

"Yours, in the cause of the slave"

A Document Packet for Teachers and Students

Published by the Vermont Historical Society, 1997 with funding provided by the Vermont Council on the Humanities, under a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities and by Green Mountain Power

ON THE COVER: Plate from $The\ Liberty\ Almanac$, 1847 Collection of the Vermont Historical Society

DESIGN: BRIAN P. GRAPHIC ARTS www.brianpgraphics.com

Dear Teachers,

Vermont was one of the most active states involved in the anti-slavery movement before the Civil War. It is known that many slaves escaped through Vermont to Canada, but it is only recently that historians have found the documentary evidence of who the fugitives were, how they escaped, what their routes were, or how they might have been hidden or sheltered.

In 1995, the Vermont State Legislature authorized the Vermont Department of State Buildings and the Vermont Division for Historic Preservation to undertake a study on Vermont's role in the underground railroad. The study was undertaken by Ray Zirblis, an historian from Calais, Vermont, and resulted in a published report "Friends of Freedom: The Vermont Underground Railroad Survey Report."

In 1996, the Vermont Historical Society received a grant from the Vermont Council on the Humanities to hold a series of public programs on Vermont and the underground railroad. In addition to these programs, this document packet for teachers has been produced with funding from the grant and Green Mountain Power. The goals of this project were two-fold: to provide teachers and their students with information on this important historical topic and to reproduce original documents from the Vermont Historical Society's collections for educational purposes.

This project would not have been possible without the ideas and information provided by the project scholar, Ray Zirblis. We are also grateful for the help of Carol Place, Educator, at Rokeby Museum. The Rokeby Museum's collection of letters, artifacts, and documents on this important era of Vermont's history is unsurpassed.

We hope you find this packet of documents and essays useful in your teaching of United States and Vermont history.

Sarah Rooker, Educator Vermont Historical Society

As the canal has closed I shall seven when free of business clusing the season. C.G. We har 22. Michs. cels 13 in the city at one time. Some of them noble look I aprile you me female so such white of so keautiful the naster has been offered at differ to time & \$ \$1200-1.500 d 2.000, A perposes. a Valterion officer-a mon hunter was seen in making his deservations but left without giving as any how and the time. One of slaves at the time. mows a timor to evil doers who his by solbery. How goes the with Aprepin in your Hood Staines, "des on? ban you not give envery to the enveres for the thust, at so ents? a mon is to spend the winter at ll reports feelly the clongs of congress as its respects slavery of tical of the Armston Caption. Do and in encutating the paper. elley Good the your to yours. ely love to your self- of muestes & all the friends of your fellow Sewards el Shall hereafter muchy give your a earon de mon convents

"Yours, in the cause of the slave"

Using the Document Packet

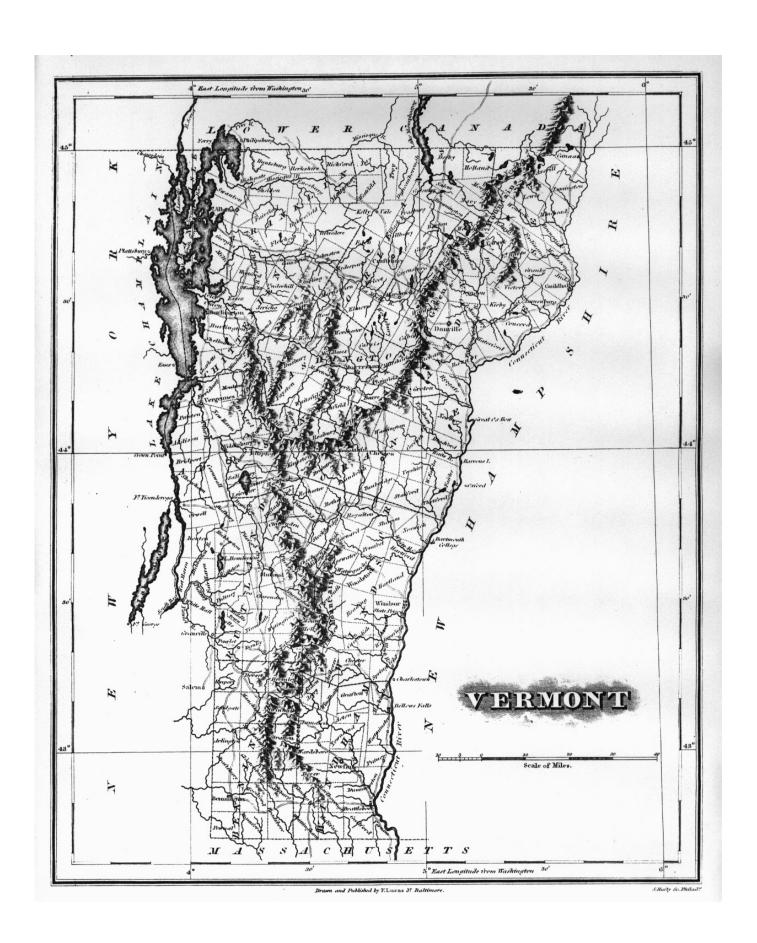
This packet contains a variety of materials for studying the underground railroad.

- **HISTORICAL ESSAYS** provide background information on slavery in Vermont, Vermont's role in the anti-slavery movement, and descriptions of activists and fugitives.
- **DOCUMENTS** provide students with primary source materials. They include newspaper clippings on the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 and on fugitives passing through the state as well as letters between abolitionists about their activities involving fugitives.
- **DOCUMENT QUESTIONS** help students find their way through the primary documents.
- A **CASE STUDY** focuses on the Robinson family of Ferrisburg. The Robinsons provided shelter for many fugitives. Numerous letters and other materials survive to document their activities.
- **TEACHING SUGGESTIONS** provide standards-based activities that connect the essays, case study, and documents.
- A GLOSSARY and BIBLIOGRAPHY are included for students who wish to move beyond the materials provided in this packet.
- The **TIME-LINE** links major events in Vermont to events that took place on a national level.

In the end, we hope that students will have learned some of the following about the underground railroad in Vermont:

- During the Colonial period there were slaves in New England, including Vermont.
- Not all fugitives went to Canada, some stayed in Vermont.
- Vermont was against the 1850 Fugitive Slave Act .
- Viewpoints were communicated via lectures, print, and newspapers.
- Not all Vermonters were pro-abolition.
- Entire families were involved in aiding the fugitives.
- Fugitives were mainly young males.
- Free black Vermonters were also activists.
- Activists also protested slavery by boycotting Southern goods.
- Activists helped fugitives by giving them clothes, eyeglasses, education, shelter, and work.

Most importantly, we hope that students learn that they need a variety of evidence in order to gain a complete understanding of an historical topic. We hope they learn that national events and political issues affected Vermonters in very personal ways. And, we hope they learn that Vermonters thought very carefully about how their actions affected not only the people who passed through their homes, but society as a whole.



The Underground Railroad in Vermont

hen Vermont's Constitution was ratified in 1777, the state became the first to prohibit slavery, stating "all subjects of the commonwealth, of whatever color, are equally entitled to the inestimable blessings of freedom...." However, from the 1770s to the 1800s instances of slaves can be found in Vermont's records. For example, in 1802 the town of Windsor refused to support an elderly black woman named Dinah who had been a slave. The town officials felt that her original owner, Stephen Jacob, should have provided for her in her old age. Jacob's lawyer argued that people in town had enticed Dinah away from him years earlier "by siren songs of liberty and equality."

Fugitives from nearby states came to Vermont because of its anti-slavery laws. In 1816, Pompey Vanderburgh escaped from New York to Vermont. Separated from his parents at an early age, he had been sold many times. He finally ran away after hearing that he was to be traded for a "mouse colored horse." He was helped by a stage driver and hidden in the Old Weeks Tavern near Bennington. Vanderburgh settled in Bennington, married, and raised nine sons.²

In 1834 slavery was abolished in Great Britain. As a result, Canada became a place of refuge for fugitive slaves. There, they could find safety and security. In increasing numbers, fugitives from the upper South traveled north. Some, passing north from Boston, New York City and Albany, traveled through Vermont on their way to safety in Canada. But not all of these fugitives ended up in Canada. Many fugitives settled in Vermont or stayed in Vermont for long periods of time as they gathered their strength, money, and other resources for beginning a new life.

Vermonters helped these fugitives by passing them from household to household. Some of the household members were from the same family, some belonged to the same church, and others knew each other through their political activities.

Among the activists (those who helped the fugitives) were Oliver Johnson of Peacham, Rowland T. Robinson of Ferrisburg (see the Case Study), Charles Hicks of

Shaftsbury (see Documents I and II), and Stephen F. Stevens of East Montpelier. These men and their families did not simply pass the fugitives along after one night's lodging. Often they had the fugitives stay on their farms to work for wages. These wages were important to the fugitives—they would need money to begin their new lives. Some fugitives also needed to learn a trade or go to school so that they would be able to find work. In 1838 Secretary of State Chauncy L. Knapp drove from Montpelier to Ferrisburg to pick up a fugitive named Charles (see Document III). He wanted to help Charles finish his schooling and learn the printing trade. Much of this evidence suggests that activists sheltered, rather than hid, fugitives.

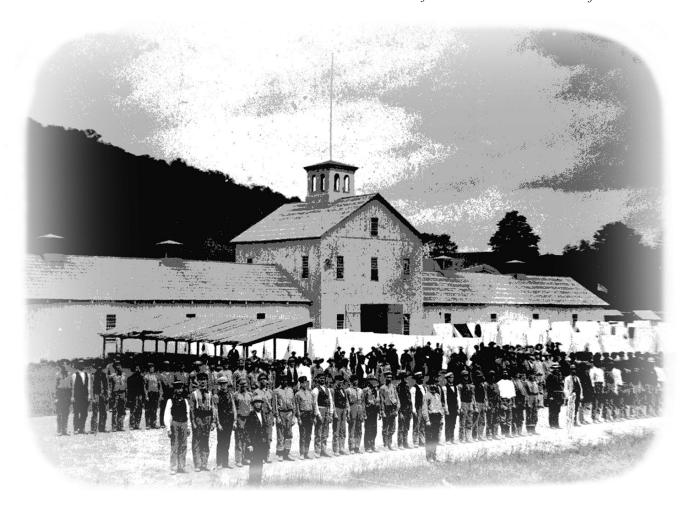
By the 1840s, more fugitives traveled through Vermont. Historians know this because they have found newspaper articles describing stories of escape. During this time there were several abolitionist newspapers in Vermont. They told stories of fugitives as part of their "propaganda war" against slavery. By telling such stories, the newspapers were able to demonstrate that slaves wished to be free, and they were smart enough to choose how they wanted to live. The stories also showed that southern slave owners mistreated slaves.

In 1850, Congress passed the Fugitive Slave Act. It had been against the law to aid fugitives, and this law increased the penalties for helping them. Vermont abolitionists, many of whom were newspapermen or ministers, condemned the Act (see Document IV). Reverends Cyrus Prindle of Shelburne and Kiah Bailey of Hardwick preached against it. Even Vermont's legislature was against the Act. They passed laws that made it very difficult for anyone to capture a fugitive and return him or her to a slave master. Others broke the law by capturing fugitives from slave catchers. In 1851, a fugitive named Shadrach was arrested in Boston by U.S. Marshals. Louis Hayden, a fugitive himself, and about 100 other black men freed Shadrach from jail. He was taken, hidden in a wagon, through Cambridge, Concord and Leominster, Massachusetts. He was then passed north to Vermont and finally to Montreal.⁴

Not everyone in Vermont fully supported those involved with the anti-slavery movement. Reverend Joshua Young, minister of Burlington's Unitarian Church, frequently spoke out against slavery in his sermons. After the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act, he declared from the pulpit that the law could not be upheld because there was "a power superior to Congress, a law higher than any human constitution." He also predicted that the slavery issue might have to be settled with arms. While the members of Young's church might have been uncomfortable with his sermons, they did not do anything about it. In 1859, however, Reverend Young went too far when he preached the funeral service of John Brown. Three years later, Young was forced to resign.

Throughout the 1850s and through the Civil War, many Vermonters continued to help fugitives begin new lives. Vermont was the first state to offer troops to Abraham Lincoln at the beginning of the Civil War. Some of Vermont's soldiers even helped escaped slaves while on the battlefield. It is said that Thorton Jackson Kenney, born a slave in Virginia, made friends with Vermont soldier John Powers. He stayed in the camp with Powers and met many other Vermonters. Eventually Kenney came to Vermont where he settled, married, and farmed.⁵ After the war ended, as many as twenty thousand fugitives returned to the United States from Canada. Some went far south, searching for loved ones. (See page 30 for endnotes.)

BELOW: The 3rd Vermont Regiment mustering at Camp Baxter, St. Johnsbury, Vermont, 1861. Collection of the Vermont Historical Society.



The Anti-Slavery Movement

he Vermont Anti-Slavery Society was formed in 1834 just one year after the formation of the American Anti-Slavery Society. One hundred delegates from 30 towns throughout Vermont came to the first meeting. The Chairman of the Executive Committee for the Vermont Anti-Slavery Society was Rowland Robinson (see the Case Study). The purpose of the organization was to "abolish slavery in the United States and to improve the mental, moral, and political condition of the colored population."

The Anti-Slavery Society did not feel it was right to interfere with slavery or encourage slaves to revolt. Rather, the Society tried to accomplish its goals in a moral way through argument or convincing others of its beliefs. They wished to "expose the guilt and danger of holding men as property" by publishing pamphlets, newspaper articles, and songs as well as lecturing in churches and at public meetings.²

By 1837 there were 89 local anti-slavery societies in Vermont with over 5,000 members. Bennington's anti-

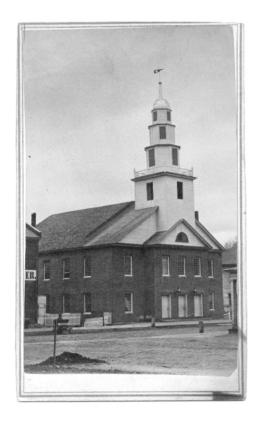
slavery society was founded in 1837 with 140 members. The Lincoln-Starksboro society had 485 members. African-Americans also belonged to the anti-slavery societies.

Not all Vermonters agreed with the anti-slavery societies. Some people disapproved of the societies because they felt that slaves were too ignorant to be free and that abolitionists were taking away the rights of slave owners. Many thought that anti-slavery societies were endan-gering the Union.

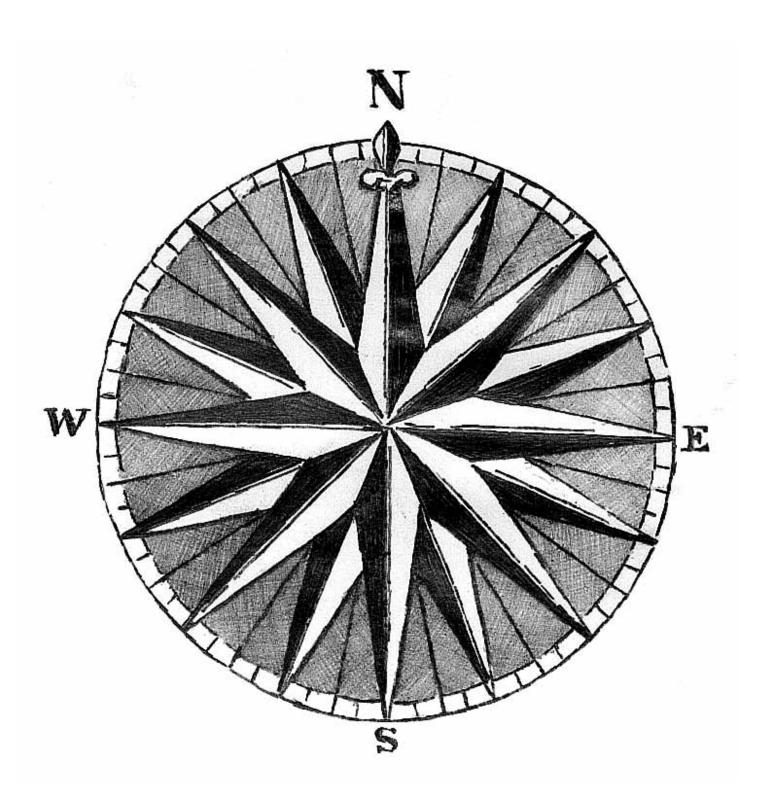
Objections to the Vermont Anti-Slavery Society were sometimes violent. In 1835 abolitionist Samuel J. May made a lecture tour through the state and was mobbed five

times. The most famous riot took place at Montpelier where Mr. May had been invited to address the Society. Many of the members of the legislature then in session were abolitionists, and May was offered the use of Representatives Hall for his first meeting. In spite of a few rotten eggs and stones, he gave his speech and accepted a second invitation for the next evening to speak from the pulpit of the Congre-gational Church. In the morning, notices appeared about Montpelier advising "the people generally and ladies in particular not to attend the anti-slavery meeting, as...the person who is advertised to speak will be prevented by violence if necessary." In the afternoon May received a letter requesting him to leave town "without any further attempt to hold forth the absurd doctrine of anti-slavery." When May rose to speak, chaos began at once and a rush was made for the pulpit to the cry of "throw him over, choke him!" Colonel Jonathan P. Miller was one of the many men who helped to escort May to safety.³

By 1855, when Solomon Northrup, a kidnapped freeman, spoke at the Montpelier Free Church, there was little such excitement—more and more Vermonters were beginning to understand the anti-slavery goals. In 1860, Abraham Lincoln swept Vermont with 75.8 percent of the vote, and, soon, many Vermont-ers would go off to war to fight slavery and defend the Union. (See page 30 for endnotes.)



The Congregational Church in Montpelier, where Samuel May faced down a pro-slavery crowd in 1836. Collection of the Vermont Historical Society.



Who's Who: Activists and Fugitives in Vermont

istorians don't know much about who participated in the underground railroad in Vermont. It was a system that depended on oral communication which means that there is little documentary evidence surviving to tell their stories. The evidence that we do have about activists and fugitives includes oral traditions, newspaper accounts, and a very few letters.

The activists who participated in the underground railroad were Quakers, other ministers, reformers, and members of all the political parties. By trade they were printers, farmers, lawyers, teamsters and businessmen—there was even a Vermont Secretary of State (see Document III). Free blacks, such as steamboat cook Tony Anthony, were also involved in the underground railroad.¹

Often, entire families helped. There is a story that fugitives slept on the floor of the Higley House, now the Castleton Historical Society, while the Higley women prepared food for them. Young Henry Hicks of Bennington grumbled at his father's order to take a fugitive family by wagon to Shaftsbury because he had already made the trip once that week.²

It seems that the fugitives escaping through Vermont were most often male and between the ages of fifteen and thirty. There is evidence of a few women traveling alone and a few families traveling together. Most of the fugitives escaped from the upper slave states. Some traveled by water from the deep South to ports such as Boston. Most came nearly destitute "like the Terrapin (turtle)," as one fugitive said, "with only what they had on their backs."³

Delia Webster, born in 1818, was a school teacher from Vergennes. She began teaching by taking charge of younger pupils at her school when she was twelve years old. She attended Oberlin College in Ohio—a college with many abolitionists. In 1842, Delia moved to Lexington, Kentucky (a slave state), where she ran a ladies' seminary. On September 28, 1844, she helped

fugitives Lewis Hayden and his family escape slavery by taking them by carriage to Ohio. While on her return to Lexington, she was mobbed, arrested, and imprisoned. She received a pardon and returned to Vermont, where she continued to be active in abolition activities (see Document V). Lewis Hayden and his family visited Webster at her family home in Vergennes and settled in

Boston. Hayden became an important leader in the abolition movement; he helped to free Shadrach from the Boston Courthouse and worked with John Brown on his plan to attack Harper's Ferry.⁴

Colonel Jonathan P. Miller sheltered fugitive slaves at his house in Montpelier. He was a legislator and lawyer. His daughter, Mrs. Abijiah Keith, recalled that stage coach drivers frequently brought fugitives to the house. Colonel Miller also protected abolition lecturer Reverend Samuel May from a mob in 1836. He faced down an angry pro-slavery

crowd at the Congregational Church and escorted May to safety. $^{5}\,$

Loudon S. Langley was a free black Vermonter who lived in Hinesburg in the 1850s. He was passionately engaged in abolition and sheltered at least one fugitive in 1855. With the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863, Langley joined the 54th Massachusetts (black) Infantry and served in the Civil War until the Confederate surrender.⁶

Joe, a North Carolina fugitive, was about twenty-three years old when he stowed away on a ship north-bound out of Wilmington, Delaware, in 1858. He hid for six days before the ship sailed, living on a little cracker and cheese. He was discovered as the ship neared the New England coast. The captain beat Joe and then went ashore to contact customs authorities. Joe jumped overboard and swam ashore, only to be captured. Local abolitionists arrived and asked Joe if he wanted to be freed. A crowd faced down the customs officials and Joe passed along the underground railroad from Worcester, Massachusetts, to Montpelier, Vermont, and finally to Canada. (See page 30 for endnotes.)

As the canal has closed I shall swon when freeds along your sound the Jeason, C.G. We hand 22. cels 13 in the city at one time. Some of them noble look I april you me female so such white of so beautiful the naster has been officer at differ to times \$ 1200-1,500 d 2.000, A perposes. a Walterion officer-a mon hunter was seen in making his observations but left without giving as any how slaves in our cit. In blank in our city from Battimore at the time. mows a timor to coul closers who live by solbing. How goes the with offeresion in your Hoor Stawes, "Cles on? Can you not give current to the Omore pater for the h lust, at 50 ents? a mon is to spend the winter ast ll reports feelly the clongs of congress as it setted for tice of the Armston captured. Do and in encutating the baper. May Good the your to yourself - of minesters & all the friends of your fellow Shipher el Shall hereafter much give your earon'ds mon conouth

Making the Documents Accessible

ome of the documents included in this packet may be difficult for your students to read. You may want to begin by reading the documents out loud, stopping to discuss confusing vocabulary and issues as you go along. You may also want to point out that spelling errors and lack of punctuation were common during the period.

You might divide the documents among small groups of students. Have the students first read the

information about the document and the accompanying questions. This will give them some direction. Groups could then report their findings to the class.

Another approach might be to give each group a worksheet with the following questions: What is this document? When was it written? What is its purpose? Who wrote it? List three things the document tells you. What does this document say about the underground railroad?

LETTERS

Document I. Abel Brown to Charles Hicks, 1842

INFORMATION: This letter was written in 1842 by Abel Brown to his friend Charles Hicks. It was carried by a fugitive on the underground railroad. Abel Brown asked Charles to either give the fugitive work or send him "on his way." This letter reveals several pieces of evidence about how the underground railroad worked: some fugitives carried letters of introduction between activists, some activists gave fugitives work, and one "route" was between Albany and Bennington.

QUESTIONS: What was the purpose of this letter? How did this letter get to Mr. Hicks? What did Mr. Brown want Mr. Hicks to do?

Document II. Shipherd to Hicks, 1840

INFORMATION: This letter was written in 1840 to Charles Hicks. The letter reveals that some fugitives

actually took the canal north to freedom. Because the canal was closed, he sent the fugitive another way. The letter also gives us a sense of the number of fugitives that were passing through his town at a given time. He also mentions slave catchers in the area. Obviously the writer is worried that he might be caught—at the end of the letter he mentions that he will "hereafter merely give your address on a card."

QUESTIONS: Why did Mr. Hoosick have to send his "southern friend" to Brother Hicks? How many fugitives were in Rensselaer, New York, in the season? Why did he decide to only give his address on a card in the future?

Document III. Chauncy Knapp to Mason Anthony, 1838

INFORMATION: Chauncy Knapp was Secretary of State in Vermont between 1836 and 1840. He was also the editor of the anti-slavery newspaper, The Voice of Freedom, and very active in anti-slavery activities such as sheltering fugitives. In this letter, Knapp reveals that

he is actually sheltering a fugitive named Charles in his office at the Vermont State House, after having gone to Ferrisburg to pick him up. The letter also reveals that Charles was not going to be hidden away. Instead he was to attend church and go to school. Later, Knapp hoped that Charles might learn the printing trade. Charles settled in Vermont for the rest of his life.

QUESTIONS: Where was Charles while Chauncy Knapp was writing this letter? This letter reveals three stops that Charles made on his way to freedom. What were they? Can you plot his route on a map? Was Charles fleeing to Canada? What would Charles be doing in Montpelier? Was Charles being hidden or sheltered?

NEWSCLIPPINGS

Document IV. Daily Free Press, October 7, 1850

INFORMATION: In 1850 Congress passed the Fugitive Slave Act as part of the Compromise of 1850. Vermont immediately responded by passing

an act to block the carrying out of the Fugitive Slave Act—southern states were not the only states protesting acts of Congress during this period. Anti-slavery newspapers also protested the Act by printing notices stating that fugitives would be safe in Vermont.

QUESTIONS: What did this notice say to fugitives? What did this notice say to slave catchers? What was the Daily Free Press protesting?

Document V. Notices, 1844-1854

INFORMATION: These clippings are from the Green Mountain Freeman, the Burlington Free Press and the St. Albans Messenger. The Green Mountain Freeman was an anti-slavery newspaper published in Montpelier. These newspapers frequently printed notices from other states about runaway slaves. It is more rare to find notices about fugitives passing through Vermont.

QUESTIONS: What were the "certificates" of Giles's profession? How did Francis Shoemake escape from South Carolina? How would you characterize the fugitives (male? female? families? young? old?)? Who was being held in a Kentucky dungeon (hint: look on the "Activists and Fugitives" page)? What was the point of the notice about her?

ANNUAL REPORT

Document VI. The Chittenden County Anti-Slavery Society, Burlington, 1840

INFORMATION: The Chittenden County Anti-Slavery Society was one of 89 local anti-slavery societies in Vermont. The purpose of these organizations was to spread knowledge "of all the evil and crime of slavery in the United States" by papers, periodicals, books, and lectures. The Chittenden County Anti-Slavery Society was formed in 1838 and had Chauncy Knapp as its first speaker.

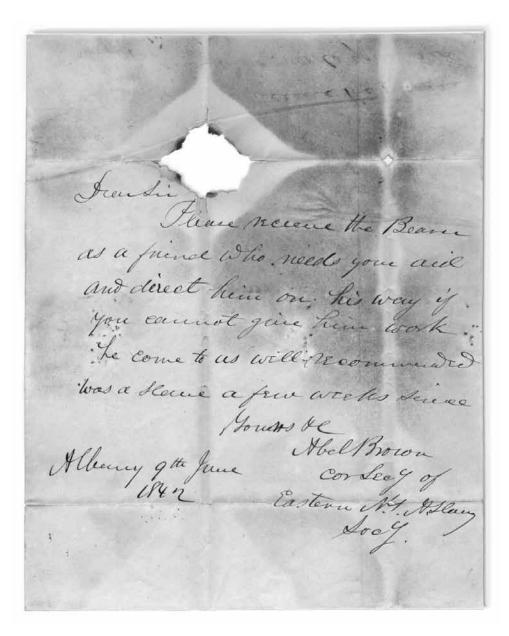
QUESTIONS: Name three things that the Chittenden County Anti-Slavery Society accomplished in 1839-1840? How many fugitive slaves had passed through Chittenden County?

ARTIFACT

Document VII. The Ellis House, Fair Haven, Vermont

INFORMATION: Barnabas Ellis came to Fair Haven in 1813. His brick home, built in 1828, is located on South Main Street in Fair Haven. Barnabas's son, Zenas C. Ellis, is said to have sheltered fugitives in a barn on the property. They were then taken to Whitehall where they were put on canal boats to make the trip up Lake Champlain to Canada.

QUESTIONS: The work of an historian is often something like that of a present day detective, except that the "crime" or event being investigated happened long ago. How good a detective can you be? Examine the information collected by Siebert from the Rutland Daily Herald. What does it tell about the underground railroad? Where does the information come from? Is the information credible? Why? What other information would need to be found to "prove" the Ellis house was an underground railroad stop?



See typescript on reverse.

Collection of Vermont Historical Society.

Document I.

Letter. Abel Brown to Charles Hicks, 1842

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Charles Hicks
Hinsdaleville, Bennington town, Vermont

Dear Sir
Please receive the Bearer
as a friend who needs your aid
and direct him on his way if
you cannot give him work
he come to us well recommended
was a slave a few weeks since
Yours tl
Abel Brown
cor Secy of
Eastern N.Y. Aslavery
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Socy.

Albany 9th June 1842

GUHGoosen Hoosick Renfselaur bounty New York Brother Hicks. As the canal has closed I shall sends my Southern freewood along your road & pationise your house. The had a fine sun of business clusing the Jeason . 6. 9. We had 22 in two weeks 13 in the city at one time done of them note looking fellows of afene you. One genule to suca white I so beautiful that her martin har been officers at differ to times \$ 1200-1500 22.000 for fouletts perposes. a Battimon officer a mon tunter was seen in our city making his observations but left without giving as any houble. Sweed, were in our city from Ballimore at the time. And Laws Que nows a tenor to coil doesset to live by rolling How goes the with offresion in your blood Staine, "Clementie town? ban you not give curvey to the Emonespetor, for the winter at least, at so cents? a mon is to spend the winter at ll ashington I reports feelly the clouds of congress as its respects slavery & also the tice of the Arristans captives. So and in encutating this invaluable paper. ellay Good bless you & yours. ely love to yourself gainly ministed & all the grinds of your fellow sewants I Shall hereafter much give your addies on a caron de mon comon to to cong. ely hand you will know. Goo is at work , I lean, in Pawlet, Pray.

See typescript on reverse.

Collection of the Vermont Historical Society.

Document II

Letter. Shipherd to Hicks, 1840

G. V. Hooser Hoosick Rensselaer County, New York

Mr. Charles Hicks Hindsdaleville, Bennington County

Brother Hicks,

As the canal has closed I shall send my Southern friends along your road & patronize your house. We had a fine run of business during the season. C.G. We had 22 in two weeks 13 in the city at one time. Some of them noble looking fellows I assure you. One female so near white & so beautiful that her master had been offered at different times \$1,200-1,500 & 2,000 for foulest purposes. A Baltimore officer—a man hunter was seen in our city making his observations but left without giving us any trouble. Several slaves were in our city from Baltimore at the time. Our Laws are now a terror to evil doers who live by robbery.

How goes the war with oppression in your blood stained "Cl[?] town? Can you not give currency to the Emancipator, for the winter at least, at 50 cents? A man is to spend the winter at Washington & report fully the doings of congress as its respects slavery & also the trial of the Armistad captives. Do aid in circulating this invaluable paper. May God bless you & yours. My love to yourself-family-ministers & all the friends of your fellow Servants.

Fayette Shipherd

I shall hereafter merely give you address on a card, as [more converts?] to carry. My hand you will know.

Nov 24, 1840
God is at work, I learn, in Pawlet. Pray.

Document III.

Letter. Chauncy Knapp to Mason Anthony, 1838

Published in Vermont History 41 (1973): 7-8 Original not available.

Montpelier, Vt., Aug. 20, 1838

Dear Friend,

I write to inform you that the lad who is indebted to your and your father's great kindness for a safe arrival at my friend R.T. Robinson's, is now sitting in my office in the State House. He wishes, first of all to return to yourself and your father's family ten thousand thanks for the generous assistance afforded him in his extremity. Providentially, I arrived at friend Robinson's only an hour after your departure; and on Saturday last took the lad (now Charles) and brought him on to Montpelier, a distance of 43 miles. By my friend Robinson's earnest request I have assumed the office of guardian to Charles. Having no family myself, I have found a home for him for the present in an excellent family a mile from this village, when, I doubt not, he will be received as becometh abolitionists. He will enjoy the best religious instruction on the Sabbath in the Sanctuary and in the Sabbath School, and no opportunity will be lost to afford him suitable elementary instruction to prepare him to take his place in a day school. If he should make such proficiency as I have reason to hope, it is my purpose to place him in a good family, ere long, as an apprentice to the art of printing.

Yours, in the cause of the slave

C.L. Knapp, (Secretary of State.)



View of the State House at Montpelier, Vermont. Collection of the Vermont Historical Society.

Document IV.

Newsclipping.

Burlington Daily Free Press,
October 7, 1850

Document V.

Notices, 1844-1854.

Green Mountain Freeman, October 11, 1844

A FUGITIVE SLAVE.

"We have just received a call from an Agent from Charleston, S.C. It is only twenty one days since he left that place. His name is Francis Shoemake, about 20 years of age and appears very intelligent. He did not come by the especial direction of the governor, but on his own hook. The narration of his escape and sufferings is very interesting. He escaped by secreting himself in a vessel and was not discovered until a short time before he reached Providence, R.I. The Captain then gave him a few lashes and told him he would take him back, but the sailors assisted him in getting away. He was five days & nights without food, previous to his being discovered."

Green Mountain Freeman, February 7, 1845

Fugitive from Injustice.

A young gentleman by the name of Giles, late from New Orleans, spent last night with us, on his way to Canada. He is a remarkably intelligent piece of property, 21 years old, and seemed to have an irrepressible desire to be a man. He is undoubtedly honest in his professions, for he has his certificates with him; that is, the scars of the whip, the shackels, the branding iron, the rifle ball, and two toes cut off. His is the son of his master, whose name is Jeffries, who lays claim to 150 more. Hope our friends will cheer him on his way.

DAILY FREE PRESS-OCT. 7, 1850.

We very cordially invite every Fugitive Slave in the United States to take VERMONT on his way towards Preedom in Canada. We are willing to guaranty that he can get a night's lodging and a free pass over the Lines, without any particular danger from that elevated species of the human race known as "Slave catchers." If one of them exhibits his " ugly mug" in the old Green Mountain State, we "calkelate" all the "wool" he will get, he might have found on a hog, at home. Vermont is getting to think that the man who steals himself and runs away, don't violate any Law laid down in the Decalogue, whatever he may have done in contravention of the Virginia " Resolutions of '98." If he should steal a white man or two from Georgia, the law defining and punishing petty larceny might embarrass him. We hope. however, no respectable nigger will run any such foolish risk.

Green Mountain Freeman, February 7, 1845

For the Freeman

Amid the sympathy which we all feel for the case of a daughter of the Green Mountains immured in a Kentucky dungeon, (a sympathy honorable to our natures, and especially due from Vermonters,) let us not forget that there are in this slavery-cursed land, near a million and a half of females in bondage, a thousand times worse than hers; and from the sympathy spontaneously outbreaking for her, learn what we ought to feel for the woes of the great multitude of our enslaved countrywomen, each of whom is in the eye of heaven, a Webster.

Burlington Free Press, March 27, 1854

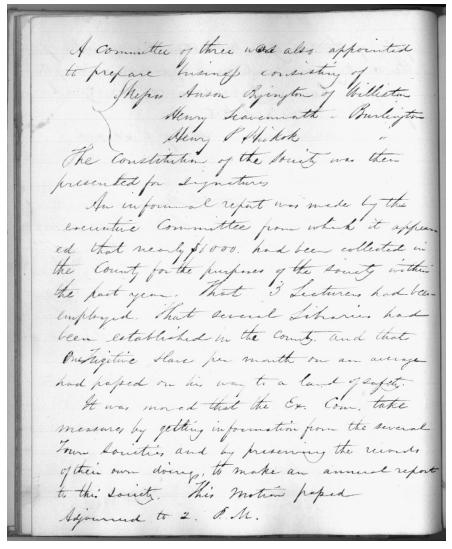
—Four young men represented as fugitives from Slavery recently passed through St. Albans, on their way to Canada. They were, it is said, from Richmond and Wheeling Virginia and came north by the U.G.R.R."

Document VI.

Annual Report. Meeting of the Chittenden County Anti-Slavery Society

Burlington 4 March 1840

An informal report was made by the executive committee from which it appeared that nearly \$1,000 had been collected in the county for the purposes of the society within the past year, that 3 lectures had been employed, that several libraries had been established in the county, and that one fugitive slave per month on an average had passed on his way to a land of safety.



Collection of the Vermont Historical Society.

Document VII.

Artifact. The Ellis House, Fair Haven, Vermont

From the Rutland Daily Herald, December 5, 1935

Zenas Ellis Tells Wallingford P.T.A. of Aiding Slaves

"Zenas H. Ellis of Fair Haven was the speaker at the meeting of the Parent-Teacher association in the schoolhouse last night. His subject was 'Underground Railway'... He told how his father would shelter a fugitive in his barn and, after leaving him a generous lunch ostensibly packed for a fishing trip, would, with the aid of three or four neighbors get him aboard a canal boat in Whitehall, on its way to Canada with a string of barges to bring back a load of lumber. Ellis read a number of letters received by his father from fugitive slaves he had aided; also a letter written by Gen. Lyon of the Confederate army to his wife, when he was a prisoner after the taking of Fort Donelson. He showed a flowered silk handkerchief sent to his grandmother by freed slaves in Canada."



Courtesy, Vermont Division for Historic Preservation

The Robinson Family

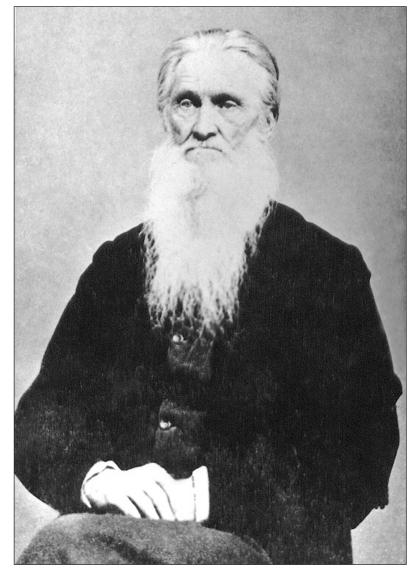
owland T. Robinson was born at Rokeby farm in Ferrisburg, Vermont, in 1796. He married Rachel Gilpin in 1820, and together they raised four children. Robinson became a businessman and sheep farmer owning over 1,000 acres of land and up to 2,000 Merino sheep. He was also a strict Quaker, and his home was used as a Quaker meeting house. Throughout his life, Robinson was

a leader in reform movements such as women's rights, caring for the poor and homeless, and abolishing slavery.

Rowland T. Robinson was a leader in the anti-slavery movement. He helped to form the Vermont Anti-Slavery Society. In 1843 he hosted the "Great Convention," which was one of 100 meetings held throughout New England. At these meetings abolition-ists, such as former slave Frederick Douglass, lectured. Robinson's wife Rachel was also opposed to slavery. She felt so strongly about this issue that she refused to keep anything in the house that had been produced by slave labor. This included sugar, tobacco, cotton, rice, tea, and molasses. In addition to these efforts, the Robinsons aided fugitive slaves.

During the 1840s, the Robinson's farm was very busy. The family was quite small, and they were constantly looking for hired hands to help on the farm. This need, combined with the fact that Robinson was a Quaker, a leader in the anti-slavery movement and lived in a rural area of Vermont, meant that other underground railroad activists could send fugitives to Rokeby where they could work in safety.

Over the years, Rowland and Rachel Robinson took former slaves into their home, gave them work on the farm, and gave them the space and time needed to begin a new life. They also ran a Quaker school that black students attended. We can find out exactly how Rowland T. Robinson and his family helped fugitive slaves by reading his letters. Letters can tell us about who helped fugitives, where the fugitives were coming from and where they were going, what help the fugitives needed, and what the fugitives did once they reached safety.



Rowland T. Robinson, Collection of Rokeby Museum.

The Robinson Family Case Study

Document VIII. Joseph H. Beale to Rowland T. Robinson, New York, July 12, 1844

Collection of Rokeby Museum

Dear Friend

A poor hunted fugitive had a shelter in a store in our neighbourhood for a short time, but hearing that he was discovered, we got him to our house, and last first day forwarded him to Elizabeth Schofield (late Reynolds) in Connecticut, she and her husband are true friends of freedom, thinking it safer for him to be in Massachusetts or Vermont-if work is to be had for him—he is called Jeremiah snowden, he is very innocent, and appeared willing to render us all the assistance in his power, but we were unwilling to risk his remaining, although we had abundance of work for him at this busy season-I send a little box by the tow boat to go tomorrow afternoon at 5 o'clock-directed to care of H. Bright, Vergennes, for Rowland T. Robinson, N. Ferrisburg, Vt: it contains his clothes...my Brother John Nicholson thinks Jeremiah can be very useful to a farmer needing such a man. With best Regards to thee thy wife and children I remain

Thy affectionate friend Joseph H. Beale

Document IX. Oliver Johnson (written from Pennsylvania) to Rowland T. Robinson, 1837

Collection of Rokeby Museum

"...There are in this region at all times, no small number of runaway slaves, but they are generally caught unless they proceed farther north I saw yesterday in this township a stout man who ran away from Maryland. He is 28 years old, and appeared to me to be an honest, likely man...He is trustworthy, of a kind disposition, and knows how to do almost all kinds of farm work...I could not help thinking he would be a good man for you to hire...He has intended going to Canada in the spring, but says he would prefer to stay in the US, if he could be safe. I have no doubt he would be perfectly safe with you."

Case Study Questions

- 1. What made Robinson's farm a safe place for fugitives?
- 2. We know that Rowland T.
 Robinson and his wife Rachel
 sheltered fugitives. What two
 other ways did they protest
 against slavery?

LETTERS

Document VIII. Joseph H. Beale to Rowland T. Robinson, 1844

INFORMATION: Joseph Beale was an abolitionist and fellow Quaker who lived in White Plains, New York. In his letter to Robinson he names and describes a fugitive whom he is helping to reach safety. Knowing that Robinson was often in need of

additional farm hands, Beale wrote to him about Jeremiah. Joseph Beale was also a businessman and ran a free labor store out of New York where other abolitionists could purchase goods such as calico, brown sugar, coffee, and tea that was not produced by slave labor.

QUESTIONS: Why does Joseph Beale want to send Jeremiah to Robinson's farm? What does Beale mean by "friends of freedom?"

Document IX. Oliver Johnson to Rowland T. Robinson, 1837

INFORMATION: This letter was written by Oliver Johnson while he was working as an agent for the American Anti-Slavery Society. He

was a Vermonter, a Quaker, and a good friend of Rowland T. Robinson. This letter is long, and only key portions have been included in the typescript. Johnson introduces the fugitive (named in a later letter as Simon) to Robinson as a trustworthy person and skilled farm laborer, in much the same way as one would write a letter of reference today if you were recommending someone for employment.

QUESTIONS: Why is Oliver Johnson writing to Rowland T. Robinson? Why is Pennsylvania a dangerous place for a fugitive slave? Why does Johnson think this escaped slave is a good man to send to Robinson?

NewYork yette 12th, 1844 Rowland J. Robinson Dear Strend a poor hunted Jugition hada Sheller in a store in our neighbourhood for a short time, but hearing that he was discovered, we got him to our house, and last first day forwarded him to Elizabeth Schofield (late Reynolds) in Connecticut, she and her husband are true friends of freedow thunking it safer for him to be in Massachusets or Vermont if work is to be has there for him he is called deremeat Inouden, he is very innocent, and appeared welling to under us all the afsistance in his power, but we were uswilling to not his remaining, although we trad abundance of work for him at this busy season - I send a little Box by the Tow Boat to go tomorrow afternoon at 5° Clock - directed to care of A. Bright, Virginia for Rowland, J. Robinson, N. Ferrio burgh Vi: it contains his clothes; "also"- Walkers Dictionary - from Elyabeth white Sister for ann King, which was omitted to be given to the when here, and thy Mother desired me to put it in the Box, the is as well as usual, and returned yesterday from a short visit to her Sister at

Collection of Rokeby Museum

New Brunswick, She sends dear love to you, and desires me to say, she felt more asserely at they protracted delay in getting home How she would in almost any other case, owing to they accustomed punctuality - Edward Brady has lost the situation he lately held, he and Enery went to Haverstraw last second day, & Charles Dage came from albany on a visit to his Mother, and intends to action tomorne evening to his employers - William M. Kim was supanad to the Court of Chancery this day in the Case of Doctor Hopper this took but own, g to some informality he was not of amened, Isaac I. Hopper twife, their Son John, and Nathan Comstock were present, it was adjourned I think to this day week, It is very much to be regretted that any such cause among friends should come before the public G. F. white has been seldom at meeting since the unexpected chat of his Son, and I have heard feels it very much My Wife can go into the front Room on Crutches, but cannot use the fractured lamb yet, it is not at all dwelled or inflamed, which is a great favor, but the Doctor is of openion she will be always lam however she is chearful, and we are all thankful that it was not a more dangerous result - The, my daughters, and Caleb, desire to be affectionately remembered to you, and my Brother John Nicholson Thinks I eremials can be very waseful to a farmer meeding sucha Man With best Regards to the thy wife and Children Iremain thy affectionate friends Joseph N. Bealep.

> NUSEEN NUSEEN PERTINGN VERNONT

Document IX.

Senner Township, Somerset Co, Ca., 4750 Jan. 27, 1837. My Dear Friend, Shave not forgotten my promise to write you, though I have not until now, found a favorable ofsporter. nity to redeem my pledge. I am induced to write you at this time, on account of circumstances which I shall proceed, withat further introduction, to communicate. If you will look at the map of the U. S. suspended in your north room, if not tent in a case of immersion. I opon will perceive that this county lies very near Maryland. I am now, perhaps, 30 miles from the line. There are in this region, no som unter of removery slaves, but they are generally caught unter they proceed farther north. I plant oyesterkey, inthis townships a stout man who raw away from Maryland He is 28 years old, and appeared to me to be an honest, like by man. He says he was sold with several others to a Soul-driver for \$1.000; consequently he much have been considered very valuable. When the come here some time in December I think it was,) he was distinte of decent clothing, and unable to proceed, as he intended when he left Maryland, to Canada. A mon in this place by the name of Williams E. mofilto, the don't a Friend, who has after sendered assistance to sunan ways, kindly offered to keep him until spring. A reward of \$200. ob has been offered for his approchension, and it is not considered dage for him to remain here after writer has gone by, as search well no doubt be made for him. I was so well pleased with his appearance, and with the account given of him ley miffithe, that Scould

Collection of Rokeby Museum

not help thinking he would she a good man for you to hime. Mr. Cariffith surge that he is very trust. worthy of a kind disposition, and knows how to do als most all kinds of farm work. He is used to teaming, and is very good to manage horses. He says that he could beat any man in the neighborhood where he lived, in Maryland, at mowing, exactling, or patching The bas intended going to Chanada in the spring, but says he would prefer to stay in the h. S., if he tould be date I have no doubt he would be perfectly date with you. Would you not like to have him to you in the spring? I fear that, if he goes to Canada, he may fall into bad company; but if he is under your quardianship, I think he may become a useful man. The project struck my own mind so plea. Sauthy that I resolved to write oyou on the dubjet. It will be a great way for him to walk, but not worse than going to Canada. The can be furnished with the names of abolitionests on whom to call upon the way, and I think may reach termont in safety. I wish you would think of the case and write me your conclusions. If you day, let him come," I will endeavor to make the best possible arrangements & in regard to the journey. Here write me to the care of Elizar Wright & New Bork, and he will forward it to me, wherever I may be. It is so uncertain where I shall go after the State Convention, that I know not how you where a letter would reach me.

Teaching Suggestions

Writing Activities

Each of these writing activities combines standards from the Vital Results (communication) and Fields of Knowledge (history) portions of Vermont's Framework. They are activities that require students to examine the historical evidence (Standard 1.4c) provided in this packet and to then make interpretations based on the evidence (Standard 6.5a).

- Write a "Letter to the Editor" in the voice of one of Burlington's citizens. The letter can reflect either the abolitionist or anti-abolitionist point of view. Standards 1.7, 1.8, 6.5
- Working in small groups, write a list of facts about the underground railroad. Using this information, write a story about an escaped slave and the people who helped (or did not help) along the way. Standards 1.7, 1.9, 6.5, 6.6a
- ■ Write a letter from freedom.

 Tell about your escape, your new life in Vermont or Canada, and give instructions to someone you left behind. Standards 1.7, 1.9, 6.5
- Write a series of diary entries detailing an escape from slavery to freedom. Freedom might be Canada or Vermont. Standards 1.7, 1.9, 6.5
- Have students research the positions of the anti-slavery and the pro-slavery factions. Hold a classroom debate. *Standards* 1.8, 1.11, 6.5, 6.6

Classroom Discussions and Activities

These discussion and activity suggestions focus more on the specific fields of knowledge within the History and Social Sciences Standards.

- Have students look at a topographical map of Vermont. See if they can predict the routes fugitives would have taken through Vermont. Look in Siebert's book and compare their predictions to his map. Standards 6.7d, 6.9d (Geography)
- Pretend a runaway slave arrives at your door. What would you do? Would you shelter them? What would happen to your family if you were caught? What would happen to the fugitive? Is it worth the risk? Standard 6.20a (Conflict)
- Have students make a list of ways abolitionists got others to join their cause in an age with no television or radio. What are some social issues today? How do groups persuade others to join their cause today? How much has technology changed our methods of communication? What makes a strategy effective? Standard 6.3.d (Critical Evaluation)
- Look at the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States and discuss the contradictions of the principles of democracy as they related to African-Americans. Do contradictions still exist today in America? Compare the preamble of the United States Constitution to Vermont's. What is

the main difference between them? Standards 6.11, 6.13 (Citizenship)

Research the Overground Railroad (a contemporary effort by churches to help Central Americans reach Canada when United States immigration officials refused to grant refugee status). Information can be found in periodicals from the late 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s. Grab Hands and Run, by Frances Temple (Orchard Books), is an excellent fictionalized account of one family's plight. Standard 6,6d (History)

Home Activity

■ Have students take a nighttime walk with their parents. They should locate the Big Dipper and the North Star. See if they can figure out how to walk north. Was the moon out? Was it hard to see? Did they trip? Did they feel lost, cold, scared?

Glossary

ABOLISH: to destroy completely

ABOLITIONIST: a person who is involved in a movement to end something—in this case, slavery

ACTIVIST: a person who is involved in a movement to change something—in this case, slavery

ASYLUM: a place of retreat and security; protection given to political refugees

CIRCULATE: to pass from person to person or from place to place

DISCOURSE: argument, conversation

EMANCIPATE: to free from restraint, control, or the power of another

FUGITIVE: a person who is fleeing something or someone

INFRINGE: to violate the rights of another

PREJUDICE: a hostile attitude toward an individual, a group, a race, or their supposed characteristics

PROPAGANDA: materials that a group uses to spread its beliefs

RADICAL: a political group that has views or policies of extreme change

REFUGE: a place of protection

RESOLUTION: a formal expression of opinion voted by an official group

SHELTER: something that provides protection

SLAVE HUNTER: a person who hunts for fugitive slaves

SLAVE: a person owned by another

Endnotes

The Underground Railroad in Vermont, p. 7

- Nathaniel Chipman, Reports, Vol. I (Rutland: Tuttle & Co., 1871), 192-201.
- 2 Ray Zirblis, "Friends of Freedom: The Vermont Underground Railroad Survey Report" (Montpelier, Vt: Vermont Division of Historic Preservation, 1997), 21.
- 3 "Anti-Slavery Action in 1838: A Letter from Vermont's Secretary of State," *Vermont History* 41 (1973): 7-8.
- 4 William Siebert, Vermont's Anti-Slavery and Underground Railroad Record (Columbus, OH: 1937), 81.
- 5 Zirblis, 48.

The Anti-Slavery Movement, p. 9

- $1 \quad Second\ Report, Vermont\ Anti-Slavery\ Society\ (1835),\ 13.$
- 2 Second Report, 13.
- 3 Siebert, 25-27.

Who's Who: Activists and Fugitives in Vermont, p. 11

- 1 Zirblis, 41.
- 2 Zirblis, 39.
- 3 Zirblis, 42.
- 4 Zirblis, 9.
- 5 Mrs. Abijiah Keith to William Siebert, Wilbur H. Siebert Collection, Vol. 41 (Vermont), Houghton Library, Harvard College, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- 6 Zirblis, 41.
- 7 The Green Mountain Freeman, November 15, 1858.

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For Children

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*Bryant, Louella. *The Black Bonnet*. Shelburne, VT: New England Press, 1996.

*Cheney, Cora. Vermont: The State with the Storybook Past. Shelburne, VT: New England Press, 1996.

*Hamilton, Virginia. Many Thousand Gone: African Americans from Slavery to Freedom. NY: Knopf, 1993.

*Hansen, Ellen, ed., *The Underground Railroad: Life on the Road to Freedom.* Carlisle, MA: Discovery Enterprises, Ltd., 1995.

Haskins, Jim. Get on Board: *The Story of the Underground Railroad*. Scholastic, 1993.

*Hopkinson, Deborah. Sweet Clara and the Freedom Quilt. NY: Knopf, 1993.

*Paterson, Katherine. *Jip: His Story*. NY: Lodestar Books, 1996.

*Paulson, Gary. NightJohn. NY: Dell Books, 1995.

*Available from the Vermont Historical Society bookshop (802) 828-2291.

Town Histories

After Siebert's book, town histories are often a good place to begin the Vermont portion of a research project on the underground railroad. Often chapters on the Civil War include stories of fugitives and underground railroad stops. Once one has found actual names, dates, and places, it is logical to move on to newspapers and other primary documents found in manuscript collections. The Vermont Historical Society, the Bailey-Howe Library at the University of Vermont, and the Vermont Room at the State Library all have good collections of town histories.

Vermont Newspapers

Vermont's newspapers were quite vocal in their opinions on slavery, colonization, and abolition. Often one can find notices telling of fugitives in the area, editorials on a wide variety of slavery and anti-slavery topics, responses to the Vermont Legislature's actions, and responses to national issues such as the Fugitive Slave Act. While one can find information as early as the 1830s, there is much more to be found in the 1850s-1860s. Check the microfilm departments at the Vermont Department of Libraries, the Bailey-Howe Library at the University of Vermont, and Baker Library at Dartmouth College.

Bellows Falls Argus

Burlington Free Press

Burlington Weekly Sentinel

Green Mountain Freeman (Montpelier, VT)

St. Albans Messenger

Vergennes Vermonter

Vermont Patriot & State Gazette

Vermont Watchman & State Journal

Voice of Freedom

Manuscript Collections

Several libraries and museums in the state contain manuscript materials relating to the underground railroad. Often materials can be found under topic headings such as "slavery," "anti-slavery," "abolition," "fugitives," and "underground railroad." If you suspect that a particular family aided fugitive slaves, look for manuscripts under that family's name at your local library or historical society.

Bailey-Howe Memorial Library Special Collections Department, University of Vermont, Burlington. The Wicker Family Papers.

Bennington Museum Library, Bennington. The Day Papers.

East Montpelier Historical Society: The Peck and Hill Papers.

Rokeby Museum, Ferrisburg.

Sheldon Museum, Middlebury. Robinson Family Papers, Rokeby Collection.

Vermont Historical Society, Montpelier.

World Wide Web Sites

as of May, 1997

The History Place: "Civil War Timeline" and "Abraham Lincoln Exhibition" http://www.historyplace.com

The Library of Congress: "African-American Mosaic Exhibit." http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/african/intro.html

Northstar: "The Walk to Canada with Anthony Cohen" http://www.ugrr.org

Vermont Historical Society: "The Underground Railroad Project." http://www.state.vt.us/vhs

"Vermont in the Civil War" http://members.aol.com/vtcw150/ vt-cw.htm

Places to Visit

Every year in July there is a tour of underground railroad stops in Brandon, Vermont. For more information about this tour, as well as an upcoming published walking tour, contact the Brandon Chamber of Commerce: (802) 247-6401.

Rokeby Museum, RD 1, Box 1540, Route 7, Ferrisburg, Vermont. Home of Rowland T. Robinson, anti-slavery activist. One of the museum's school programs focuses on the underground railroad. Students investigate Rokeby's role in the underground railroad through the use of artifact discovery, the study of original letters to the Robinson family, and outbuilding activities. School programs can be arranged by calling the museum at (802) 877-3406.

The Underground Railroad: Vermont and the Fugitive Slave mural, painted by Sam Kerson. Located at the Vermont Law School, Royalton, Vermont. Arrangements for a visit with the artist can be made by calling Dragon Dance Theatre at (802) 223-5124, or purchase of a video describing the mural can be made by calling Green Valley Media at (802) 862-2024.

For information on Vermont's underground railroad buildings, contact Paul DuMais, President of the Committee on the Underground Railroad, 7 Iby Street, South Burlington, VT 05403 or the Division for Historic Preservation, 135 State Street, Drawer 33, Montpelier, VT 05633-1201.