. She assented, tried on the clothes he had brought with him, and learned her lessons on boyish demeanor well. The transformation was remarkable, and within a few days, Dr. H____ and "Joe" departed. She was immediately missed and a search undertaken for the young woman. The ruse worked flawlessly. They completely fooled the master of one household where they spent the night. Once she arrived safely in Philadelphia at William Still's house, numerous visitors came to the house to marvel at her ingenious transformation. She quickly gained fame in abolitionist circles and Lewis Tappan forwarded the money for her journey to New York City, a passage she made as a boy. In New York, she stayed in Brooklyn with the family of the Reverend Amos N. Freeman, a black Presbyterian minister. From there, she was carefully forwarded to the Buxton Settlement in Canada. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 177-89.

not 13, when she was first advised to escape, she receive the suggestion with approval and even after then wanted almost daily to hail the chance to flee_ Her fr'ds of course were to aid, and make arrangements_ ~~for her.~~ For a long time, that she might have no chance to escape, she was kept sleeping in the chamber with her Master & Mistress_ indeed was so keep until about 3 weeks before She left.

She ~~He~~ left a ~~mother~~ [↑]her Parents_↓ living in Washington_ also 1 Bro. & ~~one~~ two sisters. ~~in Washington likewise~~ Three of her Bros. were sold from their Parents, South. Her mother was purchased for \$1000_, and one of her Sisters for \$1700_ for freedom_ Before Anna Maria was 13 yr's of age \$700_ was offered for her, by a fr'd who desired to procure her freedom_ but the offer was promptly refused as were succeeding ones repeatedly

Consequently the only chance of procuring her freedom depended upon getting her away on the Underground R.R. ~~It should be stated however that, to prevent her from making her~~ she was neatly attired in male habiliments, and in that way came all the way from Washington

Nov. 29/55

Mrs. Phillis Gault²¹⁴ Phillis came from Norfolk in Company with twenty others, arriving in this City about the 21 st. inst., she is about 30 yr's of age; well made; quite intelligence; molato, good looking, & a good Semstress withal. She was induced to Escape to save herself from being sold. The death of her husband with the Fever also left her lot more sad than even before, especially as he had encouraged her to believe that he would buy her soon. She had been married about 11 yr's, but had but one child in the maintime, and it did not live. Once She

²¹⁴ Phyllis Gault was an accomplished dressmaker in Norfolk who nevertheless lived in fear of being sold. She was all the more ready to flee when her husband died. Aided by Captain Fountain, this "industrious, upright, and intelligent woman" escaped to Philadelphia, where the Vigilance Committee helped her relocate to Boston. By early 1858, she was well-settled there and lived on Beacon Hill. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 171-72.

had been sold, but not out of Norfolk. She had also witnessed the painful sight of seeing 4 of her sister's children sold on the auction Block, on the death of their mother. This sight as Phills, says brought a "great horror over" her. She left a her mother ↑ & 1↓ Bro. living in Norfolk_ The mother is Free but not the Brother.

(2) Dec. 2/55
Arrived_ Thos. Jervis Guesberry²¹⁵ and W^m Thos. Freeman²¹⁶_ (now Eezfiel Chambers_) left Chestertown, Md., in Company with 9 others_ came in a carriage to Wilmington &c. and thus safely arrived. Thos. is about 17 yr's of age, stammers in his Speech, is quite dark in complexion and pretty active He had been owned by Sarah Maria Perkins, of Chestertown, who was tolerably kind

²¹⁵ Thomas Jervis Gooseberry escaped with Harriet Shepherd (see pp. 220-21 above) in the carriage she had taken from her master's home. Upon the urgent directives of the Quaker conductor, Thomas Garrett, Thomas separated from her in Wilmington and took a different route to Philadelphia. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 302-03, 339-40.

²¹⁶ William Thomas Freeman accompanied Thomas Jervis Gooseberry and Harriet Shepherd on their flight from slavery in Chestertown, Maryland. The Vigilance Committee sought to impress the young William and Thomas "with right ideas as to how they should walk in life...and sent them off with a double share of advice." Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 302-03, 339-40.

to her servants, but she hired them out to a man who treated ~~who tr~~ them cruelly. To escape bad treatment therefore they fled. Thos. left his Farther Thos. Guseberry, and 3 sisters_ Julia Ann and Mary Ellen Bright and Katlen Bright. They are Slaves.

Ezekiel is about 16 yr's of age_ chesnut color, nice looking, smart and intelligent and well grown of his age. He left because he was "treated pretty bad by his Mistress_ He was owned ~~to~~ by John Dwa, Farmer, and a hard drinker and very abuseful when intoxicated_ Ezekiel had a Mother but he had [not] had the priviledge of seeing her for a long time_ she lived in Baltimore, and is known [↑]by_↓ ~~the~~ the name of Darkus Denby Ezekiel left no Brothers or sisters.

(1) Dec. 6/55
Arrived_ Henry Hooper²¹⁷, age about 19 yr's, arrived safely from Md
and was duly forwarded

(3)
1855
Dec. 8th Arrived_ Henry Thomas²¹⁸ (old name Jacob Hall) and wife,
Henrietta²¹⁹, and their child came from Ladies Manor Md. Henry had
belonged to Major W^m Hutchins, Farmer, & Commissioner, &
Drunkard_ withal a hard master, especially when under the influence
of liquor. Henry's desires to work for himself, prompted him to leave.
He is about 24 yr's of age, Chesnut color, medium size and of ordinary
intelligence for one of his class
Henrietta had been owned by

²¹⁷ William Still believed that he had written down more notes about the life of Henry Hooper, but that the sheet containing the information had likely been lost. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 340.

²¹⁸ Jacob Hall is the name William Still used for this individual. He was dedicated to freedom and self-employment and would not leave without his wife and young child. He fled from Ladies' Manor, Maryland. Although they had to pass through unknown and dangerous terrain, the horses they rode for the first night and the friends they found along the way proved invaluable in their reaching Philadelphia. They planned to travel to Canada. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 340-41.

²¹⁹ Henrietta also concluded that there was no way to improve her condition short of escape. She fled with her husband, Jacob Hall, and young child from Ladies' Manor, Maryland. Friends and advisors along the way delivered them safely to the Vigilance Committee. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 340-41.

Sarah Ann M^cGough_ whom though was an uncommonly hard woman. She could not be pleased, however much he[r] servant tried to do so. She also drank which made her worse. She had sold a Bro. & sister of Henrietta's, and had taken steps for the sale of H. herself, by having her praised Consequently, as her mother had many years before, escaped to Canada, She thought she would go also_ so the husband & wife with their child not wishing to walk all the way took a hore a piec²²⁰ and road one night, and afterward took other conveyances on the U.G.R.

Dec. 10/55

(2)

Arrived_ Two men²²¹ from near Chester town, md. came to Wilmington in a one hose wagon_ and through the aid of T. G.²²² was d sent on. (The account ~~of the~~ taken on a lose piece of paper has been accidently lost.)

²²⁰ Might be rendered as "horse a piece," a reference to horses they took to aid their flight.

²²¹ William Still noted the arrival of these two men in his book, but had no further information on them. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 341.

²²² Thomas Garrett (1789-1871). A Quaker who resided in Wilmington, Delaware, Garrett had been an ardent abolitionist throughout his life and was an unrelenting conductor on the underground railroad. He regularly coordinated his activities with the Vigilance Committee in Philadelphia and pointed fleeing fugitives to them and their representatives. In 1848, he was convicted of aiding fugitives and the penalty bankrupted him. But within a short time, his iron tool workshop was restored and he had regained his solvency. Garrett was also an ardent proponent of women's rights and was active in their conventions in the 1850s and '60s.

(1) Dec. 13/55

Arrived_ Fenton Jones²²³ arrived from ~~Bos~~ Fredrick, md. Stopped awhile with Soloman Lukins near Ercildown.

(1) Dec. 19.

Arrived_ ~~Marry~~ Mary Curtis²²⁴ arrived from Md. (Baltimore), was induced to escape to keep from being Sold. She is about 19 yr's of age small size, dark complexion &c.

(3) Dec. 20/55

Arrived_ W^m Brown²²⁵ arrived after a ~~wearisome & perilous Journey~~ travelling and suffering accessively by the way while coming 5 weeks_ He is of a dark chesnut color, well made, expert intelligent &c. The threat of his owner to sell him only a short time before he left, was what moved him to escape_ Being spirit the master was not permitted to flog him whenever he though he deserved it, consequently, he was not willing that his bade Example

²²³ After fleeing slavery in Frederick, Maryland, Fenton Jones stopped in Ercildown, Pennsylvania, to work for Solomon Lukins. He soon apprehended danger and was advised to go promptly to the Vigilance Committee in Philadelphia. Fenton was then "dispatched forthwith to Canada." Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 341.

²²⁴ William Still briefly mentioned Mary Curtis in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 341.

²²⁵ William Brown was an extremely intelligent young man who suffered so severely from exposure when he fled enslavement that he seriously considered returning to his master. Yet his dedication to freedom prevailed. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 341-42.

in refusing the flogging Should longer continue to currup the morals of the other slaves, therefore proposed the selling remedy. W^m however proposed in his own mind to try the Underground Rail Road.

His masters name was W^m Elliott, Farmer, living in Prince George's County near Queen Ann, He was not regarded as ↑amongst €↓ the hardest of master, though by no means a good one_

W^m left his Father, Grand mother, 4 Sisters & 2 Bros. all living where he came from.

With the cold, W^m Suffered exceedingly on the Road.

[Editor's Note: Insert hand with pointing finger here]

James Griffin²²⁶ new name Thos. Brown came from Baltimore. was moved to seek his freedom to keep from being sold. His masters Creditors being about to inter up against him. James is about 31, chesnut color, fine looking

²²⁶ William Still refered to this individual in his book as James Griffin. With his master under pressure from creditors, James was given several days leave to find a new master in Baltimore. He determined to strike for freedom in the North instead. After unsuccessfully seeking aid from underground railroad agents in the city, he began walking alone towards Pennsylvania. Once he reached Columbia in the free state, he found much more aid and was quickly forwarded to the Vigilance Committee in Philadelphia. They supplied him with all the necessary information for reaching Canada safely. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 314-15.

Intelligent & prepossessing_ The Monday before leaving his master gave him the priviledge to hunt himself a new master, consequently James felt that while he had a few days grace he had better seeking a home where he could be his own Master, according he started for the North. Walked dilligently all night (the first night) wearing his feet very sore though he would not give up. Consequently by persevering he won the race.

His master's name was Joshua Hitch, Farmer, hired 17 miles from Baltimore &c. He was regarded as a mild man, though given to drinking_. Unfortunately he had involved himself largely, so that there was no chance of his escaping ↑the sherriff↓ ~~being sold out~~. He was about 50 yrs of age though had never been married_ ~~lived as with one~~
~~on or two of his slave woman by whom~~

~~he had children~~ He had three Slave woman, two were sisters_ all of whom he lived with as his wif[↑]ves_↓es_ Two of them especially he was very found of_ one was the house keeper; by her he had two children the oldest 8 & the youngest in his 7th yr. The name of his wives were Nancy & Mary Polk, (Mulatoes) and Lizibeth Winder_ Elizabeth he had consented might be sold, the other two he was lo~~ft~~ to part with. Perhaps however it would be out of his power to save them from his creditors.

James had had a wife but 2 yrs ago she was sold to N.C. since he had only had 3 letters from her_ never expects to get any more 2 little boys he was obliged to leave in Baltimore _ Edward & W^m

Dec, _ 55

(1) W^m J~~G~~ordon²²⁷ new name W^m Price, was owned in N.C., Bertie, by Gov.

²²⁷ While life was hard on the Governor's plantation, William Jordon finally decided to flee when the Governor denied him the privilege of visiting his wife after having earlier promised him the ability to do so. After long concealment in his cave in the woods, a friend alerted William that Captain Fountain would carry him to Philadelphia for a price. William soon departed for Wilmington, Delaware, where he worked for several weeks. Thomas Garrett, the Quaker abolitionist, then gave him money for passage on the steamship by It is likely that he left for New Bedford, Massachusetts, from Philadelphia. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 129-31.

Bradge. With the Gov. he had lived only 12 months. He came by W^m through his wife whom he had resently married, she being his 3rd one. Her name was Mary Jordon before marrying the Gov. The master & mistress were both Rich_ owning large numbers of Slaves They were likewise severe. Would stint their slaves very much for food & clothing, though did not flog as awfully as some of their neighbors_ The master had Plantations, and raised Cotton, Corn & Pease. He would come time come on the Plantation in the morning and watch them till dinner, hurrying them up.

W^m it must be ~~rem~~ stated had been bought ~~by~~ from Bertie to the west, the Residence of the Gov._ When ~~the~~ was required to leave Bertie, the place of his nativity he was promised that he might have chances could make a little money and occasionally have the liberty of going

home. But before he had been in his new home, at in the west a great while, he was told that he could not go see his friends, and said if he "had said so" he "did not mean so." Consequently W^m thought he would try and escape; running the risk of being defeated &c. For 10 mos_ he took up his habitation in the woods & swamp↑s↓_ Three months living in a cave dug by himself expressly for his own accommodation. Bears, wild cats, coons &c ↑as neighbors↓ were numerous all around him but he feared them not_ "feared nothing but man". Likewise Snakes_ the Rattle snake & others were very common_

He procured his food after night_ would go out after night and get his Pig &c; from other he would get things also_ Finally he acquainted with a certain Capt. ~~Went~~ who sheart could be trusted, and accordingly they brought

him a way_

W^m is about 25_ very stout and solid built, dark &c.

Dec.24/55

(1) Mrs. Judah wife of Mr. Judah who fled some months back from Richmond. She was free but he was not.

(1) Dec. 25/55

Arrived_ Joseph Cornish²²⁸ arrived from Dorchester Co. Md. He is about 40 yrs of age, quite dark, ~~age-about~~ naturally intelligent, and well built_ As a slave he has been worked hard_ ~~and~~

For about 7 yrs he has been an acceptable preacher in the African Methodist Church_ was respected by the respectable, white and colored, in the neighborhood_ and but to escape from being sold he would not have left. He left a wife and 5 children_ they are all free

Jos_ was owned by

²²⁸ Joseph Cornish, a preacher in the African Methodist Episcopal Church, worried about fleeing because he feared his flock of parishioners would be left without a shepherd. Save for his grave fear of being sold, he would not have left. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 334-35.

Samuel Lecount, Captain in the Navey. He was ~~ad~~ very hard on his servants, allowing them no chance to make a little for themselves.

(1) Dec 30/55

Arrived_ Lewis Frances²²⁹ (Lewis Johnson) aged 27, medium size, well made & good looking, and intelligent, reached here on the 29th inst., from Baltimore He is the property of Mrs. Delmas of Abington, Harford Co. Md._ From a Boy Lewis has been hired and in the employ of James Anderson, Barber, of Baltimore. Out of his yearly wages Lewis was allowed only \$250_; \$8_ per month was exacted by the Mistress_ though she fund him no clothing. Of late yr's she had been dissatisfied with his wages and had talked strongly of selling him unless he got higher

²²⁹ Lewis Francis fled successfully to Philadelphia and the assistance of the Vigilance Committee. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 335.

Crossing the Potomac
On Horseback

[Editor's Note: Above phrase is on a piece of paper attached to the top of page 232 which blocks out most of the page's first three lines but the balance of the text is visible. On the microfilm, there are two pages for 232, one with the attached paper and blocked lines and a second with the paper removed and the text complete. Editor inserts the complete text on the following page.]

(2) Jan 2nd 1856

Arrived_ Robert Brown²³⁰, new nam[e] Thos. Jones, arrived safely from Martinsburg, Va. Robert is about 38 yr's of age, molato, medium size, prepossessing in appearance & intelligent In making his flight he took a horse and sadle with him, and swame the Potomac River on the horse_ after riding all night_ the weather exceedingly inclement and stormy, he left the horse near Messursburg, Pa., and afterwards walked to Harrisburg_ wearing his feet very sore.

Some time previous to his escape the master of Robert's wife through lust wished to cohabit with ~~Roberts~~ w her, but not succeeding in his sensual designs became angry with her; and for spite sold her and her children. They had 4 children the oldest 11 & the youngest 8 ~~mos.~~ ↑weeks↓ old_ Robt. escape is attributable to the grief

²³⁰ Robert Jones fled on Christmas night and suffered extreme exposure to cold and ice during a perilous crossing of the Potomac. The last few days of his flight, he walked to Harrisburg. Once he reached Philadelphia, he revealed not only the locks of hair from each of his children and his wife, but a daguerreotype of her as well. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 120-22.

he suffered from the sale of his family. Robert was the slave of Col. John F. Hamtsance of Martinsburg. He was intemperate, and ~~his~~ ~~tempered~~ very passionate. His wife was named Sarah_ "she was cruel to all her servants_" they could not ~~look~~ live with her_ she had to hire servants_ A lock of hair, of each member of his family he brought with him.

Samuel Garrett²³¹, old name Alexander Munson, left Chester town, Md._ He 18 yr's of age chesnut color, well grown_ well formed intelligent &c. according to the will of his he was entitled to his freedom, but the man who had him in hand ~~as well as the his other relations~~ made a practice of selling ~~his~~ those entitled there before they came into possession of it_ Two who were intitled to they free[dom] had been Sold to alabama, without hope of freedom.

²³¹ Alexander Munson—as William Still refers to him in his book—fled successfully to Canada. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 335-36.

January 3rd 1856

(2)

Arrived, Anna Scott²³², ~~old-na~~ wife of Samuel Scott, with her husband fled from Cecil Cross Roads Md. Had been owned by Anna Elizabeth Lusby, widow; She was a woman of high temper and very severe with her servants allowing them but very few priviledges indeed. She is well of_ owning about 15 slaves_ on her Farm and hired out together. Several of her slaves she sold to Georgia_ Anna's Bro. & sister she sold likewise.

Anna is about is about 21 yr's of age, of a bright brown color, medium size, intelligent and of prepossessing manners.

Her escape was caused to escape to keep from serving in the house of her Mistress, having formerly for several yr's been hired out.

²³² Anna Scott and her husband, Samuel, hoped to find a new home in Canada. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 336.

Anna's husband fortunately was free.____ She left her Farther (Jacob Trusty) and 7 sisters & two Bros. names of the sisters, Emeline, Susan, ↑Ann,↓ Deliah, Mary Eliza, Rosetta, Eifse Ellender ↑&↓ Elizabeth Bros., Emson & Perry_

January 10/56

(1)

Arrived_ Isaac Stout²³³, old name Geo. Washington Guseberry, arrived from near New Castle, Del. He escaped from Anthony Rybold, Farmer, Mr Rybold was counted a hard man. Isaac was moved to escape purely for his freedom.

He is about 23 yr's of age, medium size, well built, and quite black

²³³ William Still refers to this man as George Washington Gooseberry. George took advantage of the Christmas holiday to flee. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 337.

Jan'y 12/56

To Cash to Isaac Stout	\$2.50
" Rent	4.19
" Porterage 25	

Jan'y 15th/56

(1) Arrived_ W^m Henry Laminson²³⁴ Came from near New Castle Del. Where he had been owned by Frances Hawkins, whom W^m spoke of as a severe man. He is about 21 years of age, medium size, chesnut color, and seems smart Left a wife, to whom he had been married only 1 month. Her name is Mary Ann.

²³⁴ Other details of the flight of William Henry Laminson are contained in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 336-37.

Good

Jan. 16th 1856

(5) Five at one arrival_ Barnaby Grisby²³⁵, new name John Boyer, and Mary Elizabeth²³⁶ his wife; Frank Wanzer²³⁷, new name Robt. Scott, Emily Foster²³⁸ new name Anna Wood_ all Came in Company from Landon Co. Va. on horse back ~~for~~ & in carriage ~~together~~ for about 150 miles.

They left home on Christmas ↑Eve↓ ~~night~~, Monday, and arrived at Columbia the following Wednesday about 1 o'cl. They were hindered with very severe weather, though they travelled day & night_ When about 100 miles from home, in the neighborhood of Cheat River, Md, they were assailed by 6 men & a boy who resolutely demanded of them to give account of themselves_ wanted them to show what right they had to travel there as they were doing

²³⁵ Barnaby Grigby journeyed with his companions to Toronto, Canada West, where he settled with them by late January 1856. Barnaby chopped wood for employment. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 124-27.

²³⁶ The fearless Mary Elizabeth Grigby settled in Toronto with her companions where she worked as a seamstress for employment. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 124-27.

²³⁷ Frank Wanzer was the acknowledged leader of the group. While *en route* to Canada, Frank and the others stopped at an underground railroad station in Syracuse, New York. Frank and his fiancé, Emily Foster, decided to wait no longer and were married in Syracuse by the Reverend Jermain Loguen, renowned former slave, abolitionist, underground railroad conductor, and African Methodist Episcopal Zion minister. Despite his safe settlement in Toronto, Frank remarkably returned to Virginia again in the summer of 1856 to rescue his sister and other friends from slavery. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 124-29.

²³⁸ Emily Foster married Frank Wanzer after they had stopped for several days in Syracuse while *en route* to Canada. Along with Mary Elizabeth Grigby, she labored at sewing in Toronto. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 124-27.

They Fugitives being strongly armed and determined on ~~to~~ gaining their liberty or death, resolutely drew their Pistols (double barrelled) and said they would not be taken_ said that no gentleman would attack persons travelling as they were_ as the leader amongst the Fugitives "pulled back the hammers" of his Pistols, and the two young women_ one with a Pistol & large derk & the other a derk, resolutely showed a disposition to defend themselves which had the effect to intemedate their persuers_ hence they escape_ though not without many other difficulties

Barnaby was owned by W^m Rogers_(Farmer) who was considered a moderate slaveholder_ though had of late ~~addicted~~ become addicted to intemperance. The was the owner of about a Dozen or 14 Slaves_ He had a wife & two children_

Barnaby's chances of making anything for himself was not favorable_ of nights he was only allowed to make something for himself. He was prompted to escape ~~to~~ because ~~we~~ he wanted to live by the sweat of his own brow_ though all men ough So to live_ hence he fled ~~to~~ that he might occupy that position.

Mary Elizabeth had been owned by Towse[↑]n[↓]d M^cVee_ farmer. He was severe but ~~the~~ his wife was charged with making him so_ He owned some 25 slaves_ He hardly allowed them them to talk_ would not allow them to raise a chicken_ only allowed Mary 3 Dresses in a year_ the rest they got as they could. Some times he would sell_ Last year he sold two ~~His wife was she~~ Could not say anything good for her Mistress she ~~ken~~ knew no mercy no shewed no favour. Mary left because of the

of the domineering character of her Mistress.

Frank_ was owned by Luther Sullavin_ "the meanest man in Va". He treated his people just as bad as he could in every respect"_ "would 'lowance the Slaves", and "stint them to save food" & to get "Rich_" & then sell them_ whip them &c. "About 25 had been sold_" He quite a large no_ He sold Franks' Mother & two children to Georgia, some 4 years since. Frank left because he feared that his numerous Creditors would come upon him in which case he knew he would have His poor Mother had been ~~rep~~ often flogged by this brutal master. His mistress was tolerably good_

Anna Wood was owned_ by McVee and is an own sister to Elizabeth_ and could hear

Testimony to her sisters Statement respecting the character of her master &c. The above four are all young, & "likely_"

Barnaby is 26 yrs of age, molato, medium size, intelligent &c. _ his wife is about 24 yrs, of age, quite dark, good looking, intelligent, and prepo↑s↓sessing_ Frank is 25_ Molato, medium size and very Smart; ~~and anna~~ Anna is 22, good looking and Smart.

Julia Little new name Caroline Graves²³⁹ _ from Md_ Had had more than one owner_ the first was kind_ the latter was hard. So C. ~~though~~ thought she had as well escape_ For some time he had been in Pa_ but not feeling satisfied she prefered to go to Canada. she is about 40 yrs of age.

²³⁹ Caroline Graves, formerly enslaved in Maryland, had been alerted by the Vigilance Committee in Philadelphia that Barnaby Grigby and his three companions would be arriving in Toronto at about the same time as herself. They reunited there in late January 1856. One letter Still reprinted mentioned her as "the solitary person" who accompanied the group to Toronto. Once there, the Ladies' Society attended to Caroline. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 127-28, 337.

Jan. 16/56.

(2) Two at one arrival_ Henry Washington & Jane Eliza his wife came from Alexandria, Va. They old names were George Graham²⁴⁰, & Jane²⁴¹_ Henry is about 24 yrs of age_ of genteele appearance, pleasant countenance_ and Smart_ dark complected_ Through life he has had ruff usage. Often Flogged & otherwise abused_ had been sold twice within the last year, to prevent the renewal of subsequent sales_ He belonged to the widow Beverly.

Henry had been married only about 6 mos_ His wife while in the service of her old Mistress which had been the case until resently had been severely abused & so was

²⁴⁰ William Still listed his name as George Graham. The details of his life in slavery and of his flight are briefly recounted in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 337-38.

²⁴¹ William Still listed her name as Jane. The details of her life in slavery and of her flight are briefly recounted in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 337-38.

Jan'y 29th 1856

- (3) Mary Jeffries, Mary Redden, and Sarah Redden_ The above individuals, for several years had been residing in this city, but recent[↑]ly[↓] indications threatened their Safety_ being fugitives and their whereabouts being Known to their owners they were likely to be arrested_ Consequently they applied to the Committee & found aid.

Jan'y 30th 1856

- (4) Four at one ~~at~~ arrival_ Henry Chambers²⁴², John Chambers²⁴³, Samuel Fall²⁴⁴ & Jonathan Fisher²⁴⁵ all came from Md. Henry & John are Bros., 24 & 26 yr's of age, Stout built, chesnut color_ not quite medium [↑]size,[↓] hight, tolerable good looking. H. ~~They~~ had been owned by W^m Ryebold, farmer. ~~Henry & John both~~ ~~pronoun~~ He could say nothing good of his master_ Thought him a hard man_ He would

²⁴² Henry Chambers' life in slavery is recounted in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 338.

²⁴³ John Chambers' life in slavery is recounted in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 338.

²⁴⁴ Samuel Fall's life in slavery is recounted in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 338.

²⁴⁵ Jonathan Fisher's life in slavery is recounted in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 338.

work hard & feed but poorly. His wife, Bulah, was thee worse than her husband_. "She would knock & beat her gils" for "nothing".

John was owned by Thos. Murphy, farmer, according to John's report he was a "pretty hard man" "He would give you half clothes", John however though owned by Murphy had not been in his immediate employ_ but had been hired out.

Samuel was held by Anthyony Ryebold, Sassafras Neck, Md. As a slave sam'l had been used bad_ had been strung up by the hands and flogged_ had been stinted for food & clothes, worked hard &c_ S. is 21 yr's of age, dark chesnut_ medium size &c.

Johnathan belonged to A. Reyebold also. He is about 19, chesnut color_ well grown &c. Jonathan's testimoney concerning his mas_

ter agreed with his Colleagues_ In Slavery the above named persons were as follows: Henry &c.(James Green) John &c., (Daniel Green) Sam'l &c., (John Henry) Thos. Anderson now Jonathan Fisher,

1856

Feb. 5th (1) Arrived_ Chas. Henry Brown²⁴⁶ from Cambridge where he had been held by D^r Richard Dorsey, Chas. is about 27 yr's of age, not quite medium size, but has marked features, prominent nose, large smouth, talks fluently & is intelligent_ His owner was a Catholic_ besides Chas he owned ten others_ Chas. ~~being~~ ↑was↓ a regular member of the Methodist Church ↑but that↓ ~~was~~ in no wise ~~of any~~ availed any

²⁴⁶ Charles Henry Brown deeply resented that his owner could take the proceeds of Charles' own labor. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 342.

[Blank]

1856

247

Mar. 22nd Arrived Harry North

(1)

ONE HUNDRED DOLLARS REWARD.

Left my house on 10th street last evening, about 6 o'clock, to go to the City Post Office, a small negro boy, called LANEY, about 12 years of age. He is black, well built, and rather good looking—he has a down, but pleasant look, when spoken to. Had on boots, ray pants and round about, and a check cloth cap, with lappels. I will give \$100 reward if taken in the District, and \$200 if taken out of it.

EDW'D C. DYER.

(22)

Good

Mar. 25th _ 22 at within 24 hours_ arrived, as follows: Rebecca Jones²⁴⁷, and her daughters, Sarah Frances, Mary & Rebecca; Isaiah Robinson²⁴⁸, Author Spence²⁴⁹, Caroline Taylor²⁵⁰ and her two Daughters, Nancy & Mary, Daniel Robinson²⁵¹, Thos. Page²⁵², Benjamin Dickerson²⁵³, David Cale and wife,

²⁴⁷ Rebecca Jones was dedicated to the freedom and advancement of her children. Carried uncomfortably on the steamship of Captain Fountain, she refreshed herself in Philadelphia and then went on to Boston, where she had always sought to live. Once there, she encountered her husband, who had left six years earlier, but she refused to accept him back. By fall 1856, she had determined to move with her children to California. The newspaper advertisement offering a reward for the recovery of Rebecca, her children, and Isaiah Robinson is reprinted in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 325-28.

²⁴⁸ Isaiah Robinson not only left his wife, but his two young children as well. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 328.

²⁴⁹ Arthur Spence was brought to freedom on the steamship of Captain Fountain. He likely went to Canada after leaving Philadelphia. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 331-32.

²⁵⁰ Caroline Taylor had been hiring her time for several years prior to her flight. She was able to keep her two daughters with her only because she hired out the older one—eleven years old—and had to pay for the upkeep of her younger out of the meager money remaining after paying her owner. An attractive and intelligent young woman, Caroline feared she would be sold imminently as her owner had already offered her unsuccessfully for \$2000. The threat of sale prompted her urgency to escape with her two daughters. Once Captain Fountain delivered them to Philadelphia, she and her children deeply impressed the agents at the station. Her younger child, Mary, spent many hours at the bedside of a gravely wounded fugitive who was recuperating at the station. The three of them so moved Colonel A. Cummings, a local newspaper publisher who had been unsympathetic to fugitives, that he was transformed in his thinking about the underground railroad and donated \$20 to the Vigilance Committee. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 328-30.

²⁵¹ William Still failed to record the story of Daniel Robertson, the name he applies to the individual, in his book. Yet he had received numerous letters from Daniel from his new home in the upper Hudson River Valley of New York in which he solicited Still's assistance in retrieving his wife from slavery in Petersburg, Virginia. Although Daniel was able to raise the \$100 to pay for his wife's passage with Captain Fountain, Still did not know if she had ever been delivered from slavery. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 330-31.

²⁵² Thomas Page, enslaved in Norfolk, Virginia, was a young man of about eighteen years who was extremely intelligent and resourceful. After arriving in Philadelphia, he traveled to New Bedford, Massachusetts, where he had an aunt, but then soon moved to Boston. Later he went to New York and journeyed broadly in Canada from New Brunswick to St. Catherines. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 332-33.

²⁵³ The life of Ben Dickinson in slavery is recounted in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 332.

Though these parties all came here about the same time, they did not come from the same State,

Mrs Jones is about 28 yrs of age, Molato, good looking, naturally very intelligent and gives evidence of marked mind & purpose. Years ago her Mistress died ~~and~~ in England and designed that all her Slaves should be free but not being regularly emancipated, the administrators claimed to the right of holding her in Bondage_

To pass many of the interesting connected with her life suffice it to add that she firmly resolved to be the slave of no other master, nor to allow her three interesting children to grow up in slavery, rather than submit she declared when they talked of selling her that she would sooner take the lives of her children and her own than

that they should continue Slaves_ her sympathisers advised her to get some gentleman or frd to purchase her for herself_ No she replied_ not three cts would she give_ Nor did she want any of her frds to buy, even if they could get them all for 3 cts_ it would be of no use she contended_ This brief glance of her bravery only fairly indicates her noble character Caroline Fay Cox is a small molato woman of genteel address, intelligent, and active_ She ↑& her children↓ was owned by Peter March, ↑Insion merchant↓ of NY City__ Formerly ↑s↓he had been ~~owned by~~ lived in Norfolk; but latterly in NY By the way ~~Catherin~~ Caroline had had only fallen into the hands of Mr. March resently_ since the Fever last summer_ most of her people having died, Mr. M. being the Husbands of one of her masters. Daughters, he of course fell hier to the portion belonging to his wife.
over two leaves_

Isaiah is about 23 years of age medium size, Molato; intelligent, & prepossessing_ ~~He was compelled to~~ The thirst for liberty moved him to take the steps he did, in regard to seeking his liberty. Th[↑]r[↓]ough life he had had "fared very bad_ Had been "worked and treated w[↓]badly", by persons without getting him any thank for ~~his~~ his labor Had been badly beaten &c.

He had been in the habit of hiring his time, for which he had paid \$120_ per yr. up to the time of his escape.

He left a wife, and two Bros. & two sisters_

Author Spence is a young man from N.C. near 24 yrs of age genteel in appearance &c. He left because he was heavily oppressed_ having ~~been~~ ^{↑to↓} pay \$175_ a year to his master, for his hire_ He left his mother, two Brothers & one Sister.

Benjamin Dickinson is also from N.C. Eatontown, where he had Miss Ann Blunt, who was "very hard indeed," Has about ninty five Slaves whom she forces into anything. He had it in his head to leave for 3 yrs_ Being a hirerling he was badly treated_ placed in the service of a hard man who new no mercy___ Age 28, quite dark, medium Size, intelligent, Carpenter by trade&c. Left 2 sisters no Brothers &c.

Brought up

Caroline Taylor_ For ten yrs she has been hiring her time_ For the greater part of her time she has been compeled to pay about \$75_ per annum, the last year she was compeled to pay \$84_ a year an take care of her children at the same time ~~he had~~ Her oldest little girl she had to pay \$24 per annum for the priviledge of having her with_ This little girl is about 11 yrs of age, nearly white, good looking and well grown_

The other little girl is 9 yr's of age, remarkable for her amiable traits of character_ with all good looking & interesting.

Hard work and the fear of sale was what drove

Caroline to escape_ only a short while before She left, her master had been [↑]on[↓] ~~own~~ from N.Y. to Sell her_ \$2000 being the price Demanded, which however, he failed to get readily, consequently Caroline thought she would save him the trouble of coming a sec'd time.

Rebecca Jones, continued. Her husband fled Some 6 yr's since, in Company with Shadrach_ for a time after he left She got letters from him frequently, but latterly nothing had been heard of him.

Her three children are remarkably fine & healthy looking, all girls_ ~~She~~ In coming away She suffered terribly

(1)

Arrived_ Apr. 4th 1856 _

THREE HUNDRED DOLLARS REWARD—Ran away from the subscriber, residing near Bladensburg, Prince George's county, Maryland, on Saturday night, the 22d of March, 1856, my *NEGRO MAN*, TOM MATHEWS²⁵⁴, aged about 25 years, about 5 feet 9 or 10 inches high, dark copper color, full suit of bushy hair, broad face with high cheek bones, broad and square shoulders, stands and walks very erect, though quite a sluggard in action, except in a dance, at whioch he is hard to beat. He wore away a black coat and brown pantaloons. I will give the above reward if taken and brought home, or secured in jail so that I get him.

E.A. JONES,
Near Bladensburg, Md.

Apr. 4/56

(1) Arrived, James Jones²⁵⁵, new name Henry Rider, age 32, Molato medium size, long face, rather raw boned, fled from D^r W^m Stewart of King George's Court House Md.

James lived in Alexandria and fled from that place. James did not complain of hard treatment, or ill useage, but Simply fled for his liberty.

²⁵⁴ William Still remembered the arrival of Tom Matthews at the station in Philadelphia, and that he was forwarded to Canada. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 324-25.

²⁵⁵ Although his owner lived in Maryland, James Jones had hired his time in Alexandria, Virginia. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 325.

Apr. 8/56 (1) Arrived_ Chas. Hall²⁵⁶ came safely from Baltimore Co. where he had been owned by Attwood A. Blunt_, farmer, given to intemperance, card playing, Fox Hunting &c. In his sobor mood he was moderate & mild as could be expected to be found "in that part of the country"; but when drunk everything ~~when~~ went wrong with him_ never satisfied His wife was an "ill disposed woman at all times_ Her name was Amanda.

Chas. was moved to make his escape to keep from being sold.

²⁵⁶ After his flight, the Vigilance Committee helped forward Charles Hall to Canada. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 383.

1856

Apr. 9th Arrived_ James Johnson²⁵⁷ arrived ↑from↓ Deer Creek, ~~Haverf~~
(1) Harford Co. Md. where he had been owned by W^m Rantly_ The
Day before James fled was the day fixed for his Escaped with Hand
cuffs on

Apr. 10th Arrived_ Chas. Carter²⁵⁸, Geo. Loguon²⁵⁹ & John W^m
Loguon²⁶⁰_ all arrived last night safely_
(3) Chas. Carter, is 30 yrs of age, molato, well made, good
looking and genteele & intelligent, and came from Richmond Va. where
he had been owned by Daniel Delaplain, Flour Inspector. Chas has
been hired out the greater part of his life_ As to treatment he has not
been so badly abused as many others.

His Master was a dear lover of money_ but upon the whole was
regarded as a pretty clever kind of a man

²⁵⁷ James Johnson's owner sought to secure him with handcuffs the day before he was to be sold. A determined James fled still shackled to the restraints. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 383.

²⁵⁸ Charles Carter's life in slavery is recounted in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 383-4.

²⁵⁹ George Logan's life in slavery is briefly characterized in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 384.

²⁶⁰ Despite an indulgent owner, John Logan longed for freedom. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 384.

Chas came into his possession ~~thre~~ through his wife_ The motives inducing Charles to escape was to keep from being sold_ His wife lives in Alexandria with 4 small children Her name is Lucinda.

Geo. is 23 yr's of age, quite dark, appearance good, medium size, and seem resolute enough to Struggle hard rather than be returned to Slavery. As to treatment, he does not complain in particular

The name of the own was Mrs. Jane Coulston.

John is also dark, ~~and~~ well made, medium size, intelligent & active and Miss Cox near Little Georgetown Benekley, Co. Va.

Geo. also came from near little Georgetown.

1856

Apr. 11th Arrived_ James Henry Watson²⁶¹, came from Snowhill, Worchester County, Md._ from the tyrannical control of James Purnell, Farmer_

James Henry is about 20 yr's of age, dark, well made, modest seems fearful of apprehension &c. He was moved to escape to get his freedom_ others he had heard of who had run away and got free and he thought he could do so to.

Mr. Purnell, "was not so very hard on his Slaves;" "a kind of a good sort of a man".

James left his parents, and 3 Bros. & 5 sisters_ all owned by the family from whom he escaped_

Ephram Nevin, the Father, his Mother's name Mahalah, oldest Brother Horace, next oldest, W^m John Gaines, W^m Sorn,

²⁶¹ These details of James Henry's life in slavery are recounted in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 384.

James was the next, and oldest sister Hester, next Betsey, Dinah_ Catherine & Harriet. all but one of this family belonged to his Purnell.

Arrived_ ↑(1)↓ Apr. 18th 1856 Zebulon Green²⁶², arrived from Duck Creek, Md. where he had been owned by John Appleton, farmer, Bad usage was what caused this escape He was only 18 Yr's of age, Good looking, intelligent, dark, &c, and now goes by the name of Sam'l Hill.

Arrived_ Apr. 21st 1856 Lewis Burrell²⁶³, & Peter²⁶⁴ his Brothers, safely arrived from Alexandria, where they had been owned_ by the 1st by Edward M. Clark, the latter by Benjamin Johnson Noll. Both of those young men seem remarkably intelligent, and willing to make

²⁶² Zebulon Green was forwarded to Canada after arriving in Philadelphia. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 385.

²⁶³ Lewis Burrell settled in Toronto, Canada West, after departing Philadelphia. Three years later he wrote to William Still seeking to free his wife from slavery in Baltimore. Unfortunately, Still was unable to be of effective assistance. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 385-86.

²⁶⁴ Peter Burrell accompanied his brother Lewis to Canada. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 385.

any Sacrifices for freedom

Lewis left a wife, Wynnea Ann, and two children, Jos. & Mary_ they were owned by Pembrokes Toms, who lived in Culpepper, Va. nearly a hundred miles from Alexandria, where the husband lived. Hence Lewis only had the privilege of making visits to his wife once or twice in the year_ of course this was one of the Severe trials which woreed him daily_ He also left his Farther and Mother behind, who were also Slaves_ left 1 Bro, Reuben Burrell, and 3 Sisters, two of whom had been sold far South.

Lewis' owner was a stout man, passionate, but Lewis was hired out So did not ~~meet~~ get the benefit of his evil dis_

position

April 30th Arrived_ W^m Williams²⁶⁵ & his Wife arrived from Haven Manor- ~~Elkton~~ Md_ where he was owned by John Peak, who had used them hard.

May 13th Arrived_ per Harriet Tubman 4 men²⁶⁶_ young and able bodied_ (4) of this history however no account was gleaned further than the fact that they were genuine Cases_ They stopped with Mrs. Buchannon²⁶⁷_ were attended to by Myself & Mr. Depee_ and forwarded on their way

²⁶⁵ Both William Williams and his wife were owned by John Peak. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 386.

²⁶⁶ While these four men are not identified by name, they are mentioned in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 386.

²⁶⁷ Mrs. Buchannon operated a boarding house where the Vigilance Committee often housed fugitives.

May 14/56

(5) Five by one arrived_ Abe Piner²⁶⁸, Sam'l Davis²⁶⁹, Henry Saunders, W^m Henry Thompson²⁷⁰, ↑&↓ Thos. Peaker²⁷¹ all arrived safely, from Georgetown Cross Roads Md._ They are all young and hearty looking, and were owned the following Masters.

Abe belonged to Geo, Spencer, Farmer; he was a hard man, would work his men hard, stint them for food, and flog them in the bargain. He was addicted to intemperance, was rich & stood pretty high in his neighborhood_ Abe is about is about 23_ quite black_ medium size &c.

²⁶⁸ Further details of the life of Abe Fineer in slavery are contained in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 386.

²⁶⁹ The life of Sam Davis in slavery is briefly recounted in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 387.

²⁷⁰ William Henry Thompson is briefly mentioned in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 387.

²⁷¹ Thomas Parker is briefly mentioned in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 387.

Sam'l is about 30, dark, medium size &c. He had been ~~ban~~ badly abused, the marks of which he bears_ His owner was, James Hirt, Farmer; He was very Blustery occasionally_ ~~James~~ Sam'l, left because he wanted to do better for himself_

Sam'l left a wife Phillis Ann_ and one child_ they were free_

W^m Henry T. is about 24 chesnut color, and medium size_ &c. &c.

May 16/56

(1) Arrived_ Jesse Slycum from Dorchester, Md_ Safely arrived_ He is a dark young men about 23 or 24 yr's of age.

May 16/56

(2)

Arrived_ Winey Petty²⁷² and her daughter Elizabeth, Safely arrived from from Norfolk. Va_ The Mother is about 22 yr's of age good looking, chesnut color, and Seems Sensible_ Certainly heroic_ From the latter part of last Oct. to the latter part of last March, she & her el child were confined in a cave, under a house occupied by a Slave family_ during which time they Suffered extreemly from the dampness & cold, getting frosted Somewhat. All this She imndured rather than be sold_ having been warned that doom awaited her,

On three previously occasions She had been sold, hence knew

²⁷² The trials of Winnie Patty and her daughter, Elizabeth, are recounted in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 387-88.

what it was and did not want any further experience about the matter.

Jacob Shuster, a Farmer, Methodist, and very hard Slave holder, & tyrant owned her_ Many others he had owned but had sold but a few having ~~broug~~ broke up the Farming business of late

May 25/56

Arrived_ Charlotte Giles²⁷³ & Harriet Eglan²⁷⁴ both escaped from Baltimore; (2) Charlotte was owned by Captain W^m Applegarth, shipping Merchants; & Harriet was owned by John Delahay, Dry Goods merchants_ Both are interesting and good looking young woman, 23, & 18 years of age, They left because they got tired of working for whites people_

²⁷³ Charlotte Giles and her companion, Harriet Eglin, eluded capture when they fled Baltimore dressed in heavy mourning clothes and veils, weeping quietly in their seats on the train. Their disguise was so effective that the master of one of them did not recognize her when he boarded the car to search for the runaways, even though he lifted her veil! Charlotte stayed only briefly in Philadelphia, from where she was forwarded to agents in western New York. Not comfortable there either, she removed to Canada. While in Canada, she wrote a letter back to Baltimore which was intercepted and used to imprison a man who had helped her in that city. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 214-15, 221-23.

²⁷⁴ Harriet Eglin escaped slavery in Baltimore with Charlotte Giles dressed in deep mourning with veils and weeping softly. Harriet settled in western New York where she worked in the household of the Reverend Charles Anderson. She wrote several letters to William Still, thanking him for his assistance, seeking her clothes in Baltimore, and apologizing for the problems Charlotte Giles may have created by revealing too much about the mechanics of her escape in a letter subsequently intercepted by city authorities. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 214-15, 221-23.

Considering, they had not been used very hard_ though had been dealt with rigidly.

In the cars after they had started, while yet at Baltimore, the owner, in Search of them appeared and asked them their names_ and was answered, but nevertheless he did not know them fictitious names being given_

May 29th 1856

Arrived_(3) Robert Smith, Chas. H. Ringold, John Henry Richards²⁷⁵ all arrived from Baltimore_

Robt. owned by W^m H. Norris, Chas. by James Hodges and so was John_ all living in Baltimore.

These young men are from 20 to 24 yr's of age } good looking, dark complected &c

²⁷⁵ Charles Ringold, Robert Smith, and John Henry Richards were all briefly mentioned in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 217.

[Blank]

(6)

June 3/56_ Arrived. Chas. Bird²⁷⁶, Geo. Dorsey²⁷⁷, Angelina Brown²⁷⁸, Chas.²⁷⁹ do. Albert²⁸⁰ do. & Jane Scott²⁸¹, all safely arrived from near Hagerstown Md.

Chas. is quite dark, 24 yr's of age and Smart_ Had been a laborer on a farm, He left because he was tired of working for nothing. His owner, David Claggart, was considered a moderate man_ had never been married_ Chas. left 4 Sisters, all slaves, owned by the Same man who owned him.

Jane is about 14 yr's of age, chesnut color, good looking intelligent &c She was owned by Geo. Sheaffer, Miller_ Jane to keep from being sold_ of her owner she had no word of praise to Speake_ he was a pretty hard man_

Geo. is a molato, medium size, intelligent brave

²⁷⁶ The life of Charles Bird in slavery is summarized in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 219-20. In Still's book, he includes Charles among the men attacking their white assailants.

²⁷⁷ George Dorsey is briefly mentioned in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 220. In Still's book, he is included among the men who attacked their white assailants.

²⁷⁸ Angeline Brown is briefly mentioned in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 221.

²⁷⁹ William Still does not mention Charles Brown in his book.

²⁸⁰ William Still does not mention Albert Brown in his book.

²⁸¹ Jane Scott is briefly mentioned in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 221.

He was attacked, in coming, not a great ways from home, by several men who came out of the woods, they caught his horse & himself at the same time (he ~~was riding~~ on horse back) but with the use of a big club he left two of the men lying in the road_ put spurs to his horse and soon left them behind_ Two other of his Company were also on horse back, but were not assailed_ 5 Five were likewise in a carriage; they broke down about nine miles from home_ hence had to the the carriage with all their baggage in it, in the road_ They then had to all get on horse back ~~three~~ so two horse, three mounting on each. Coming thus for 30 or forty miles they left the horse & walked. For a whole week they left out, fared as they could in the wood_ along the mountains &c.

George was owned by Geo. Shaffer a weather man in the miling business_

Angeline is a sister to George_ She is a nice looking young woman, small of Stature molato, intelligent &c, with ~~to~~ two children, boys. She also was owned by Mr. Shaffer_ They each testify that Mr. Shaffer was any thing other than a nice man_ Often threatened to Sell, and was hard to please with work. They left their mother & ten Bros. & Sisters_ She was formerly free but ~~h~~ liable to be taken at any moment.

(3) Arrived_ June 3rd 1856 Emily Ann Mahoney_(white) and daughter, came with David Lewis²⁸² from Leesburg, Va.

²⁸² David Lewis secured his escape from slavery in Leesburg, Virginia, with the uncharacteristic assistance of a local white woman. Once they safely reached Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, they concluded that it was wisest to abandon their horse and carriage and to ride the train into Philadelphia. Once there, the Vigilance Committee helped them. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 215-17.

David was owned by Joshua Pusey_ is about 27 yr's of age, quite dark, medium size intelligent &c_ In making his escape he took his Master Horse, the white woman with him hired ~~ing~~ a carriage_ and acted the part of the Mistress_ Hence they came unmolested by day light_ Stopped in Chambersburg at one of the Hotels all one night_ There were Suspected by the Tavern Keeper, but was told afterwards that he would not harm them, that they would find friends in Harrisburg &c. Consequently they left the [Editor's Note: The bottom third of page 273 has been cut away]

June 12/56

(2) Arrived_ Jane Johnson_ when in Harrisburg went by the name of Jane Wellington_

Was owned by David Beiller_ who lived near Hagarstown.

Jane is quite black, ~~black~~ 22 yr's of age

Anna Bell came Md. also

June 16/56

(1) Arrived_ Alfred Homer²⁸³, ansering to the following discription.
Came

[Editor's Note: 2/3s of the remaining page have been cut off from left to right]

²⁸³ Alfred Homer is briefly mentioned in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 388. The page also contains the runaway advertisement for Alfred. The text of the advertisement is also transcribed above on p.5 of William Still's *Journal C*.

June 30/56

275

~~July 1/56~~

(1) Arrived_ Dianna Bell, 30 yr's of age, arrived from Liberty District, where she was owned by Walker Simpson_ The treatment She received was bad especially from her Mistress.

July 6/56

(14) Arrived_ Fourteen came by one arrival, from Norfolk_ as follows_ Isaac Forman, Henderson Williams, W^m Seymour, Harriet Taylor, Mrs. Walker, Mary Bird, Mrs. Lewey, Sarah Saunders, Sophah Gray, Henry Gray, Mary Gray, (Sopha Gray & her children lived in Portsmouth,) Winfield Scott, belonged to W^m Taylor

[276]

Isaac is about 50 yrs of age, dark, tall & well made & quite genteel & intelligent, He was owned by Geo. Brown who resided at Deep Creek; he never used him well_ of late years had encreasedly the hire of Isaac_ For 30 yr's he had hired his own time finding himself every thing food, clothing &c.

He left a wife, Polly, whom he told before leaving of his intentions_ He also left two Daughters, Amelia A. and Mary Jane_ both Slaves_

B Henderson was owned by the ~~Abrick Estate~~ Estate of Abridgs In life had been used rugged_ Left a wife, Julia, and 2 children_ all free. He was ~~li~~ liable to be sold, to settle the Estate, which was the cause of his escape_ He is about 31 or 32, of a ~~robust~~ stout & healthy appearance. Worth \$1200_

W^m is about 34 yr's

chesnut color, well made ↑&↓ intelligent ~~and~~ . He was owned by W^m Taylor, "a very hard man, one of those men that cannot be pleased, would not get a pleasant ans., one time in ~~fff~~ fifty" _ ~~worth~~

Maransa Stiles alia Mrs. Walker is about 38 yrs of ~~a-ag~~ age, dark, good looking_ quite large, but active_ She was owned by Auther Cooper of Georgetown, but She had been hired out for the last 20 yr's, paying \$5_ per mo. besides having herself to find. Of her owners she could say nothing good_ She ~~had~~ left a husband a slave_

Rebecca Lewey is about 28 yr's of age, healthy, stout & genteel For a slave she has had no very hard usage, but nevertheless She was anxious for her freedom.

Mary Knight is about 26 yr's of age, single woman, dark stout & genteel_ had been ~~ues~~ used hard_

Nine(9)

July 21st 1856

Arrived per Capt. F. the following Passengers from Va. & North Carolina: Peter Hines²⁸⁴, from Eatontown N.C., James Morris²⁸⁵, from Norfolk, Matthews Baddums²⁸⁶, Eatonton, Plymouth N.C. James monroe²⁸⁷, South End, N.C., Chas. Thompson Porth^{↑s↓}mouth, va, Charity Thompson, Nathaniel Bowser, Porthmouth, Thos Cooper, Porthmouth. George Anderson, Elkton, Md.²⁸⁸ _

Peter is 21 yr's of age, Molato_ good looking, well made, and intelligent, As a Slave he had not been used hard as many slaves are_ He was owned Elias Hines, Lawyer, and was his body servant_

James is 27 yr's of age is quite intelligent, and can read & write_ He was owned [↑]by_↓ Ann

²⁸⁴ The life of Peter Hines in slavery is briefly recounted in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 316. Peter settled in Toronto, Canada West.

²⁸⁵ The details of the life of James Morris in slavery are recounted in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 316-17. James settled in Toronto, Canada West. He wrote often to William Still seeking to secure the escape of his wife and child from Norfolk. Still did not know if the two ever fled.

²⁸⁶ The life of Matthew Bodams in slavery is briefly recounted in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 317. Matthew settled in Toronto, Canada West.

²⁸⁷ After leaving Philadelphia, James Monroe settled safely in Toronto, Canada West. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 317.

²⁸⁸ William Still offered no further sketches of the balance of these fugitives.

M^cCourt, a desperate woman, "I never knew any good thing of her towards me," said James_ He was moved to leave on account of the threat, which had been made to sell him. As a slave he had been badly used. Had been sold three times_ but found ~~none of them~~ good ones_ owners.

Mathew is 23 yr's of age, very stout, no fool, indicates resolution & in~~ij~~ energy_ Is quite black &c, He was owned by Sam'l Simmons_ From him he had recd very badly treatment_ He left a Bro. in Martin Co.

July 28/56_ (6↑2↓) Arrived_ Richd. Reed²⁸⁹, & James Reed²⁹⁰_ (old names Perry, Shepherd & Isaac Reed_ and was owned by Sarah Ann Burgess, & Benjamin Franklin Huston_ Lived ↑on the↓ Eastærn Shore, Md.

Richd_ left his wife Milke Ann_ and 2 children Nancy & Rebecca_ all Free_

James' wife was, named Hester Ann Louisa, & his children as follows_ Philip Henry Harriet Ann & Mary Jane Elizath.

July 28/56

Arrived (4) Thos. Johnson²⁹¹, ~~nee~~ old name Geo. Sperryman, fled from Richmond_ had been owned Necholas Templeman_

Volentine Spires²⁹²_ now Jno. Wesley, fled last Christmas from Denwoody near Petersburg Va. He had been owned by Jesse Squires, M.D.

²⁸⁹ William Still refers to this individual as Perry Shepard in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 319.

²⁹⁰ William Still refers to this individual as Isaac Reed in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 319.

²⁹¹ William Still refers to this individual as George Sperryman in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 319.

²⁹² The life of Valentine Spires is briefly sketched in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 319.

Volentine left before he thought he was unjustly treated.

Geo. Tyler²⁹³, old name David Green_ fled from Warrington near Leesburg Va. had ↑been↓ owned by Elliot Curlett,_ He was threatened by his owner which caused him to flee. Left a wife & one one child_ both slaves_

W^m Gilbert²⁹⁴, old man James Johnson_ fled from Prince George's Md_ where he had been owned by Thomas Walker, W^m Gilbert is about 29 35 yr's of age_ stout and hearty looking

Harriet Gilbert²⁹⁵ wife of W^m G. is about 25 yrs of age. she had been owned by W^m T. Wood_ Had been well treated &c. But he Master had of late taken to liquor & She was in danger of being sold_

²⁹³ William Still refers to this individual as David Green in his brief recounting of his life in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 320. George's owner had threatened to sell him.

²⁹⁴ William Still refers to this individual as James Johnson in his brief recounting of his life in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 320.

²⁹⁵ The life of Harriet in slavery is briefly recounted in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 320.

(2) Aug. 4th 1856

Arrived_ ~~Geo~~ ↑Chas↓ Henry Cooper²⁹⁶ and W^m Israel Smith²⁹⁷, arrived from Middletown, Del, where Geo. was owned by Catherine Menaine, and W^m by John P. Carthen
an Feeling tired of laboring for nothing they make up their mind to seek their freedom by flight.

~~Geo~~ ↑Chas↓ left a mother in Bondage besides 3 brothers & 3 sisters_ some had been sold_ ~~Geo~~ ↑Chas↓ is about 22 yrs of age, brown Skin_ stout & well made.

W^m is about 21 yr's of age stout & well made, withal intelligent_
~~he was owned~~

(1) Aug. 4/54

Arrived_ Anna Dorsey²⁹⁸ arrived from Howard District, Md. she was owned

²⁹⁶ The Vigilance Committee helped forward Charles Henry Cooper to Canada. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 320.

²⁹⁷ The Vigilance Committee helped forward William Israel Smith to Canada. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 320.

²⁹⁸ Anna Dorsey is briefly mentioned in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 320.

by Eli Molesworth_ Anna is about 22 yr's of age, molato, intelligent, simstress &_

Aug. 18th 1856

(5) Five by one arrival_ Frank Wanser, Robert Stewart new name Gasberry Robinson, Vincent Smith, new name John Jackson, Betty Smith, wife of Vincent S., now Vany Jackson_ all these came from Allder, Loudon County²⁹⁹_

Robert is about 30 yrs of age, medium size, dark chesnut color intelligent and seems to possess a resolute mind_ He was owned by the Widdow Hutchinson, who owns nearly 100, others. She was always a "very hard Mistress untill ~~at the~~ Since the death of her husband, which took place last fall

²⁹⁹ See the biographical summary of Frank Wanser on p. 251, footnote 227. Frank returned to Virginia to rescue family members and their loved ones. For further information on Frank's return and details on the others, see Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 128-29.

that circumstances was the cause of a considerable change in her treatment towards her slaves_ never the less she said nothing about Freedom. Consequently as Robert Saw no prospect of obtaining his freedom through her agency, he deemest it safest to accept a suggestion made to him by a fugitives from Canada_ Frank Wanzer, who had fled in the ñ dead of winter 7 mos. previous_ Robert left behind his mother, Sarah Davis, 4 Bros. & 2 sisters_ as follows_ W^m Thos., Fredrick & Sam'l, Vilet & Ellen_ they all belong to the Widdow.

Vincent is about 23 yrs of age, fine looking dark complected young man_ of more than ordinary intelligence & gentility for one having been allowed no

chances for improvement. He was owned by Nathan Skinner, who was considered a good Slave holder_ He owned 12 others_ He neither sold nor emancipated. He di↑e↓d a year & half ago. Vincent left his Mother, Sisters and Brothers_ as follows; Mother_ Judah Smith, oldest Bro. Edwin, Angeline, Sina Ann, Adaline Susan, Geo., John & Lewis, all owned by the Same one who owned V. He was fortunately enough to bring his wife with him_ She is about 27_ Brown skin, smart &c. and had been held by the widdow Hutchinson's daughter; who was a clever woman for a Slave holder_

Aug. 18/56

Emory Mandloff from Smyrna. Emory was owned by John Henry Hopacker_ an man of

uncommon meanness_ His Farther had been sold away when a little he (Emory) was a little child_ he left a mother & other relatives however.

Aug. 20/56

(1) A young man from Va. Arrived_ Stopped at Gordons Jordon's on 7th St. and was investigated by J.C. White & forwarded on.

Sept. 1/56

(2) Arrived_ Benj. Wilson arrived from Woodsocket Md_ Where he had been owned by Jno. R. Brown, Farmer; a thin, slender, tall man, with black hair_ with ruff manners_ Benj. is about 30 yr's of age, round built, good looking and well made_ pritty tall and of a chesnut

color_ Was an exorter in the Union Methodist Church_ Left his wife, Lydia, and two Small children, Benj. And Thos._ He also left his Mother_ She was freed however and lives in Liberty, Md. One of his Sisters had been sold away to Missouri_

Chas Kelley came from Ricetown Md. where he had been owned by Mordicia Stock_ He is of chesnut color, good face intelligent, and of Medium size

Left 3 Sisters & two Brothers in stocks
possession_

His Mother had been sold to Georgia_

Sept. 5/56

(2) Arrived_ Geo. Wilmer & W^m Cornish both came together_

Geo. was owned by Eben Welch, farmer_ Left because he was in danger of being captured_ Left his wife Margaret but no children_ They lived near Georgetown Crossroad—

W^m is from Cambridge_ was owned by W^m Bedale, & others_ Left a wife & two children Delia Ann

Sept. 9/56

Arrived (4) Four came at one arrival_ as follows: Geo. Solomon³⁰⁰, owned by Daniel Minor, of Massgrove, Va., Daniel Neall³⁰¹, owned by Geo. Parker Grocery Merchant, of Washington D.C., Benj. R. Fletcher³⁰², owned by Henry Martin, of Washington D.C.; Maria Dorsey³⁰³, owned by Geo. Parker

³⁰⁰ Assisted by friends in Washington, D.C., George Solomon fled to Philadelphia and then went to Canada. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 79-80.

³⁰¹ Daniel Neall settled in St. Catherines, Canada West, after fleeing slavery in Washington, D.C. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 79-81.

³⁰² Benjamin Fletcher settled with Daniel Neall in St. Catherines, Canada West. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 79-81.

³⁰³ Maria Dorsey accompanied the preceding three men on their walk from Washington, D.C. to Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. From Philadelphia she apparently went to Canada. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 79-80.

Geo. Soloman is about 33 yr's of age, Molato, intelligent, and in appearce trustworthy. His Master, an old gentleman esteemed his services to valuable to part with. hence would not sell him for any price_ He had promised Geo. his freedom at his death but death not making his visit to the old gentleman_ as soon as Geo. expected. Consequently he thought he could not wait_ hence he found the Under Ground Railroad.

Daniel was not ruffly treated, but yet he ↑wanted↓ ~~was~~ his freedom and was willing to risk much to obtain it age 23, Molato, smart, and good looking_

Benj. R. ~~was~~ is 27 yr's of age ↑small↓ dark ↑man↓ smart, and_ ~~modest~~ Cohas a pleasant countenance. He left because of ill treatment from his Master, who "give no chance at all."

He left a Bro. & sister belonging to him, and he ~~st~~ left two other sisters in bondage, Louisa & Leathy, _ Mother and Father both dead.

Maria is about 40 yr's of age. Chesnut color, medium size & intelligent _ she left because she found her owners hard to please _ and heard them talking frequently of makeing a change in the family, consequently she thought she might as well save them the trouble.

Of her owners she had no praise to speak. She left one sister Alice Tyre, married moman _ Maria's husband was dead.

This party walked the greater part of the way to Harrisburg

[Editor's Note: The following text is of a runaway advertisement from a newspaper which was inserted in this page immediately following the last line of written text]

FOUR HUNDRED DOLLARS REWARD.

RAN AWAY from my house on Saturday night, August 30, my NEGRO MAN "Daniel," twenty-five years of age, bright yellow mulatto, thick set and stout made.

Also, my NEGRO WOMAN "Maria," forty years of age, thin appearance, bright mulatto,. The above reward will be paid if delivered in Washington city.

GEO. PARKER.

(1) Arrived Emeline F~~s~~tCh~~j~~atman³⁰⁴ now Susan Bell, arrived from Washington, having been owned by Robt. Thompson; In appearance She is genteel, tall, slender, dark complected and stammers slightly when talking. She left to Keep from being sold having been threatened already_ as to usage, having lived out, she did not complain of bad treatment. Though her owner had rec^d all her wages allowing her nothing for clothing, for the support of her children or any thing else_ consequently Emeline was obliged to Seek elsewhere for means for these things. She left her husband, John Henry, and her Daughter Margaret Ann, and son John Henry_ all in bondage,

³⁰⁴ Emeline Chapman was in Syracuse, New York, in October 1856 and had the local agent of the underground railroad, the Reverend Jermain Loguen, write to William Still regarding the condition of her children. She missed them greatly. A runaway advertisement for Emeline is reprinted in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 157-58. Emeline planned to remain in Syracuse until Still responded to the Reverend's letter.

(1) Arrived. Ann Maria Roxborough, new name Sarah Turpin_ Came from Saulsborough Md, where she was owned by Shady Lowe, by whom she had been hired out. Ann is about 45 yr's of age, black, tall and well made in proportion, and seems intelligent.

Sep. 22/56

(2) Arrived. Isaiah Bauer Brown and his Bro. Robert arrived from Harna Manor Cecil Co. Md where they were owned by Joel Bryan from whom they had rec^d bad treatment_ Left parents &c.

Sep. 24/56

(2) Robt. Gordon, new Saml Wilson, and Joseph Harris, new name Henry Jones both arrived from Queen Ann, Md where they had been owned by John Gordon farmer, Store Keeper &c. "did not like the treatment they were getting" was the cause of their leaving Robt was a fiddler.

Sep. 25/56

(3) Green Modock Perry Disney Isaac Doddson, all arrived from Carroll Co. Md, where they had been owned as follows: Green by W^m Dorsey, Perry by Robt Dade, and Isaac by Thos Bowings, all Farmers and all cra[?] and had disposed men_

They left because of bad treatment. They are all young & remarkably fine looking

Left parents & Brothers & sisters in bondage.

Sep. 29/56

(5) Five at one arrival, as follows; Cyrus Mitchell³⁰⁵, new John Steel, Joshua Handy³⁰⁶, new name Hambleton Hamby, Chas. Dutton³⁰⁷ new name W^m Robinson, Ephrame Hudson³⁰⁸, new John Spry, Frances Molock³⁰⁹, new Thos. Jackson.

Cyrus is about 26 yr's of age, tall, stout and quite dark and was owned by James K. Lewis

³⁰⁵ Cyrus Mitchell determined that his flight would have a higher likelihood of success if he traveled with others, so he recruited the other members of the party. They were forwarded to Philadelphia on the railroad from Wilmington, Delaware, after assistance from the Thomas Garrett, the Quaker conductor. Cyrus had hoped to reach Canada after departing Philadelphia. Cyrus was from Cambridge, Maryland, on the Eastern Shore. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 286-87.

³⁰⁶ Joshua Handy's life in slavery is recounted in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 287.

³⁰⁷ Charles Dutton's life in slavery is recounted in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 287.

³⁰⁸ Further details of Ephraim Hudson's life in slavery are contained in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 287.

³⁰⁹ Francis Molock is briefly mentioned in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 287.

Storekeeper_ hard master_ hired out his servants the th man who would pay the most however mean and bad he might be.

He had contemplated the idea of moving to Va. soon, this was what moved Cyrus to move_

He left his Father Cyrus and also his mother, Elizabeth_ both slaves.

Joshua is about is 27_ quite stout, Brown skin, intelligent &c. His owner was named Isaac Harris, Farmer, drunkard and so forth.

He left because he had resently sold his last and only brother_ He left Farther & mother, owned by said Harris_

Chas. is 22, stout and well made_ and was owned by Mrs. Mary Hurley_ has been used

ruff_ been sold &e for \$1200_ during the present year. This was what moved him to escape.

Ephram is 22_ stout_ used bad_ owned by John Campbell Henry, Farmer, was moved to leave ~~before~~ because of bad treatment_ The man to whom he was hired was a very hard_ He Left his m↑M↓other and 6 Brothers & Sister.

Francis is 21, dark, well made, and was owned by James H. Waddell, who was ↑a↓ hard man,

All came from the Eastern Shore of Md. All but Joshua, came from the neighborhood of Cambridge.

Sep. 30/56

(2) Arrived_ "Sam" Sims³¹⁰, now Wesley Powell, and Chas. Fowler³¹¹ now Allen Dorsey_ both came from Carroll Co. Md., and had been owned by as follows: sam. by Thos. B. Owings, and Chas. by Robt. Dade_ Farmers. and both "tuff" and "pretty mean".

Sam. left because his owner had threatened to sell him to Georgia, had also threaten[↑]e[↓]d to shoot him. Brothers & Sisters had been sold to Georgia.

Chas. left to keep from being sold_ a threat to that effect having been made so he thought he would not stay there.

Left his mother, Free, and 4 Sisters in slavery.

³¹⁰ A runaway advertisement for Sam Sims is contained in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 208. Other references to him appear on pp. 209-10.

³¹¹ A runaway advertisement for Charles is contained in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 210. Other references to him appear on pp. 208-09.

Oct. 3/56

(1) Arrived_ James Breeck

Oct. 6/56

(3) Thos. Clinton³¹², Sauney Pry³¹³, and Benj. Duckett³¹⁴ arrived safely.

Thos. Clinton came from Baltimore where he was owned by Benj. Walmsly, Rum Drinker _ With being "half fed & clothed Thos. was not satisfied, _ hence fled to better his condition. He is 21 yr's of age, dark chesnut color, well made and intelligent

Sanney Pry was origionally from Fauquire Co. but late of Loundon Co. Va. He had been owned up to last winter

³¹² Thomas Clinton's life in slavery is recounted in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 382.

³¹³ Sauney Pry's life in slavery is recounted in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 382.

³¹⁴ Benjamin Duckett's life in slavery is recounted in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 382.

by Nathan Clopton, a farmer and the owner of some 60 or 70 slaves_ "What kind of a man was your owner", said I to Sauney_ "Very mean swearing blustering man as any could be found started," was the reply. Sauney is 27 yr's of age, chesnut color, medium size & intelligent.

Benj. Duckett came from Bell Mountain, Prince George's County Md. where he had been owned by Sicke Perry, farmer, "one of the badest men about Prince George's_ would fight & kill up"_ The treatment caused "Ben" to leave_ He is 23 years of age, chesnut color sound built, good looking, medium size, and intelligent_ Left Farther, Mother, 2 Bros. and 3 sisters, owned by Marcus Devoe.

Oct. 14/56

(2) Arrived_ Ann Hinson ~~new~~ old name "Adalate Obleton" came from Hagarstown where she had been owned by Victor Thompson, Druggest, she left her Mother, one sister, Louisa Handy, and a daughter Martha Catherine 12 yr's old_ living with Daniel Momah,

Mary Davis, old name Josephene Morris, came from Rangle's Hill near St. George's Del._ The name of her Father was W^m ~~Hambleton Morris~~ ↑motherell↓ W^m Hambleton Morris_ She says she had been sold by him to W^m Motherell who lived near New Castle_ age 15, yellow_

Oct. 20/56

E(6) Elizabeth Lambert³¹⁵, Mary do, Horace do & W^m Henry do; W^m (Murray) Chambers³¹⁶ & Hiles Jones³¹⁷, all arrived together from the following places: Elizabeth and her 3 children came from Middletown Del. and had been owned by Andrew Peterson, Farmer. Being tired of Slavery they concluded to make their escape_ all promising in their appearance.

W^m came from near Baltimore_ Is about 33 yr's of age, intelligent, medium size, & chesnut color and ~~left~~ belongs to Washington Ford who lives in Baltimore.

Hile Jones came from Middletown, Del. owned by John Cochran, farmer, is 18 yr's of age, chesnut color &c.

³¹⁵ Elizabeth Lambert and her children are mentioned in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 382.

³¹⁶ William Still does not mention William Chambers in his book.

³¹⁷ Hill Jones is mentioned in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 382.

Oct. 23/56

(1) Arrived_ Joseph Heath arrived from Baltimore_ He is about 27 yr's of age, quite dark,_ smart, &c

Nov. 9. 1856

(5) Arrived as follows_ Major Latham³¹⁸ ~~age 44, intelligent, Sawyer, and was owned by John Latham, Farmer &c, Williamstown W^m~~
Wilson³¹⁹, Henry Goram³²⁰, Wiley Maddison³²¹, Andrew Shepperd³²²,
Major is 44 yr's of age, Molato, seems intelligent, and was owned Jno. Latham of Williamstown N.C_ His wife and three children were once moved away from him when the priviledged of seeing them were utterly cut off. Only a few Months past his owned flogged him brutally_ The flogging moved him to escape_

He left a wife and three children independent of those refered to above. Their names were Mizy Robinson,

³¹⁸ Major Latham was forwarded to Philadelphia on the steamship of Captain Fountain by the Quaker, Thomas Garrett, who also assisted Major and the others once they reached Wilmington, Delaware. He left for Canada from Philadelphia. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 379-80.

³¹⁹ Thomas Garret forwarded William Wilson from Wilmington, Delaware, on Captain Fountain's steamship. Wilson soon departed for Canada. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 379-81.

³²⁰ Henry Gorham was released from his cave in the swamp by an agent of the underground railroad who assisted him in North Carolina. He found him passage on the vessel which eventually brought Henry and the others to Philadelphia. He then departed for Canada. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 379, 381.

³²¹ Wiley Maddison and the others departed Philadelphia for Canada. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 381.

³²² Andrew Shepherd arrived in Philadelphia from Wilmington, Delaware, with the others aboard the steamship of Captain Fountain. They departed Philadelphia for Canada. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 379-81.

W^m is 42, Black Smith, medium size, intelligent and was owned by D^r Thos. Warren, Farmer who lived at Eatontown N.C. I was sold four times; ~~↑they↓ one of my master's treated me well, once ↑twice↓ from my wife—~~ twice was separated from my wife ~~↑wives↓~~ the my wife were sold far south, again ~~my Second wife~~ I married and was sold away to N.C. from Porthmouths, Va, from my wife Wanting to be my own free man was the cause of my seeking to escape_ ~~Left~~ My wife still remain in Porthmouth_ and is known by the name of Nancy Wilson_ owned by W^m Wilson_

Henry Goram is 34, heavy built, dark complected and Smart_ and by trade a carpenter_ The lash he had never felt_ but he ~~had~~ had always hated

slavery_ To be free he had fled to the swamp where he remained 11 mos. ere he found his way to the Underground Rail Road_ In the Cane and the swamp he abode and resolved to remain till death rather than to ~~sub~~ submit to Slavery_ From his wife he too had been sold_ ~~She however was not~~

Wiley is 19 yr's ~~↑of↓~~ age, fair enough to pass for white; indeed it was as a white man ~~that~~ he escaped_ Leaving Petersburg, on the cars_ he came ~~on the~~ without being molested_ he is smart and promises much.

Andrew is a fine looking speciman_ age 26, and Inginer &c. He left his wife Levina, and one child_ They were owned by a small orphan girl_ who ~~lived~~ lives in South End, Camden Co. N.C.

(3) Arrived as follows_

Betsey Stewart John Henry Vigal, and Henry Sims_ all from Washington D.C.

Betsey was owned by Mrs. Nesbit_ Widow, and a lady of wealth_. To her servants she was very severe_ Show↑ed↓ ~~ne~~ neither mercy or favor_ A short while previous to

Nov. 14/56

(3) Arrived_ Ann Parker, Lydia Parker, (daughter) & Henry Parker, (grandson) from Dorchester, Eastern shore, Md, where they had been owned by Edward Willey.

Nov. 19th 1856

(4) Arrived_ Jacob Brown owned by Lewis Brown of Washington, N.C. arrived per Boat_ He had been badly treated. Dark, medium size and about ~~18~~ 28 yr's of age.

James Harrison came from Middletown Del., and had belonged to Catherine Odine. Complexion yellow, good looking intelligent &c. Had been badly used.

Benj. Piney, came from Manna, Baltimore Co. Md_ where he had been owned by ~~Mayer~~ Mary Hawkins_ age 22, dark complexion, medium size and intelligent. Left because of ill treatment, and to shun being sold to Georgia_ having threatened_ Left his mother Esther Pinney; his Brothers & sisters had all been sold.

John Smith, age 19_ yellow, stout built, with marked features of mind &c ~~ow~~ had been owned [↑]by_↓ D^r Abraham Street, living at Marshall Destrict_ Harford Co, Md. Had a plenty to eate, drink, and wear, but was not willing to stay in slavery_ "I left for sport" I wanted to see the country_ If he had kept me in a ~~hh~~-Hodge Hogheade of sugar I would not stayed." Left his Mother Ann Smith, and one sister, Charlotte.

They told me any thing_ "told me to obay my ~~mast~~ Master, but I did not mind that, I am going off to see the Scriptures"

Nov.26/56

(4) Josiah Bailey³²³, W^m Bailey³²⁴, Peter Pennington³²⁵ & Eliza Nokey³²⁶, all came from Md. in company,

Josiah is 29 yrs of age, well made good looking, genteel intelligent &c His Master was named W^m R. Hughlett, a farmer & Dealer in Ship Lumber; and was the owner of some 40 slaves_ In his habits he was generally thought to be moderate, though was in the habit of flogging_ Male or Female adults, when ~~it~~ he felt so disposed_ Josiah was his Forman on him he depended to lead his harvest fields and to manage the hauling of his Ship Lumber &c. Consequently he was regarded as one of the most valuable hands \$2000_ he was estimated at.

3 weeks since, two weeks before he fled he striped Joe & flogged

³²³ William Still observed that Josiah Bailey "was a man of more than ordinary parts, both physically and mentally." Josiah apparently left Philadelphia for Canada with the others. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 272-74.

³²⁴ The recent details of the life of William Bailey in slavery are contained in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 273-74. He apparently left Philadelphia for Canada with the others.

³²⁵ William Still offers no details on Peter Pennington. He did mention, however, that he left for Canada with the others. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 274.

³²⁶ William Still offers no details on Eliza Nokey's life. He did mention, however, that she left for Canada with the others. Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 274.

him severely, Simply ~~before~~ because he had had a dispute with with one of the slaves who had stole \$7_ of his hard earnings from him. He left his wife and 3 children owned by Hughlett_ The wifes Name was Ann Maria and the children as follows: Ellen, Ann Maria & Isabella_

The whipping started in him for freedom_

~~slave~~ W^m Baily was owned by John C. Henry, a large Slaveholder, and decidedly a very hard Master_ W^m left because of a late flogging from the man whom he was hired to In appearance he was prepossessing

TWO THOUSAND SIX HUNDRED DOLLARS REWARDS.—Ran away from the subscriber, on Saturday night, November 15th, 1856, JOSIAH and WILLIAM BAILEY, and PETER PENNINGTON. Joe is about 5 feet 10 inches in height, of a chesnut color, bald head, with a remarkable scar on one of his cheeks, not positive on which it is, but think it is on the left, under the eye; has intelligent countenance, active and well made. He is about 28 years old. Bill is of a darker color, about 5 feet 8 inches in height, stammers a little when confused, well made and older than Joe; well dressed, but may have pulled kearsey on over their other clothes. Peter is smaller than either the others, about 25 years of age, dark chesnut color, 5 feet 7 or 8 inches high.

A reward of fifteen hundred dollars will be given to any person who will apprehend the said Joe Bailey and lodge him safely in the jail at Easton, Talbot co., Md., and \$300 for Bill and \$800 for Peter.

**W. R. HUGHLETT,
JOHN D. HENRY,
T. WRIGHT**

(2) Arrived_ Dec. 29/56 Henry Johnson, new name, originally Andrew Jackson, age 23 yrs, quite dark, medium size &c and was owned by Thos. Palmer, who owned 7 or 8 others; He lived near Cecil Md. He was a blustery man and followed farming

W^m Hughes fled from Daniel Cox, Eastern Shore, Md. he is about 22 yr's of age dark, Slender and appears to have had a dark life of it, Judging from his actions.

Phil^a Jan'y 3/57

(1) arrived. Wesley Williams arrived from Worrick, Md_ where he had been owned by Sack Jones, from whom he had rec^d almost Daily floggings, and scanty diet. Left his Mother (Free) and one Sister (in slavery).

(1) Jan. 11/57

Rosann Johnson now Catherine Brice fled from Harford Co. near the Rock of Deer Creeck, and was owned by D^r Abraham Street, a pretty tight Master_ ~~Rose Ann left to persue a~~ Rose Ann is about 30, dark, medium size, and intelligent_ Left 2 Bros. and her Father behind_

~~Jan.~~ Feb 9/57

(1) Arrived_ John Small wood, of Ellicotts Mills, Md. came away because of bad treatment_ from Sam'l Simons, who owned him. He left behind his Mother, & two Bros. owned by Simons.

Feb. 17/57

Henry Townsendsend_ arrived from Caroline County, Purnell, P.O. Md_. Left on acc't of ill treatment_ with the cowhide his back had been severely cut. Is about 21 yr's of age_

dark chesnut color, medium size, Left behind his Mother, two Bros, and one Sister, in slavery. The name of his owner was E. Townsend_Farmer_

Feb. 22/57

John Bennett³²⁷ alias Joseph Gant, age 27 yrs, well made quite black and quite intelligent. Two years ago last May was sold from Eastern sShore of Md. to a Trader by the name of John B. Campbell of Baltimore, who sold him to New Orleans to his Bro. who was also a Traader_ from N.O. he was sold to David Daniel M^cBean, of Miss, Harrison County_ ~~From Mr M^cBean he received~~ The thought of his wife from whom he had been sold in Md_ rendered him dissatisfied_ After being on the 3 plan about 3 weeks, and not being

³²⁷ The extraordinary account of the life and flight of Joseph Grant—as William Still refers to this individual—is contained in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 132-34. Apparently, Joseph went to Liverpool, England, after departing Philadelphia.

satisfied with one of his ↑owners↓ part owners, who occasionally ~~th~~
~~threat~~ threatened him pretty sternly_ he ran away_ went ↑to↓ Kent
Island_ a distance of 80 miles_ The man attending the light on the
Island mistreated him_ and captured him_ with his boat_ (80 miles he
had sailed across the lake. After he got him into the Boat, he pulled
out his pistols dirk cutlash &c_ threatening the consequence would be
if he did ↑not↓ keep still_ Back again. ~~on~~ Remained ~~till~~ a few
months and could stand it no longer_ Started for Md. again_ Walked 8
~~miles~~ to Mobile, 80 mi_ stowed himself away in a steam Boat then,
and went to Mtgomery ↑550 miles↓_ where he was again caught &
carried back_

and stayed only a little ~~of~~ over a month and put out again_ which caused no little trouble and expense_ which the owners thought they could indure no longer. They then brought the Slash into requisition_ 300 in numb. Cross. ~~my~~ ↑your↓ hands_ what for? I shall not do it_ I then left again Remained 5 weeks_ The owner considering that he was not to be trusted ~~sai~~. Said; I had rather loose my right arm ↑than↓ for him to get off without being punished after putting us to ~~all this~~ so much trouble_ He therefore sent his headman to tie me_ I told him I would not be tied_ I ran and stayed away 4 days_ which made Mr. Henry very anxious_ Mr M^cBeans told his people if they saw me to tell me to come back, that I should not be

hurt_ I was over persuaded_ think as Mr. Beans had always stood to his word (He was the good pardner) ~~that~~ I thought I would come back again. He sent for me in his parlor_ talked the matter over, after which told me to go to the steam Boat &c shortly after being on board_ the capt. told him he was very sorry to tell ~~him~~ ↑me↓ he had to be tied_ He tied me & then sent of for Mr Henry_ He came_ well, have I got you at last, said he. Beg my pardon & promise you will never run away again and I will not be so hard on you_ I could not do it. He then gave me 300 lashes well laid on_ being striped intirely naked_ my flesh was as raw as a pice of beef_ Then made one of the men f bath me in salt & water_ My foot ~~was~~ ↑was↓ held by a fellow servant_

Resolved to go then or die in the attempt_ stayed only a week_ but could not work_ ~~being~~ on account of the flogging_ went to Ship Island_ the sailors being English men was very sorry to hear of it_ and counseled me how I might be Free_

In Md' I was owned ~~bi~~ by Mary C. Gibson a nice woman_ ~~she~~ Her property was morgaged, and had to be sold_ so I had to sold to_ My [↑]Dear_↓ wife promised me that she would never marry_ and desired me to write to her, and if I ever met with the luck to come see her_ I have seen my owner whip one of his slaves to death at the Tree to which he was tied_ His pardner Mr. Henry would frequently make them lye down, striped, acrost a log, and would whip them, every stroke laying the flesh open.

Being used to it some would on the long without being tied_ In N.O. I have seen women stretched out on Boxes, just as naked as my hand_ given a 150 well laid on_ From men, my self one_ holding them on the Box_ After releasd they could not sit down or hardly walk_ This was at the "Fancy House" in N.O. 3 were so whipped one occasion. I have seen the chain gangs_ one man chained to another ~~and~~ 4 & 5 making the gang_ cleaning the streets_ I could hardly till sunday the f slaves are always kept going_

John came came from St. Michael's, Md.

John Speaks³²⁸ a young man of 25 or 6 came from Miss with John Bennett well made chesnut color intelligent &c He too had been sold from Md at the same time that his companion was sold. also f fled to Liverpool

³²⁸ John Speaks is briefly mentioned in Still, *Underground Rail Road*, 132. Apparently he accompanied Joseph Grant to Liverpool, England.

[Blank]

Madison Gaskins, has a wife and 4 children at Middleburg, Fa Loudon Co. Va_ held by W^m Burns living about 15 miles from Middleburg_ He is a Farmer, 70 yr's of age, in good standing He owns some 40 or 50 slaves_ Gaskins family go by the following names_ Ann Gaskins, mother, John William, 20_ Azariah, 9, Moses Henry 5 yrs Ann 2 yrs, next Apr, Her Mother is named Allice is about 50_ It will not do to let her know of the scheme unless she can be safely brought on with the rest_ They are some 40 miles from Alexandria_ \$300_ will be paid