MICHIGAN'S ANTE-BELLUM BLACK HAVEN -- CASS COUNTY 1835-1870

Dissertation for the Degree of Ph. D.
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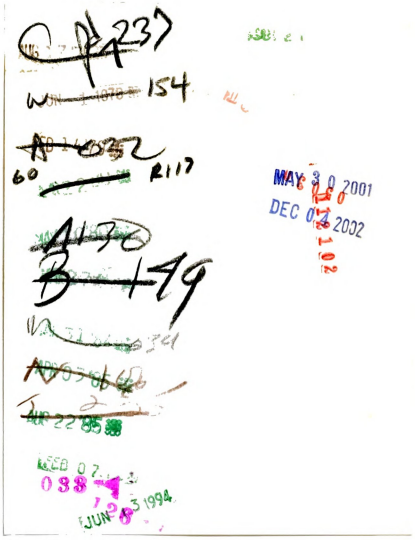
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ABSTRACT

MICHIGAN'S ANTE-BELLUM BLACK HAVEN -- CASS COUNTY 1835-1870

BY

BENJAMIN CALVIN WILSON, JR.

Upon emancipation in the ante-bellum era, most of the ex-slaves migrated to developing urban sites in the free states. Many assumed that employment and freedom were duly accorded to all in such locations. But, those areas were not the asylums they sought, for steady work and freedom were privileges enjoyed solely by the white inhabitants.

Although Michigan generally acted accordingly, Cass County was an exception to that rule. Unlike whites in other Michigan areas, most of the citizens of that county were not hypersensitive about the presence of large numbers of blacks because they were too busy carving farmsteads out of the wilderness. This paper presents some topics in the social history of blacks in that rural county, between the years 1835-1870, where many privileges granted to whites were also extended to the ex-slaves.

In compiling the dissertation, materials gathered by the siblings of earlier settlers, the county's historical society, newspapers, diaries and memoirs of prominent nineteenth-century residents, the published county histories, legal documents, church records, the

Federal and state census returns, and secondary sources were relied upon heavily in answering some important questions which were crucial to understanding the black history of that county. Also the interviews with the direct descendants of the earlier settlers were very fruitful. For example, most of the pictures and freed papers in the appendices were provided by some of the informants. Furthermore, on some occasions they assisted in separating fact from fiction.

With their aid plus the aforementioned sources, the following significant conclusions emerged: first, despite the state's black laws, some whites in the county were willing to tolerate the presence of the ex-slaves in large numbers; secondly, the agricultural existence of most of the ex-bondmen made them economically more stable and independent than the freed blacks who lived within the more racially hostile urban environments. Also, the research suggested that once the emancipated arrived many vigorously worked and on some occasions fought, either with or without white assistance, to create and maintain a haven there. Ironically, only a few of the former slaves were able to live comfortably and receive some privileges in that asylum. It was purposely designed that way by some of the black settlers.

MICHIGAN'S ANTE-BELLUM BLACK HAVEN --

CASS COUNTY 1835-1870

BY

BENJAMIN CALVIN WILSON, JR.

A DISSERTATION

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in partial fulfillment of the requirements
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Department of History

1974

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1974

TO

FIVE BLACK QUEENS

Patricia Ann
Nikki Kai
Ayanna Tene
Mama
Sharon Renee

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Those informants, the majority being descendants of the first black arrivals, responded to an oral questionnaire about their family's history. On most occasions, they also provided valuable information on how the area's whites reacted to the coming of their forefathers, the problems they encountered in buying land in the nineteenth century, the effects of the slave raid, and the reasons for the development of the black aristocracy. Even though many of them were octogenarians, they proved to be very knowledgeable on the history of blacks in the region. Furthermore, the data supplied by that group was used to cross check the contentions posited by some writers who made studies on that area. They also assisted in separating the facts from fiction. Had it not been for their courtesy, tolerance of the writer's naivete, and individual acts of kindness, the study would not have been successful. For those unwilling to help in reconstructing their history, please do not complain for you also had a chance to influence the finished product.

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INTRODUCTION

The literature on Afro-Americans has increased considerably since the advent of the "new militancy." In reference to population mobility, most writers have concentrated on the larger urban areas, the loci of greatest black migration. Studies on ghetto existence in such places as Seattle, Chicago, Philadelphia, and -- of course -- Harlem by Richard Morrill, Gilbert Osofsky, Kenneth Clark, E. Franklin Frazier, W. E. B. Dubois and others, exemplify that contention. Not surprisingly, most research on either nineteenth -- or twentieth-century black Michiganites[1] has focused on Wayne County -- the Detroit area -- where approximately 40-50 percent of Michigan's black population always has resided. The abundance of primary sources pertaining to those inhabitants, especially those in the nineteenth century, hitherto has attracted the attention of most scholars. Consequently, many blacks were disregarded, the most notable case being those in rural areas where at least 60 percent of Michigan's nineteenth-century black population resided. Cass County, where the oldest and largest of such communities was located, is a case in point.

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[1] Style Manual, Revised edition January, 1967 (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1967), p. 72.

This project will attempt to uncover some of the nineteenth-century black social history of that often overlooked county. The study also will evaluate and record the movement of blacks into Cass between 1835-1870, the impact of northern life on them, the problems of their adjustment to the new environment, and the socio-economic characteristics of those emigres. Furthermore, this treatise seeks to interpret as well as to recount and describe the major events, movements, and personalities which affected black existence in that rural area. Attention also will be given to the development of Calvin Township, the county's "black retreat" in the pre-Civil War era. The question "was Cass a nineteenth-century haven for blacks" is the crux of the study. The investigation of these topical areas should lead to a successful completion of the project at hand. However, to comprehend the topic completely, it is essential that the reader realizes that the mass exodus of freed blacks was attributed directly to slaveholders who perceived those ex-slaves as a threat to the peculiar institution.

A survey of secondary materials revealed that only a few historians attempted to deal with the aforementioned problems which the nineteenth-century black settlers of Cass encountered in book form. The majority of the writers directed their attention to the history of Cass and its relationship to other parts of the state. Occasionally, some devoted a few pages of their research to blacks in that county; but, after mentioning the Underground Railroad Routes that traversed the county and the operators of that clandestine system, reference to blacks simply disappeared. The wide scope of this project seeks to rectify that unfortunate short-coming.

The dissertation will be divided into the following chapters: (1) Migration of "Anomalies"[2] to Michigan and the Rural Haven; (2) Land, Pride, and Economic Independence; (3) The Reaction to "Them"; (4) Predator, Prey, and Protectors (Kentucky Kidnappers, Fugitives, and Abolitionists in Cass); (5) For the Elevation of Their Status; (6) Neither Black, Negro Nor White -- but "col'd"; (7) Summary and Conclusion.

However, before detailing Cass County's black history, it is essential that a general description of ante-bellum Michigan be given to impress upon the reader the hostile environment which most blacks generally had to cope with. That description follows in chapter one.

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[2] In the ante-bellum years, there evolved a fixed conception of the status of blacks in the socio-economic order of America. According to their white defined roles all blacks were supposed to be slaves. Naturally an abhorrence developed for those who were in other positions. Freed slaves were anomalies in the structured American society. Being "free" was for whites only.

Chapter I

THE MIGRATION OF ANOMALIES TO MICHIGAN AND THE RURAL HAVEN -- CASS COUNTY

Michigan was an unsettled territory during the first decade of the nineteenth century, and it attracted few settlers. In 1810, approximately 1005 newcomers lived in the region.[1] The erroneous conclusions made by the Federal government appointed engineers was one of the principal reasons for the territory's small population. These surveyors assumed and then informed their authorities that Michigan, excluding Detroit, was mostly swampland and that it therefore was unsuitable either for bounty lands for American war veterans or general settlement.[2]

With the opening of the Erie Canal in 1825, many people realized that the surveyors had made hasty judgments. Soon thereafter, the number of immigrants increased significantly. The ease by which residents of the East could reach Michigan via Buffalo was one of the forces which induced thousands of families to sell their previous homesites and migrate west by water caravans. In that same year, what

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[1] Mostly trappers, these people lived either in small remote forest communities or in the vicinity of Fort Detroit. George J. Miller, "Some Influences in the Settlement of Michigan and in the Distribution of Its Population," Bulletin of the American Geographical Society, Vol. XLV, no. 5 (1913), p. 239.

[2] Alfred Mathews, A History of Cass County Michigan (Chicago: Waterman, Watkins, and Company, 1882), p. 31; Harold Stevens, "The Influence of New England in Michigan," Michigan History Magazine, Vol. XIX (Autumn, 1935), pp. 323-353.

is now Cass County received its first non-Indian settlers.[3] Within five years after the initial settlement, nearly a 1000 people had come to establish homes there.[4] By January 1827, approximately three-fourths of the arrivals had come from New York and other northeastern points -- either Massachussetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut or Rhode Island; and by 1837, New Englanders and New Yorkers constituted about two-thirds of the total population of that county.[5]

Between 1830-1845, land fever spread throughout Michigan. Everyone who could afford to, purchased "wild land."[6] Speculation eventually became rampant, especially in the southernmost counties.[7] Therefore, it can be surmised that land grabbing, among other reasons, contributed to the growth of southern Michigan's population.[8] By 1845,

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[3]Early Cass County: A Brief History for Use by Teachers, compiled by Olive Dickeson, et. al. (Niles: Niles Area Community Resources Workshop, 1960), p. 6; Robert J. Furlong, "Know Your Michigan," Plaid and Khaki (April 1955), p. 6; G. P. Graff, The People of Michigan (Lansing: Michigan Department of Education, Bureau of Library Services, 1970), p. 9; Nathan Gordon Thomas, The Second Coming in the Third New England (The Millennial Impulse in Michigan, 1830-1860) required dissertation for the Ph.D. at the University of Michigan (East Lansing: Michigan State University, 1967), p. 145.

[4]Harold B. Fields, "Free Negroes in Cass County before the Civil War," Michigan History Magazine, Vol. XLIV (1960), p. 375; George K. Hesslink, Black Neighbors: Negroes in a Northern Rural Community (Indianapolis: The Bobbs Merrill Company, Inc., 1968), p. 31.

[5]"Settlement of Southern Michigan, 1805-1837," Michigan History Magazine, Vol. XIX (Spring and Summer, 1935), pp. 190-214.

[6]When Michigan lands were first offered for sale in 1818 the standard price per acre was two dollars, one-fourth to be paid down and the remainder in three annual payments. In 1852 the credit system was abolished and the price reduced to a dollar and twenty-five cents per acre.

[7]"Autobiographical Notes by E. Lakin Brown," ed. by his daughter A. Ada Brown, Reprinted from Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections Vol. XXX (Schoolcraft, Michigan, 1906), p. 45.

[8]In early 1840's, southern Michigan was attractive to many new arrivals because the 26 organized counties possessed structured governments, civilization, and growing populations. The remainder of territory was still wilderness and "uncivilized."

for example, the greatest population density occurred in the southern counties of the lower peninsula, three-fifth or 185,925 of the state's population lived there; while 116,596 residents were scattered throughout the remaining Michigan areas.[9] Only four out of the 31 counties had over 20,000 residents, Wayne, Oakland, Washtenaw and Lenawee; eight others had 10 to 20,000 settlers.[10] Significantly, the history of migration to the area also reveals that black families contributed to the settlement and development of ante-bellum Michigan.

This chapter will focus on a general description of that migration, the white reaction to their presence, and the arrival of blacks in Cass County. Attention also will be directed to the Quakers of that area. Without doubt, as will be indicated, they were responsible for the presence of many blacks in that county. Their assistance, moreover, was one of the reasons why the region became a haven, where some of the hopes and dreams of the former bondmen materialized.

Blacks have been in Michigan since the eighteenth century (1790).[11] Like their southern brethren, most of them were

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[9] Amos H. Hawley, The Population of Michigan 1840 to 1860: An Analysis of Growth, Distribution and Composition (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1949), p. 56.

[10] Birt Darling, "Lansing Centennial 1859-1959," Souvenir Historical Program Lansing Centennial.

[11] Vide. Harley Lawrence Bigg, "Slaves in Old Detroit," Michigan History Magazine, Vol. XVII (Spring 1843), pp. 144-145; John Dancy, "Negro People in Michigan," Michigan History Magazine, Vol. XXIV-XXV (1940-1941), p. 221; History of the Negro in Michigan, Federal Writers Program, Michigan History Collection - Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan (n.p.: n.d.) Ann Arbor, p. 6; Reginald Larrie, Corners of Black History (New York: Vantage Press, 1971), p. 54.

slaves.[12] Only a few were freed -- roughly less than five percent. By the 1800's, however, the number of free blacks began to increase with each decennial census (Chart I). The first freed black emigres arrived in the region between the 1820's and the 1830's;[13] their numbers became larger between 1830-1840 and assumed even greater proportions just prior to the Civil War.[14] The first freed slave settlements, composed principally of western New Yorkers and Yankees, were in the rural areas of Michigan; small black communities could be found in the regions surrounding Detroit and in the counties to the west and southwest -- Cass, Kalamazoo, Calhoun and Washtenaw.[15]

Since some of the former slaves arrived with skills commonly practiced in urban areas, naturally the developing towns and cities

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[12]For an interesting account of their status in territorial Michigan, vide. The History of the Negro in Michigan, . . ., passim; Dorothy Emmer, The Civil and Political Status of the Negro in Michigan and the Northwest Before 1870, required thesis for Masters Degree in History (Detroit: Wayne State University, 1935), passim; T. A. Kneip, Slavery in Early Detroit, required thesis for Masters Degree in History (Detroit: University of Detroit, 1938), passim; William Renwick Riddell, "A Negro Slave in Detroit when Detroit was Canadian," Michigan History Magazine, Vol. XVII (Winter 1934), pp. 48-53; Reginald Larrie, Corners of Black History, . . ., passim; W. B. Hartgrove, "The Story of Maria Louise Moore and Fannie M. Richards," Journal of Negro History Vol. I, No. 1 (January 1916), pp. 23-33.

[13]G. P. Graff, The People of Michigan (Lansing, Michigan: Michigan Department of Education, Bureau of Library Services, 1970), p. 13.

[14]Michigan Manual of Freed Men's Progress, compiled by Francis H. Warren (Detroit, Michigan, 1915), p. 34.

[15]David M. Katzman, Before the Ghetto: Black Detroit in the Nineteenth Century, required dissertation for the Ph.D. at the University of Michigan (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1969), p. 8; David M. Katzman, "Early Settlers in Michigan," Michigan Challenge, Vol. VIII, No. 9 (June 1968), p. 11.

of Michigan appeared attractive.[16] In addition, the close association of farm labor with slavery was another motivating force that possibly caused many blacks to shy away from rural life.[17] One historian surmises that the "employment in urban districts was in the nature of job work and services in unskilled trades [to] which the free negroes [sic] were adaptable . . .. Negroes served best in many menial capacities."[18] However, his generalizations were not always applicable. In Ingham County -- the Lansing area -- for example, Thomas Nichols was a chef; Tobias Miller a baker; Samuel Clemens a blacksmith; Charles Davis a mason; Tim Wilson and William Butcher barbers; and Alexander Jones an apprentice barber.[19] Without doubt, these occupations required some training.

Nevertheless, Ingham County in the ante-bellum years was not a population center. Developing industry within areas like Wayne, Washtenaw -- the Ann Arbor area -- and other counties acted like lodestones in attracting immigrants; eventually, those locales became population centers for blacks as well as whites (Charts II-VII).

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[16]Just prior to the Civil War, Michigan had 1979 manufacturing establishments producing at the rate of $500 or more annually. Mostly, concentrated in and around Detroit, the businesses encompassed heavy industry, including railroad equipment, shipbuilding, and a growing number of boiler shops, foundries, machine and iron and steel products. All facets of the businesses needed a tremendous amount of manpower. Frank B. Woodford, Father Abraham's Children: Michigan Episodes in the Civil War (Detroit: Wayne State University, 1961), p. 3.

[17]George W. Williams, The History of the Negro Race in America from 1619 to 1880, Vol. II (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1882), p. 397.

[18]John H. Russell, Free Negroes in Virginia, 1619-1865 (New York: Dover Publication, 1913), p. 150.

[19]United States Census Population Schedules for Ingham County, 1850 and 1860.

But the sudden thrust of blacks into the disorganized urban areas of the time often produced friction. For example, with each inroad they made into industry and residential districts, their presence led to white resentment and bitterness. Economically, some white Michiganites perceived blacks with alarm as rank aliens who intended to cheapen labor.[20]

The false pride and hysteria exhibited by whites led to violent riots in urban Michigan areas. For example, in 1833, 1839, 1850 and 1863 anti-black disturbances occurred in Detroit. Furthermore, on at least one occasion, white citizens of Ypsilanti drove blacks out of their city.[21]

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[20]Harold A. Lett, "Migration Difficulties in Michigan," Southern Workman, Vol. 56 (May 1927), p. 232. These economic tensions were not always spontaneous, as they were sometimes created and carefully nurtured by excessively capitalistic employers, eager to see laborers divided along racial lines. Vide Allan Spear, "The Origins of the Urban Ghetto, 1870-1915," Key Issues in the Afro-American Experience, Vol. II, ed. by N. I. Huggins, D. M. Fox, M. Kilson (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1971), p. 163.

[21]For interesting accounts of the Detroit riots vide. The Colored People of Detroit; Their Trials Persecutions and Escapes Containing Sketches of the Riots of 1833, 1839, 1850 and 1863 with a full account of the loss of life and burning of Negro tenements in the later year, and the conviction. Imprisonment and Release of William Faulkner; Together with some Information Concerning the Concoction of the John Brown Raid (n.p., n.d. reprinted from the Detroit Daily Post, January 1 and February 7, 1870), pp. 1-16; A Thrilling Narrative from the Lips of the Sufferers of the Late Detroit Riot, March 6, 1863, with the Hair Breadth Escapes of Men, Women, and Children, and Destruction of Colored Men's Property, Not Less Than $15,000 (Detroit: Published by the author, 1863), pp. 1-22, Michigan State Library; The Underground Railroad, a mimeographed copy, M. A. Goddard, Presented to the Ypsilanti Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution (April 1913), pp. 1-14. Michigan Historical Collection, Bentley History Library, Ann Arbor;J. M. Ragland, "The Negro in Detroit," Southern Workman, Vol. 52 (November 1923), pp. 533-540; Harold A. Lett, "Negro Welfare in Michigan," Southern Workman, Vol. 55 (May 1926), pp. 206-208.

White hatred was manifested not only in the developing urban areas, but also in some of the small towns throughout Michigan.[22] Newspapers of such places occasionally carried either articles, editorials, or letters from private citizens about the dreadful prospects of amalgamation with the subordinate race, the fear of complete inundation of the "fatherland" by those inferior people, or the possibility of political domination by blacks.[23] For example, on 11 October 1832 the editor of Detroit's Democratic Free Press and Michigan Intelligencer complained that the city was infested with black thieves. He even suggested that the citizens unite in the task of watching the dangerous freed slaves.[24] Expressing an opinion that was common to many white Michiganites of that era, Eliza Mason, a Detroit house wife, wrote: "I never did like Negroes and this has given me a more horrible idea of them -- the children on going from school are as much afraid of them as we used to be of Indians."[25] Furthermore, the Coldwater Sentinel of Coldwater, Michigan on 29 September 1857, boldly and unreservedly suggested that the Federal government re-enslave all free Africans in America.[26] Some irate citizens, assuming that the media

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[22] Berwanger, Frontier Against Slavery (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1967), pp. 32-38.

[23] "Letter from the Pontiac Female who Married the Negro," Lansing State Republican, 24 May 1859, Vol. V, No. 5, Whole No. 213, by Hosmer and Kerr (Lansing, Michigan), p. 22; The Niles Republican, 10 September 1859, Vol. XVIII, No. 24, Whole No. 887, by D. B. Cook (Niles, Berrien County, Michigan), p. 3; The National Democrat, 17 May 1856, Vol. VI, No. 3, by William Van Antwerp (Cassapolis, Cass County, Michigan), p. 2.

[24] E. H. Berwanger, The Frontier Against Slavery, . . ., p. 36.

[25] D. M. Katzman, Before the Ghetto: Black Detroit in the Nineteenth Century, . . ., p. 14.

[26] The Lansing State Republican, Tuesday 29 September 1857, Vol. III, No. 3, Whole No. 127, by Hosmer and Kerr (Lansing, Michigan), p. 2.

had little or no effect, frequently bombarded their elected state officials with appeals to do something about the black peril. A case in point was illustrated by Mr. Beeson:

> . . . and 106 other . . . Citizens of Berrien County, requesting such action by this convention [second constitutional convention of 1850] as will check the emigration [sic] of slaves into this state from other [regions]; and also a remonstrance against the submitting of any provision granting the right of suffrage to any other than free white citizens.[27]

Yet sometimes simultaneously, whites petitioned their legislators in behalf of the ex-slave inhabitants of Michigan[28] as the following petition from Curtis Emerson, Seth C. Beech and 91 others indicate (circa late 1840's).

> We the undersigned, believed that taxation and representation are twin sisters and ought of right to go hand in hand. So believed the illustrious men that laid the foundation of the Republic. For said they: 'we hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness . . .. Therefore, we the undersigned, believing that the laws of this state, regulating the elective franchise, draw an odious and invidious distinction between the taxpayers . . . solely and entirely on . . . complexion, for which they are not and should not be held responsible. For the above . . . reasons they [blacks] have been cut off from all participation in the body politic, while they have been compelled to pay . . . taxes . . . without enjoying the political immunities, rights and privileges of a citizen. Believing said laws to be anti-republican, unjust and oppressive,

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[27] Report on the Proceedings and Debates in the Convention to Revise the Constitution of the State of Michigan (Lansing: R. W. Ingals, State Printer, 1850), p. XXXVII. For similar anti-black petitions vide Report on the Proceeding and Debates in the Convention to Revise the Constitution of the State of Michigan, . . ., pp. XXXI, 241-244, 291, 492.

[28] Dorothy Emmer, The Civil and Political Status of the Negro in Michigan and the Northwest Before 1870, . . ., p. 52.

> . . . we would pray you to take measures for submitting the question to the people at their state election.[29]

Fearing the continuous growth of the black population between 1840-1860 (Chart I appendix), larger numbers of whites began contributing to the American Colonization Society (hereafter called the A.C.S.).[30] Undoubtedly, that increase in the ex-slave population led to the development of paranoia; many whites assumed and were convinced that larger numbers of blacks would cause the social structures of Michigan cities to crumble. On reviewing the colonization activities in the state, "a . . . resident [representing a contingent of that group] in 1851 asked why Michigan's Negroes were not encouraged to emigrate. If they appealed to the white citizens for aid, their request would not be ignored because the whites did not want Negroes as residents."[31]

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[29] Documents Accompanying the Journal of the Senate of the State of Michigan, (Lansing: Hosmer and Fitch, Printers to the State, n.d.) pp. 1-3. In 1850, a black suffrage referendum was presented to the citizen, 72 percent of the voters refused to concede the franchise to blacks. E. H. Berwanger, The Frontier Against Slavery . . ., p. 40. Furthermore, on 13 February 1855, the Michigan Legislature passed the Personal Liberty Law which called upon the prosecuting attorneys to use all lawful means to protect and defend every person claimed as a fugitive slave. According to the law, no sheriffs or prison keepers were to detain alleged fugitives in any of the state's jails or prisons. Vide. History of the Negro in Michigan, Federal Writers Program, . . ., passim.

[30] In 1854, Michiganians donated $10.50 to the A.C.S. In 1859, the society received approximately $202.50 from donors living in Michigan. Vide. The African Repository, Vol. XXX (Washington: published monthly by the American Colonization Society, 1854), p. 384; The African Repository, Vol. XXXV (Washington: Published monthly by the American Colonization Society, 1859), p. 384. The primary purpose of that organization was to remove the freed blacks to Liberia. For material relative to the A.C.S. Vide. The African Repository and Colonial Journal, Vol. XX-XXIII, No. 3 (Washington: Published by the American Colonization Society, March 1847), passim; et al. A branch of the society was organized in Livonia, Michigan, in the 1850's.

[31] E. H. Berwanger, The Frontier Against Slavery, . . ., p. 53.

Some whites, especially those in the urban areas, wanted it understood that Michigan's government was made for the benefit of their race only. As a result of the continuous prodding and various other reasons, law makers responded to the "dire needs" of their constituents. They developed black laws which attempted to make the administration "of the white folks, by the white folks, and solely for the white folks."[32] Even though they were proscribed by restrictive laws, blacks could own property, testify in courts and establish their own schools and churches.[33]

Since it was extremely difficult in urban environs either to secure training in the skilled trades or to secure meaningful employment, many blacks who may have desired occupations in the cities were forced into other fields. Moreover, early records of slum conditions,

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[32] To this writer's knowledge no indepth study of Michigan's antebellum black laws has been written. However, general descriptions of the laws can be found in D. M. Katzman, Before the Ghetto: Black Detroit in the Nineteenth Century, . . ., passim; Richard Cole, "A Legal Study of Whites and Blacks in the Michigan Territory," an unpublished mimeographed paper. Michigan History Collection, Bentley History Library; Dorothy Emmer, The Civil and Political Status of the Negro in Michigan and the Northwest before 1870, . . ., passim. They contended that the following were examples of such laws: (1) immigrating blacks had to possess freed papers and post a $500 bond (1827); (2) in 1836, they were prohibited from voting and in the 1840's miscegenation was forbidden. Originally, Michigan's black laws were strengthened by a community's folk mores. For example, in some areas white customs enforced by legal or extra legal groups, forbade blacks from residing in certain areas, dining at certain eating houses, working on certain jobs, or attending certain schools. Vide. Eugene H. Berwanger, The Frontier Against Slavery, . . ., pp. 32-38.

[33] In 1836, for example, Reverend William S. Monroe came to Detroit and organized the second Baptist Church. He remained as its pastor until a dissension occurred in 1844. After leaving this church he organized St. Mathew's Episcopal Church. It was in this second church that Frederick Douglass delivered his famous spring lecture in 1859 against slavery. John Brown was present at this Detroit meeting. Vide. John Marshall Ragland, "The Negro in Detroit," Southern Workman, Vol. 52 (November 1923), pp. 533-540.

riots, and antagonistic treatment dealt out to other ex-slaves was widely known and probably diverted many blacks elsewhere in Michigan.

Unlike citizens of the urban areas, some whites in rural Michigan counties encouraged and even welcomed black emigres to their communities.[34] A striking example was ante-bellum Cass County, located in southwestern Michigan. This rural settlement appeared attractive to many blacks because of the religious conviction of some of its white citizens, namely the Quakers or Friends. To digress briefly, certain happenings among the Friends became a significant adjunct to the black history of that county, as will be explained below.

By the late 1820's, over 100 Quaker families migrated and then settled in Cass County;[35] they included such prominent families as the

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[34]Some whites possibly tolerated the presence of black squatters because some ex-slaves contributed to the development of the territory. Since a large percentage of Michigan was woodland, frequently white and black settlers would unite when faced with common difficulties. Such a predicament arose when local Indians attempted to assert themselves. It is interesting to note that during the administration of Governor William Hull (circa 1807), the territory's first administrator, blacks were employed "to keep Indians in their place." Black Michiganites campaigned against the Sauks, the Kickapoos, the Mascoutens and other Indians. Vide. Norman McRae, Negroes in Michigan During the Civil War (Lansing, Michigan: Published by the Civil War Centennial Observance Commission, 1966), p. 3.

[35]Because of slavery, many Quakers considered continued residence in the South as untenable. As early as 1812, approximately 20,000 Quakers migrated north and by 1843 there were 18,000 in Ohio, 30,000 in Indiana, and roughly 10-15,000 in Michigan. Many continued their earlier abolitionist commitments in their new homes. Vide. C. P. E. Knuth, Early Immigration and Current Residential Patterns of Negroes in Southwestern Michigan Dissertation for Ph.D. in Geography at the University of Michigan (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1969), pp. 22-23.

Joneses, the Bonines, the Bogues, the Easts, the Osborns, the Shugarts and the Jameses, all of whom urged blacks to migrate to the county. Yet ironically most of those Friends who settled in Cass were native Southerners, but, implacable foes of the "Peculiar Institution" from whence they fled.[36] In 1829, their numbers were so large that a township within the county was named in honor of William Penn.[37] While the greater percentage of that sect was identified with Penn Township, there were large concentrations of Quakers in other parts of the county. Some purchased homesteads near Birch Lake, while others bought land in the areas that became the townships of Jefferson, Calvin, and Porter (Map No. 1).[38] They held their first religious meetings in the homes of Stephen Bogue and William and Rachel East. However, by 1837, they constructed a meeting house-school in Penn Township. By 1841, the Cass County Quakers were placed under the supervision of the Indiana Yearly Meeting. Soon thereafter, other meeting houses were erected in the county which was attributed either to their population increase and, or, to the Indiana assembly.[39] For example, meeting houses appeared in Vandalia, in Prairie Grove in

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[36]George Hesslink, Black Neighbors: Negroes in a Northern Rural Community, . . ., pp. 29-47.

[37]Berenice Vanderburg, "Kentucky Slave Raid Raised Quakers' Ire," Dowagiac Daily News, 27 November 1971 (Dowagiac, Michigan).

[38]Interview with Mrs. Bertha Newsome (16 November 1973), Calvin Township, Cass County, Michigan; Cassopolis Vigilant, Vol. 1, No. 1 (16 May 1872), Cassopolis, Michigan, p. 3; Reminiscences of Levi Coffin (Cincinnati, Ohio: Western Tract Society, 1876), p. 368. The county was divided in 1830, into four townships; LaGrange, Ontwa, Penn, and Pokagon. In 1841 Cass County had fifteen townships (Map No. 1).

[39]Mae R. Schoetzow, A Brief History of Cass County (Marcellus: Published by the Marcellus News, 1935), p. 56.

Penn Township, and near Birch Lake.[40] Not only were these Quakers highly religious but also many Friends maintained strongly the ideals of personal freedom and equality. Like most Friends in America, those in Cass were among the first in the region to appreciate the evils of human bondage and the discrimination practiced against freed blacks. Hence, many did not hesitate to condemn or work towards the eradication of the poisons of slavery and racism that besmirched America.[41]

Their concerns for blacks acquired a missionary zeal. For example, in 1841 a few members of the Birch Lake Meeting House, under the leadership of Stephen Bogue, became so conscientious that they refused to use goods produced by slave labor.[42] They also withdrew from the apathetic larger Quaker assembly and organized a society known as the "Anti-Slavery Friends."[43]

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[40]Everett Claspy Papers, Cass County Library (Cassopolis, Michigan); Cassopolis Vigilant, 13 July 1872, Vol. 1, No. 6 (Cassopolis, Michigan), p. 2.

[41]Some scholars felt that slavery and discrimination were condemned by Friends because of guilt feelings. In the early eighteenth century, slaves were owned also by members of the society. Vide. Herbert Aptheker, "The Quakers and Negro Slavery," Journal of Negro History, Vol. XXV, No. 3 (January 1940), pp. 331-362; G. D. Houston, "John Woolman's Efforts in Behalf of Freedom," Journal of Negro History, Vol. II, No. 2 (April 1917), pp. 126-139; Herbert Aptheker, "The Quakers and Negro Slavery," Journal of Negro History, Vol. XXV, No. 3 (July 1940), pp. 331-363.

[42]Nevetheless, the Quakers of the region were not the only religious sect that refrained from using goods produced by slave labor. For example, the Reverend Luther Humphey neither ate nor used anything made in the south. As a substitute for sugar he separated the juices from a portion of his corn crop and boiled it down to a sweetened molasses. H. S. Rogers, The History of Cass County, from 1825 to 1875 (Cassopolis, Michigan: W. H. Mansfield Vigilant Book and Job Printing, 1875), p. 332.

[43]H. East, Recorded by Miss C. Bonine, from reminiscences of her father, A Short History of Vandalla, Cass County Historical Society Papers (Cassopolis, Michigan: n.d.), p. 30; "Looking Back in Dowagiac," Dowagiac Daily News (16 July 1960), Dowagiac Public Library; L. H. Glover, A Twentieth-Century History of Cass County, Michigan (Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1906), pp. 385-386. In some cases the local Quaker Meeting Houses were threatening to disband because of the radical slavery views and actions of its members.

That group also struggled to make themselves helpful to the abolitionist movement, especially the underground railroad activities of the larger community, while still maintaining their testimonies of love and reconciliation. The anti-slavery Friends of the county, because of their over-zealousness in the abolition movements, which other members of the sect considered radical, were disciplined by the Indiana Yearly Meeting.[44] Without doubt, it can be asserted that had it not been for their friendly character, it is questionable whether freed blacks would have gained a foothold in Cass.[45] Not surprisingly, it is within a few miles radius of the Birch Lake Meeting House that the nucleus of the county's black population settled.[46]

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[44]The Story of the Birch Lake Quakers, Calvin Township, Cass County Michigan. Cass County Historical Society Papers located in the Cass County Library (Cassopolis, Michigan), p. 7; Alice Osborn Letter, Michigan Historical Collections, Bentley History Library, Ann Arbor (26 January 1967), p. 2; Quaker Records of Michigan. Birch Lake 1841-1915, Cass County Library, Cassopolis, Michigan.

[45]Interview with Mrs. Bertha Newsome (16 November 1973), Calvin Township, Cass County; Interview with Mrs. Emaline Anderson and Robert Mathews (26 November 1973), Vandalia, Cass County; Lois W. Welch, A Diamond Sparkles (Davenport, Iowa: Bowden Brothers, Inc., 1970), taken from an interview the authoress had with Mr. Orlando James in the Appendix, p. XXX; Charles Adam Weissert, Notes on Cassopolis Michigan, Michigan Historical Collections, Bentley History Library, Ann Arbor. James O. Wheeler and Stanley D. Brunn, "An Agricultural Ghetto: Negroes in Cass County, Michigan, 1845-1968." Geographical Review, Vol. LIX, No. 3 (1969), p. 322.

[46]There was a strong correlation in Michigan between the location of Quaker settlements and the location of black settlements. There were such colonies in most of the following Michigan towns: Birch Lake, Penn, Vandalia, Wheatland, Adrian, Logan, Raisin, Rollin, Palmyra, Tecumseh, Farmington, Ypsilanti, Greenfield, Plymouth, Livonia, Battle Creek, and Hickory Grove. There was also a strong correlation in Michigan between underground railroad routes and black settlements. This too might be attributive to the Quaker influence on many underground railroad routes. Vide. C. P. E. Knuth, Early Immigration and Current Residential Patterns of Negroes in Southwestern Michigan, . . ., pp. 138-141.

In no part of Michigan was the anti-slavery spirit more vigorous and aggressive than in Cass County; here was a vital and quietly maintained junction of the underground railroad (hereafter referred to as the U.G.R.R.) routes that traversed Michigan (Map No. 1).[47] Since they

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[47]Ted G. Foster, "Village of Scio was Stop of U.G.R.R.," The Lansing State Journal (Lansing, Michigan: 28 April 1955), pp. 17 and 25; A. Mathews, History of Cass County Michigan (Chicago: Waterman, Watkins and Company, 1882), p. 382; Most Worshipful Prince Hall Grand Lodge Office and Accepted Masons Celebrating the First Lodge, Number 6 Niles and Chain Lake Micigan (Sunday 10 July 1960: n.p.), pp. 1-36 Niles Community Library; History of the Negro in Michigan, Federal Writers Program, . . ., passim. For information relative to the underground railroad activities in Michigan Vide. Martha Aiken, "The Underground Railroad," Michigan History, Vol. 6, pp. 597-610; Charles Barnes, "Battle Creek as a Station on the Underground Railroad," Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, Vol. 38, pp. 279-285; John Chavis, "Freedom via Detroit - Movement on the Underground Railroad," Negro History Bulletin (October 1963), p. 30; Mildred E. Danforth, A Quaker Pioneer: Laura Haviland: Superintendent of the Underground Railroad (New York: Exposition Press, 1961), passim; Laura S. Haviland, A Woman's Life Work (Cincinnati: Walder and Stowe, 1881), passim; Pamela S. Thomas, "A Station on the Underground Railroad," Michigan History, Vol. 37, pp. 178-182; N. G. Thomas, The Second Coming in the Third New England (The Millennial Impulse in Michigan 1830-1860), required dissertation for the Ph.D. at Michigan State University (East Lansing, 1967), pp. 159-160; Blanche Coggan, "The Underground Railroad in Michigan," Michigan Centennial History, Vol. 1 (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Company, 1939) pp. 352-361; Monroe Salutes Its Black Citizens, Our Heritage Day Michigan Week (20 May 1969), passim. Negroes in Michigan History; edited by John Green (Detroit: McManchan Company, 1969), passim. Interview of Mr. and Mrs. Edward Vergho, Monroe County, 11 June 1968; Interview of Mr. Bernard Lazette, Monroe County, Michigan, May 1958; History of the Negro in Michigan, . . ., passim; Fred Landon, "The Fugitive Slave Law and the Detroit River Frontier," From the Detroit Historical Society Bulletin (November 1950), pp. 5-9; M. A. Goddard, "The Underground Railroad," Paper presented to the Ypsilanti Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution (April 1913), pp. 1-13. Michigan History Collection, Bentley Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor; Ted G. Foster, "Village of Scio Was Stop on the Underground Railroad," The Lansing State Journal (28 April 1955), pp. 17 and 25. Michigan State Library Vertical Files, Lansing, Michigan; Directory of Cass County, Michigan, p. 6; The Underground Railroad: A Compilation on the Underground Railroad System in Michigan for Escaped Slaves, paper Burton Collection, Detroit Public Library, Detroit, Michigan, passim. Correspondence regarding the underground railroad in Detroit, paper, Burton Collection, Detroit Public Library, Detroit, Michigan, "Why, How and When: An Historical Fragment Regarding the Operations of the Underground Railroad in Macomb County, Michigan," Libretta Green,

Burton Collection, Detroit Public Library, Detroit, Michigan, passim; W. M. Cockrum, The History of the Underground Railroad (Oakland City, Indiana, 1915), passim; W. S. Wright, Pastime Sketches (Logansport, Indiana: ---, 1907), passim; James L. Hawks, "The Negro in Battle Creek, Michigan," passim. Olivet College, Olivet, Michigan; The Tyler Family, An Article of a Local Pioneer Negro Family, Webster Memorial Library, Covert, Michigan; Marion Grahan, "The Historic Cellar," The Jackson Citizen Patriot, 22 December 1972; "Grandmother 65 Pieces Together Story of Underground Railroad," Jackson Citizen Patriot, 20 November 1960, p. 10 Gerald Sorin, "The Historical Theory of Political Radicalism: Michigan Abolitionist as a Test Case." Thesis required for degree at Wayne State University, n.d., passim; Larry Gara, The Liberty Line (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1961), passim; Olive Gilbert, Narrative of Sojourner Truth (Chicago: Johnson Publishing Company, 1970), passim; Arthur Huff Fauset, Sojourner Truth, God's Faithful Pilgrim (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1938), passim. Hertha Ernestine Paull, Her Name Was Sojourner Truth (New York: Appleton Century Crofts, 1962), passim; "Pipe Stone Township Played Important Part in Underground Railway," Journal Era, Berrien Springs, Michigan, 12 September 1959, p. 6; "The Underground Railroad in Berrien County," Rose Burkett, Niles Daily Star, Niles, Michigan, n.d. Held in the Niles Community Library; Carter G. Woodson, "Freedom and Slavery in Appalachian America," Journal of Negro History, Vol. I, No. 1 (April 1916), p. 147; Caroline R. Humphrey, "Laura Smith Haviland," Michigan History Magazine, Vol. V, nos. 1 and 2 (January-April 1921), p. 177; "The Underground Railroad," The Democratic Expounder; Marshall, Michigan (8 February 1855), p. 1; "Bank Now Stands on Site Where Escaped Slaves Hid," Detroit Free Press, Detroit, Michigan (28 March 1937); "Historic Underground Railway Depot Destroyed," Detroit Free Press, Detroit, Michigan (20 September 1931), p. 4. "Historic Underground Railway Depot Destroyed," The Detroit Free Press, Detroit, Michigan (20 September 1931), p. 4; --- Farmington Enterprise, Nathan H. Power, Farmington, Michigan (30 May 1924), p. 1; "Fleeing Slaves Used Underground Route," Dr. Phillip Mason, Ann Arbor News, Ann Arbor, Michigan (31 January 1961); Henrietta Buckmaster, Let My People Go (Boston: Harper Brothers, 1941), passim; "Kern's Site Once Underground Road Center," Detroit Free Press, Frank W. Woodford, Detroit, Michigan (29 January 1961), Section A, p. 3; Nathan M. Thomas Papers, Correspondence 1836-1839, p. 2. Michigan History Collection, Bentley Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor; Nathan M. Thomas Papers, Correspondence 1836-1839 (Zanesfield 11 month 21st 1837), p. 1; Nathan M. Thomas Papers, Correspondence to Cassopolis 29 August 1848.

actively opposed slavery, some of the county's Quakers became prime movers in aiding its clandestine operations. Those Friends participating in the workings of the U.G.R.R. were united by their shared beliefs in a "Higher Law," a divine law which viewed slavery as a moral wrong and impelled them to work zealously toward the eradication of slavery and its twin -- racism. However, not only Quakers helped the fugitives to freedom, but so too did some of their non-Quaker neighbors, who called their contributions "organized anarchy against legal oppression."[48]

Several important branches of the U.G.R.R. led into Michigan (Map No. 2).[49] Two routes originated in Kentucky and Missouri, and eventually cut across Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio. From the latter a line probably came into Michigan from the Cincinnati area, following the Ohio River into eastern Indiana and proceeding northwest into Young's Prairie, which is located in Cass County. Three other lines from Indiana

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[48] Everett Claspy Papers, Cass County Library (Cassopolis, Michigan).

[49] A historian of the underground railroad has compiled a list of 47 station masters in Michigan. Lenawee was the county that had the largest number, twelve; Washtenaw and Wayne had eight each; St. Joseph, seven; Calhoun, four; Cass, three; there were two in Oakland and one each in Kalamazoo and Genesee counties. Vide. G. N. Fuller, "The Underground Railroad in Michigan," . . ., p. 354. One can safely assume that the majority of the agents were Quakers because the aforementioned counties all had a sizeable population of this group. There were underground railroad stations in the following Michigan towns: Cassopolis, Young's Prairie, White Pigeon, Flowerfield, Vicksburg, Schoolcraft, Climax, Battle Creek, Marshall, Albion, Parma, Hickory Grove, Jackson, Michigan Center, Leoni, Grass Lake, Francisco, Ann Arbor, Dexter, Scio, Geddes, Morenci, Adrian, Tecumseh, Ypsilanti, Plymouth, Monroe and Detroit. All lines converged at Detroit, where the fugitive could remain or be ferried across the Detroit River to Canada (Map No. 2). Vide. History of the Negro in Michigan, Federal Writers Program, . . ., p. 29. That portion of Canada most easily reached by fugitives was the lake-bound region lying between New York on the east and Michigan on the west. Incidentally, there were secondary routes in Michigan which are still being uncovered. Probably, two routes were in Eaton and Ingham counties. There are two road markers in those areas which indicate underground railway activities -- respectively they are labeled Guinea and Africa roads.

carried runaways through or near the county.[50] By necessity, the principal ports of entry into Michigan were either at Bristol, Indiana, which is on the Cass County border or at Bertrand, Indiana, which is near Niles. These Indiana cities were necessary cogs in the U.G.R.R. because within their boundaries were two bridges which crossed the St. Joseph River;[51] that waterway bordered portions of the two states.

Since the majority of the station keepers on one of those routes traversing Cass County were Friends, historians appropriately labeled it the "Quaker Route."[52] For example, four active stations were in the homes of members of that sect; one was at the home of Stephen Bogue who lived halfway between Cassopolis and Vandalia; a second was at the home of Zachariah Shugart who lived in the village of Vandalia; the third was at the home of Ishmael Lee who lived about a half mile south of Cassopolis and; the fourth at the home of Josiah

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[50]James O. Wheeler and Stanley D. Brunn, "Negro Migration into Rural Southwestern Michigan," Geographical Review, Vol. 58 (1968), p. 218; Blanche Coggan, "The Underground Railroad in Michigan," . . ., p. 125; Robert J. Furlong, "Know Your Michigan," Plaid and Khaki, (April 1955), p. 8; History of the Negro in Michigan, Federal Writers Program, . . ., p. 29; G. N. Fuller, "The Underground Railroad in Michigan," . . ., pp. 352-361; H. S. Rogers, History of Cass County, From 1825 to 1875 (Cassopolis, Michigan: W. H. Mansfield, Vigilant Book and Job Print, 1875), p. 130; Mae R. Schoetzow, A Brief History of Cass County, . . ., p. 59; George N. Fuller. Index to the Sites on Cass County Map, vertical file, Michigan State Library, pp. 5-82; Concerning Cass County, Michigan State Library, vertical files on Cass County; A. Mathews, History of Cass County, Michigan, . . ., p. 109; Rose R. Burnett, "The Underground Railroad in Berrien County, Benton Harbor, Michigan," Held in the Niles Community Library, Niles, Michigan (n.p. n.d.); The George Fox Papers, "The Underground Railway Operations Described, n.d., no name of paper given; Southwestern Michigan Library, Dowagiac, Michigan. Charles Adam Weissert, Notes on Cassopolis, Michigan, Michigan Historical Collections, Bentley History Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan; H. East, Short History of Vandalia, . . ., passim.

[51]The George Fox Papers, "The Underground Railway Operations Described," . . ., passim.

[52]Berenice Vanderburg, "Kentucky Slave Raid Raised Quakers' Ire,. . .

Osburn who lived on the northwest end of Shavehead Lake in Calvin Township.[53] These men generally "received fugitives from E. McIlvain, agent at Niles . . .."[54] From their depots, slaves usually were spirited to the dwelling of Dr. Nathan M. Thomas of Schoolcraft, Michigan.[55] The number of runaways who passed through Cass County, between 1830-1860, and who were aided by either Quaker or non-Quaker abolitionist, probably was not less than 1000. Dr. Thomas estimated that he had assisted at least 1000 on their journeys to the North Star -- Canada (appendix).[56]

Eventually some fugitives realized that alliances with Cass County Quakers would assure their freedom. Moreover, since the

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[53] The George Fox Papers, "The Underground Railway Operations Described," . . .

[54] H. S. Rogers, History of Cass County from 1825 to 1875 . . ., p. 132. Even though there were underground railroad operators in Niles, many runaways tried to avoid the heavily populated areas of that city and South Bend, Indiana, because pro-slavery sentiment in those cities was strong.

[55] Portrait and Biographical Record of Berrien and Cass Counties, Michigan (Chicago: Biographical Publishing Company, 1893), pp. 216 and 244; A. Mathews, History of Cass County, Michigan, . . ., p. 379; Beatrice Brown, "Cassopolis, Michigan Boasts of Its Role in the Underground Railroad," The Pittsburgh Courier, Vol. XL, No. 27 (Saturday 2 July 1949), p. 6; G. N. Fuller, Index to the Sites of Cass County Map (Mimeographed paper), Vertical Files, Michigan State Library, p. 6. Ella Thomas's History of the Underground Railroad with several pages of Pamela Thomas's History of Anti-Slavery contained in Nathan Macy Thomas Papers, Michigan Historical Collections, Bentley History Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan. In the 1850's, Thomas prophesied that, "Slavery cannot continue to exist under our government. If it is not put down by the ballot, it will go down in blood."

[56] Beatrice Brown, "Cassopolis, Michigan Boasts of Its Role in the Underground Railroad, . . ., p. 6; A. Mathews, History of Cass County Michigan, . . ., p. 110. Dr. Thomas usually forwarded the runaways to the home of Erostus Hussey, a Quaker in Battle Creek. Later, Hussey carried the fugitives on toward Detroit and then Canada. At first slaves came singly or in twos and threes to the Thomas's house. However, larger caravans, led by Quaker conductor Shugart was not out of the ordinary. Vide Ella Thomas's History of the Underground Railroad, . . ., p. 25; Beatrice Brown, "Cassopolis, Michigan Boasts of Its Role in the Underground Railroad,. . ., p. 6.

sympathies of some county citizens were with the runaways, a few took advantage of the friendly atmosphere and remoteness of the area and, consequently, found occupations and built homes there. For example, in 1836 a fugitive slave named Lawson Howell arrived in the county with Dr. Henry Way, a Quaker preacher. Apparently, that fugitive pioneered the movement which made Cass a refuge for the black race.[57] Within two years, Ezekial Anderson, Willis Brown and Jesse Scott, the latter two being runaways, migrated to the county.[58] By 1847, there were at least fifty runaway residents there.[59] Nevertheless, the U.G.R.R. routes which traversed that county brought relatively few permanent residents there.[60] Other sources contributed to the growth of the black population.

In 1847 John or Sampson Saunders, from Cabell County, Virginia, emancipated his inherited slaves.[61] That act of manumission greatly

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[57]Cass County, Calvin Township Papers of Pioneers, 1805-1921, Papers on Negroes 1828-1929. Michigan Historical Collection, Bentley History Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan. Contrastingly, the census of 1830 reveals that two black males with unknown civil status resided in the county.

[58]Cass County, Calvin Township Papers of Pioneers, 1805-1921, Papers of Negroes 1828-1929, ... Ezekial Anderson came to the county after having served in the United States Army. C. P. E. Knuth, Early Immigration and Current Residential Patterns of Negroes in Southwestern Michigan, . . ., p. 16.

[59]A. Mathews, A History of Cass County, Michigan, . . ., p. 110; John Dancy, "The Negro People in Michigan," Michigan History Magazine, Vol. 24 (1940), pp. 222-223.

[60]Interview with Mrs. Frances Lawson and Mr. William Lawson 15 November 1973, Pokagon Township, Cass County, Michigan; Interview with Mrs. Rosella Wade, 23 November 1973, Calvin Township, Cass County, Michigan.

[61]William and Jane Pease, Black Utopias: Negro Communal Experiments in America (Madison, Wisconsin: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1963), p. 28; James D. Corrothers, In Spite of the Handicap, an Autobiography (New York: G. H. Doran, Company, 1916), p. 18; John Dancy, "The Negro People in Michigan," . . ., p. 233; Everett Claspy, The Negro in Southwestern Michigan (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Braun-Brumfield, 1967), p. 4.

affected the black population growth of Cass County, and, the ensuing events became a legend. Because of his northern education and close association with young men of independent spirits, contends William C. Gregg, Saunders viewed slavery as a repulsive institution. At the age of 30, a deceased uncle willed conscience-strickened Saunders ten men,[62] the wives of five of them, and two minors. As the inherited estate became more solvent economically, Saunders worked out a scheme which would give his inherited slaves their freedom without leaving them destitute. But one after another his plans proved impracticable such as: purchasing land in the neighborhood for their settlement, setting aside part of his plantation, or transporting them to Africa. He had thought, too, of the possibility of sending them to a Caribbean island -- either Santo Domingo, Haiti, Jamaica, or Bermuda.

Determined that none of his blacks would ever toil in another southern field, he chose Michigan, after three years of searching, as the desired haven. Through correspondence with Governor Steven T. Mason,[63] and from travelers and writers, Saunders learned much about the state. The slaves, nonetheless, knew nothing of his plan, so, when they discovered Saunders' intentions, they became bewildered; many could not comprehend his determination to start a colony of freed

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[62]Perhaps other factors contributed to Saunders' moral commitment -- the money involved in maintaining 40 slaves might have been a case in point.

[63]After surveying the governor's letters no substantial evidence was uncovered about the gentlemen attending school together. The Steven T. Mason Papers, William Clements Library, Ann Arbor; The Steven T. Mason Papers, Burton Collection, Detroit Public Library, Detroit, Michigan.

men in Michigan.[64] However, they did realize that their master and mistress were kind.

To continue the account, upon visiting Detroit, Saunders was received cordially by Governor Mason. The executive advised him to examine the possibility of locating a site in the southern part of the state, west of Battle Creek, where a county had been named in honor of General Lewis Cass. Informed about the beautiful small prairies, the strips of hard timberland, the rich soils and the plentiful supply of wild game, Saunders reasoned that the prairies of Cass could become the home for his inherited blacks.[65] There was, however, one drawback which shocked Saunders; Michigan's zero and sub-zero weather. This was something terrible to contemplate. Consequently, he assumed that to send black families, conditioned to mild climates and totally dependent, into a land of severe cold where fuel and warm clothing were necessary, would mean certain suffering for "his blacks." Soon thereafter, Saunders met a young Ohioan, who was traveling through Virginia. He, in exchange for the Saunders' hospitality, gave the slaveholder much valuable information pertinent to surviving in the

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[64]Saunders was not the only master who emancipated and settled his slaves in free territories. For example, Edward Coles, Samuel Gist, and John Randolph did the same. The Virginians purchased land for their manumitted slaves in Edwardsville, Illinois, Brown County, Ohio, and Mercer County, Ohio. Vide. W. Pease and J. Pease, Black Utopias: Negro Communal Experiments in America, . . ., passim.

[65]One historian mentions that the Saunders' will stipulated that his slaves be liberated and be given land in Indiana. The executors of the will were to purchase the property. The citizens of the Hoosier state, however, forced elected state officials to develop laws forbidding the presence of black in the state. The doors were slammed shut on the executors of that will. Eventually Cass County was chosen instead. D. M. Katzman, "Rural Blacks in Michigan," Michigan Challenge Vol. IX, No. 9 (June 1969), p. 31.

rigorous Michigan winters.[66] Eventually, in 1849, the Saunders' ex-slaves, approximately 41 in number, reached Cass a few days before Christmas.[67] They, however, were preceded by large migrations of freed blacks from elsewhere.

Logan County, Ohio,[68] also contributed heavily to the black population of the county. Due to the overcrowdedness and increasing hostility in that area, many blacks followed the migration trails of some of their former Quaker neighbors to Cass. Most of them were not Quakers, but simply sought a friendly environment.[69] In 1845-1846,

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[66]William C. Gregg Papers, entitled, "Reminiscences of Calvin Township, Cass County, Michigan," a semi-fictional account of the Saunders colony of freed slaves (n.d.), pp. 3-46. Michigan History Collection, Bentley Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. After cross checking with other references, the historical validity of three points in the excerpt are questionable. They are: (1) the friendship of Saunders and Mason which developed in school, (2) the meeting and, (3) Saunders visit to Detroit.

[67]Booker T. Washington, The Story of the Negro: The Rise of the Race from Slavery, Vol. I (New York: Negro University Press, (1969) p. 246; C. P. E. Knuth, Early Immigration and Current Residential Patterns of Negroes in Southwestern Michigan, . . ., p. 76; History of the Negro in Michigan, Federal Writers Program, . . ., p. 22.

[68]The majority of the Logan County black settlers were originally from North Carolina, however, anti-freed slave decrees forced them to leave the lands of their nativity. Vide. L. H. Glover, A Twentieth Century History of Cass County, Michigan, . . ., p. 288; Charles Adam Weissert. Notes of Cassopolis, Michigan. Michigan History Collections, Bentley Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan; one source indicated that 73 black families came to the county from that Ohio region. H. B. Fields, "Free Negroes in Cass County before the Civil War," Michigan History Magazine, Vol. XLIV (1960), pp. 375-384.

[69]D. M. Katzman, "Early Black Settlers in Michigan," . . . Michigan Challenge, Vol. VIII, No. 9 (June 1968), p. 11; Early Cass County: A Brief History for Use by Teachers, compiled by Olive Dickeson, et. al (Niles Area Commission Resources Workshop, 1960), p. 12; R. Lehnert, "Muslims Build for Tomorrow," Michigan Farmer (September 4, 1971), p. 6; "Looking Back in Dowagiac - First Fugitive Slave," Dowagiac Daily News (July 23, 1960).

Cass County received a group of blacks composed of the Hardy Wades, Newsom Tanns, Nathan Boons, Crawford Byrds, Turner Byrds, Harrison Ashs, and others.[70] Later, yet a different group arrived from the western Ohio area, led by Kinchen Artis, a black Quaker. Among these settlers were some Allens (circa 1848 or 1849).[71] According to county folklore, still another party was escorted to the county by Friends from somewhere beyond the Appalachians (circa 1848-1850). Since mid-nineteenth-century America had no macadamized roads, migration to the county was both strenuous and tiresome, as the following excerpt indicates.

> In the spring of 1848 the family started to Michigan by covered wagon. They took their horses and cattle, it was necessary for some of the family to lead the cows and others rode horses and still others had to walk. One child James, was afflicted, this proved to be an added hardship during the trip . . . .[72]

Even though they had to migrate through wildernesses,[73] many willingly gave up their previous earthly possessions to invest in the Quaker-created haven in Cass County. For example, in 1854, more new black emigres, from Ohio and other northern states made the hazardous treks

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[70] Cass County, Calvin Township Papers of Pioneers, 1805-1921, Papers on Negroes, 1828-1939, History of the Colored People of Calvin Township, written 1939. Michigan Historical Collections: Bentley Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

[71] Michigan Manual of Freedmen's Progress, Compiled by Francis H. Warren, Secretary of Freedmen's Progress Commission (Detroit, Michigan, 1915), p. 290.

[72] Allen Family [Cass County] Genealogical Material. Michigan Historical Collection, Bentley History Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

[73] Rosanna Wilson, Biographical Sketch of William Allen of Cass County, manuscript (n.d.), Michigan Historical Collection, Bentley History Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan. For similar information Vide. Historical Record of the Lawson Family, information held by Mrs. Frances Lawson (Pokagon Township, Cass County Michigan).

to the county. Among the new arrivals were the families of Isaac Stewart, Samuel Hawks, James Mitchell, William Lawson, C. W. Bunn, Jesse W. Madrey and others. Most of these black emigres settled in Calvin Township. Eventually, Calvin's growing black population attracted others with similar backgrounds and experiences.[74] The extent of the migration and the distribution of blacks can be better understood from the Federal Census of 1840, 1850, and 1860. The county's black population grew from five in 1840 to 389 in 1850 and 1368 in 1860.[75] Two-thirds of the blacks who arrived during that era were located in Calvin and Porter Townships (Charts VIII and IX).

In sum, it is fair to speculate that had it not been for the Quakers in Cass many blacks who eventually came there would have migrated and settled either in Canada or elsewhere. Even though its first black settlers were coincidental, many runaways, like those who planned migrations to the area, felt safe because they had pacifist protectors in the remoteness of Cass County.

It is, moreover, a lasting tribute to the Quakers that, after encouraging blacks to immigrate to the county, they continued to assist the ex-slaves. The acquisition of property serves as a good example.

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[74]Interview with Orlando James, 29 November 1973, Calvin Township, Cass County, Michigan; Interview with Mr. William Lawson and Mrs. Frances Lawson, 15 November 1973, Pokagon Township, Cass County, Michigan.

[75]In that time period the white population numbered 5710 -- 10,518 -- 17,895 respectively.

Chapter II

LAND, PRIDE, AND INDEPENDENCE

In ante-bellum Michigan, many citizens of the larger community generally considered the ex-slave inhabitants as either "idle, thievish, roguish or indolent." Despite the economic proscriptions and the stereotypical attitudes which they encountered daily, some blacks succeeded in a few instances in the business life of Michigan.[1] A small portion even made a comfortable living and acquired a few thousand dollars worth of property. But a perusal of the evidence reveals that most of them filled the lowest paid and least rewarding occupations; they worked mostly either as barbers, teamsters, liverymen, caterers, launderers, domestics or hair dressers.[2] "Most of the first . . . black businessmen in Detroit," for example, "were entrepreneurs who had turned services or

[1] Vide. The History of the Negro in Michigan, Federal Writers Program, . . ., passim; Dorothy Emmer, The Civil and Political Status of the Negro in Michigan and the Northwest before 1820, . . ., passim; Michigan Manual of Freedmen's Progress, compiled by Francis H. Warren, . . ., passim.

[2] In most cases native whites shunned these service jobs, for many assumed that they were demeaning and degrading. If ordered to perform such tasks, they would quit -- declaring that they were not "niggers." For information relative to the economic status of ante-bellum ex-slaves, yet similar to the plight of black Michiganites Vide. John Hope Franklin, "The Free Negro in the Economic Life of Ante-Bellum North Carolina, Part I," Journal of Negro History, Vol. XIX, no. 3 (July 1942), pp. 239-257; J. H. Franklin, "The Free Negro in the Economic Life of Ante-Bellum North Carolina, Part II," Journal of Negro History, Vol. XIX, no. 4 (October 1942), pp. 359-375; Leon Litwack, "North of Slavery," in America's Black Past, ed. by Eric Foner (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1970), pp. 142-164.

skills into small businesses . . . ."[3] Furthermore, David M. Katzman mentions that real estate was one of the major sources of investment among them. For example, William Lambert acquired large land holdings in what became downtown Detroit (circa 1840 or 1850). Economic success and property acquisition, nevertheless, was not unique only to nineteenth-century black Detroiters.

Samuel Clemens of Ingham County held real estate in Vevay and Dansville Townships. On 7 December 1849 he sold ". . . a tract of land being the southwest quarter of section number ten in township two north of range number one east containing 160 acres of land."[4] This property is located near Dansville. He purchased, on 3 June 1854 "the northeast quarter of section twenty-four containing 160 acres in township two north of Vevay one west of the town of Vevay in the county of Ingham . . . ."[5] Translated, this means that Clemen's tenancy was near the township of Mason. But, he was not the only black property holder in that county between the late 1840's-1860's; Tobias Miller, Wilson Turner, Tim Wilson and William Butcher also held estates, ranging in value from $125 to $500.[6]

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[3] D. M. Katzman, Before the Ghetto: Black Detroit in the Nineteenth Century, . . ., p. 178; for supplementary data vide. "Origins and Leaders: The Early Roots of Black Life in Detroit," Detroit Free Press (Sunday 9 December 1973), pp. 18, 48; John Chavis, Then Came Freedom . . . Detroit and the Emancipation Proclamation, Reprinted courtesy of Detroit Historical Society (Detroit, Michigan: Detroit Historical Society, n.d.), pp. 1-5.

[4] Record of Deeds, Vol. 9, Ingham County, Ingham County Court House, Mason, Michigan.

[5] Record of Deeds, Vol. 12, Ingham County, Ingham County Court House, Mason, Michigan. Black property acquisition was not peculiar only to Michigan or any northern state. A striking illustration was printed in the Lansing Republican of 14 April 1857. It stated that according to "The New Orlean [sic] Crescent . . . free negroes [sic] of that city were possessed of property to the amount of $4,000,000. Usually, ex-slaves in the south were better off economically than their northern counterparts because competition for menial occupations never materialized."

[6] Federal Census schedule 1850 and 1860 for Ingham County.

Without doubt, most of the ex-slaves who owned property in Michigan during that era possessed small land holdings worth a few hundred dollars or less. Individuals like Lambert, moreover, comprised only a miniscule percentage of the area's total freed slave population -- most of those who were owners compared best with either Miller, Turner, Wilson, or Butcher. The vast majority of them, during the entire period, were without any property whatsoever.[7] Tragically, they only owned the clothes that were on their backs and their abilities to labor. Without massive economic assistance, it was clear that the vast majority of these proverty-ridden urban blacks would remain economically subordinate, and dependent upon whites for employment.

This generalization, furthermore, was applicable also to the fortunate black businessmen who acquired a fashionable white clientele in several Michigan cities. To maintain a good reputation, they were required to show proper respect to their white patrons; therefore, continuous economic success for them meant barring other blacks from their establishments. Any acceptance of the anomalies led to business suicide. The growing tendency of other ex-slaves with similar skills to congregate in urban areas, the intensifying racial discrimination of the cities, and the accelerating rate of urban job competition between blacks and immigrants plus a few other reasons, caused many urban black businessmen to realize that they could not depend always on white purses. A case in point occurred in the late 1840's when they were confronted with a new and more serious challenge to their economic positions — the Irish newcomers.

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[7] Vide. Federal Census Schedule 1850, 1860, and 1870 for Michigan, preferably Wayne, Washtenaw, Ingham, and Calhoun Counties.

After removing much of the stigma attached to certain unskilled trades formerly manned by ex-slaves, Irishmen forced many blacks into unemployment. Not only were they driven from the respectable position, but from the menial ones as well. During the crisis, married black dependent merchants frequently summoned their wives to supplement or provide the families' income. Striking examples were the emergence of married black washerwomen.[8] Without their assistance many urban black Michiganites would have either starved or would have been forced by indigence to commit economic crimes. Inspite of this, some ex-bondmen found work opportunities in rural Michigan areas where their competition rarely provoked undue animosity.[9] Some acquired real property and eventually became economically independent. The territory's greatest concentration of ante-bellum black property owners was in Cass County; there, continuous kowtowing to whites for economic gains, fear of competition, and confinement to demeaning service occupations became a relic of the past to those who procured property.

This chapter will detail their acquisition of property in that county, the significance of land ownership to the ex-slave inhabitants and the economic existence of independent Cass County black farmers. Once again, had it not been for Quaker assistance many freed slaves who migrated to the area possibly would have been like the majority of their unfortunate urban brethren.

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[8] Vide. Carter G. Woodson, "The Negro Washerwoman, a Vanishing Figure," Journal of Negro History, Vol. XV, no. 3 (July 1930), pp. 267-277.

[9] E. Franklin Frazier, The Negro in the United States, . . ., passim.

In the ante-bellum years, most blacks placed tremendous emphasis on rectifying the prejudicial accusations that negrophobes created about their race. For this reason, among others, they sought to do everything feasible that would make the race worthy of white respect. Many assumed that some of the myths could be disproved through black economic advancements. "Accumulate money," William Lloyd Garrison informed a black audience, "For money begets influence, and influence respectability."[10] This standard abolitionist advice was accepted wholeheartedly by most of the former slaves as one of the conquerors of stereotypes and discrimination. Those influenced by such rhetoric, and other stimuli, consequently focused their attention on the acquisition of wealth.

Some of the black emigres to Cass County, also influenced by anti-slavery crusaders, responded in a manner similar to the larger freed slave community. But, since that county was decidedly rural, they assumed that wealth could be acquired best through the ownership of real property. Before purchasing land, however, the ex-bondmen had to meet certain qualifications: they had to be acceptable to white sellers; they had to be industrious; they had to have good credit;

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[10]Leon F. Litwack, North of Slavery (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1961), p. 171. For similar opinions concerning economic wealth and an expectant change in social treatment dealt out to ex-slaves vide. Martin Robison Delaney, The Condition, Elevation, Emigration and Destiny of the Colored People of the United States (New York: Arno Press and the New York Times, 1969), p. 45; Francis L. Broderick, "The Growing Dilemma: Separatism and Integration, 1865-1925," in Key Issues in the Afro-American Experience, Vol. II, ed. by N. I. Huggins, D. M. Fox, M. Kilson (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1971), p. 99.

and they had to know their "place" and stay in their "place."[11]

In some parts of the county, because of the Quaker-black relationship, those requirements -- especially the latter -- were disregarded. In other cases the previous stipulations were bent slightly. The kindness and tolerance exhibited by the Quakers[12] provided many with an opportunity to implement the preachings of Garrison plus an opportunity to challenge their convinced attackers. Their acquisitions, nevertheless, would have been more difficult if the qualification were enforced rigorously by all the citizens of the county.

In the beginning (circa late 1830's-early 1850's) some of the black newcomers arrived in Cass in poor circumstances. Frequently they started their economic lives by working for Friends until a set amount of money was accumulated. Then, they usually purchased acreage, thereby becoming independent.[13] To some Quakers, providing work opportunities fulfilled a dual purpose; for them, it served either as a practical advantage or as a humanistic gesture. By supplying employment or land to be worked on a crop-sharing arrangement, Quakers enhanced their own agricultural well being and also contributed to the economic liberation of some blacks. "The Negro-Quaker relation," C. P. E. Knuth further contends, "might well be described as a symbiotic compact based on the religious ideals and economic needs of early frontier life."[14]

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[11] E. Franklin Frazier, The Negro in the United States, 15th edition (New York, New York: MacMillan Co., 1971), p. 221.

[12] R. Lehnert, "Muslims Build for Tomorrow," . . ., p. 6.

[13] Cass County. Calvin Township. Papers of Pioneers. 1805-1921, Papers of Negroes, 1828-1939. History of the Colored People of Calvin Township, . . ., pp. 1-2.

[14] C. P. E. Knuth, Early Immigration and Current Residential Patterns of Negroes in Southwestern Michigan, . . ., pp. 36-37.

In effect then, in some sparsely settled regions of the county, the co-operation between the two groups made possible the attainment of some goals neither could have accomplished alone -- cleared Quaker fields and black land ownership.

Through the possession of land, many blacks realized a pride and fulfillment that they had never known before, ownership of something tangible.[15] Others had different rationales for their compulsion to own land, for example, Isaac Stewart simply had no desire to continue working for another. Instead, he desired to head his own undertaking without persistent white hand-outs.[16] Irvin James always had been a relatively independent farmer in North Carolina and Indiana; the continuation of his occupation required acreage.[17] Inspite of their numerous motivations,[18] land to most ante-bellum blacks of the county

> . . . played a crucial role . . . in two important ways. First of all, it was easier to get along by farming one's own land than it was to manage by working for meager wages in the white man's field . . . secondly, but just as importantly, land was a symbolic goal of freedom, . . . [and] a necessary and complementary part of becoming equal in . . . society.[19]

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[15] G. P. Graff, The People of Michigan, . . ., pp. 13-15.

[16] Interview with Mr. Crawford Stewart, 28 November 1973, Dowagiac, Cass County, Michigan.

[17] Interview with Mr. Orlando James, 29 November 1973, Calvin Township, Cass County, Michigan.

[18] One writer suggested that farming appeared to have been the preferred occupation of the refugee blacks because it was the pursuit followed by their masters who were independent. Further, he mentioned that because of slavery, they were best adapted to that trade. Vide. W. H. Siebert, The Underground Railroad from Slavery to Freedom (New York: Russell and Russell, 1898), p. 223.

[19] Robert H. Abzug, "The Black Family During Reconstruction," in Key Issues in the Afro-American Experience, Vol. II, ed. by N. I. Huggins, D. M. Fox, M. Kilson (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1971), p. 35.

An excellent example of Quaker assistance to the black emigres may be observed in the case of William Allen, who was an agricultural laborer employed by William Jones of Penn Township. After five years of working and saving, Allen purchased his first 40 acres of wooded land in Calvin Township at the government price of $1.25 per acre. Soon thereafter (circa 1851-1852) he and his wife, Winnie, cleared and fenced in one acre. On this tract they planted corn[20] which Winnie took care of while William returned to the Jones' farm. Earning and saving nearly 50 cents a day, the Allens eventually accumulated enough money to invest in another 40 acres of unimproved and uncultivated land in the same township. This time they paid the advanced price of $7.00 per acre.[21] Evidently, either because of his tenure, productive ability, diligence or other virtues, Jones made him a foreman.[22] Besides Jones, he also worked for and bartered with Zachariah Shugart for necessary items, as indicated in that Quaker abolitionist's account book.

William Allen, Debtor 1850

12 Month 2 - For 1 pare [sic] of shoes	$1.25
12 - For 1 pare [sic] of shoes	.75
2 Mon[th] 12[,] 1851 [sic] on settlement[,]	$2.00

Book square

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[20]One writer speculates that corn was nearly always the initial crop planted by black farmers because it was a good staple that could be grown easily. Equally important, it was a hoe crop, he continues, that required limited cultivation and growable in partially cleared areas. C. P. E. Knuth, Early Immigration and Current Residential Patterns of Negroes in Southwestern Michigan, . . ., p. 82.

[21]Rosanna Wilson, Biographical Sketch of William Allen, Mimeographed manuscript, . . ., pp. 1-2; Allen Family [Cass County] Geneological Material, . . ., passim. Occasionally, both men and women had to work; ladies toiled as servants in the community for 25 to 50 cents per week, the men received the mentioned sum, but, sometimes the pay was in provisions such as meal and meat. "Transplanting Free Negroes to Ohio from 1815 to 1858," Documents, Journal of Negro History, Vol. 1, no. 3 (July 1916), p. 305.

[22]L. W. Welch, A Diamond Sparkles, . . ., pp. XXXII-XXXIII Appendix.

William Allen, Creditor 1850

12 Mo[nth] 2	- For 2 gallons of molasses	$1.25
	- For 2 gallons of molasses	.50
2 Mon[th] 12	- For 2 gallons of molasses	.25
		$2.00

2 Mon[th] 12 on settlement[,] book square.[23]

Without doubt, Allen was not the sole beneficiary of Quaker largesse; Marmaduke Ash, Irving James, and others also received their assistance.[24] Like Allen, many former agricultural laborers became property owners in the county, especially in Calvin Township.[25] William Jones, nevertheless, was not the only identifiable Quaker who contributed to black economic development. James Bonine, one of the more widely known abolitionists among the Michigan Friends, also made use of benevolent exploitation. However, he rendered more assistance to the fugitives rather than to those legally free blacks.

Bonine, an underground railroad operator and owner of roughly 1000-1500 acres,[26] convinced many fugitives that the vast distance that separated the county from the lands of bondage meant safety. He later suggested that they settle on his land and work for him. Many runaways

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[23] Zachariah Shugart's Account Book (4 October 1838-2 December 1850), Niles Community Library, Niles, Michigan.

[24] Vide. "Marmaduke Ash Is Dead," Cassopolis Vigilant (Cassopolis, Cass County, Michigan, n.d.), Vertical files in Cass County Library, Cassopolis, Michigan; L. W. Welch, A Diamond Sparkles, . . ., pp. XXX-XXXI Appendix.

[25] Reginal Larrie, "Corners of Black History," Article from The Detroit Free Press (Detroit, Michigan, n.d.), Material supplied by Mr. Orlando James, 29 November 1973, Calvin Township, Cass County, Michigan.

[26] Interview with Ex-senator Elwood Bonine, 17 December 1973, Lansing, Ingham County, Michigan.

took advantage of his offer and a settlement, called Ramptown[27] -- where the majority of them resided -- developed on Bonine's property. Many escaped slaves cleared much of his land in exchange for the use of five acres, a cabin, and the right to grow their own crops.[28] Once they accumulated a certain sum of money, probably earned by selling some of their crops, by selling cords of wood, by selling charcoal,[29] or by selling their speciality -- labor -- some eventually purchased real estate in Calvin Township. However, the vacancies created by those departing Ramptown were filled easily by other hungry and tattered fugitives. Even upon his death-bed, Bonine insisted that his

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[27]The name Ramptown probably was derived from one of the following stories or both. Knuth states that the name suggests information about the nativity of its black population. The term "Ramp" is a description of half-breeds from Virginia and the Carolinas, who probably migrated to Cass County. H. East mentions that the name came from the wild leeks or "ramps" which grew abundantly in the woods near the site. To some fugitives, the ramps served as a staple article in their diets until other crops were grown. C. P. E. Knuth, Early Immigration and Current Residential Patterns of Negroes in Southwestern Michigan, . . ., p. 75; H. East, Recorded by Miss C. Bonine, A Short History of Vandalia, . . ., p. 23. Some of the inhabitants of Ramptown were employed by other friends, such as, the Bogues and Joneses. Some of the Bogues employees were quattered also by Shugart. Vide Zachariah Shugart's Account Book, 6 mo[nth] 17, 1848, Niles Community Library, Niles, Michigan.

[28]Helen Hibberd, The Underground Railroad in Northern Indiana, Mimeographed paper (South Bend, Indiana, 1939); Interview with Ex-Senator Elwood Bonine, 17 December 1973, Lansing, Ingham County, Michigan. H. East, Recorded by Miss C. Bonine, A Short History of Vandalia, . . ., p. 23; Duane De Loach, "Cass Markers Recalls Stirring Underground Railroad Days," . . . Between the late 1840's and early 1850's, approximately 100 cabins were erected in the Ramptown settlement.

[29]Charcoal was made by burning wood in an open pit, later, dirt was piled atop of the burning wood. After the wood beneath the soil was cool, the product was finished. Interview with Mr. Crawford Stewart, 28 November 1973, Dowagiac, Cass County, Michigan. The cabins of Ramptown were torn down in 1887 or 1897. Where they once stood is now a part of the 1500 acre Bonine farm, east of Cassopolis. While plowing one day, Mr. Elwood Bonine unearthed several foundations that were probably the historical evidence of Ramptown's existence. Interview with Mr. Elwood Bonine, 17 December 1973, Lansing, Ingham County, Michigan.

heirs continue the practical altruism that finally made many self-sufficient.[30]

Some non-Quakers,[31] also assisted blacks to become landowners. The citizen most active in encouraging them to purchase real property was George Redfield, a native New York speculator who settled in the county. In the 1830's, he purchased from the federal government 8 to 10,000 acres of uncleared land in various townships; he owned 3000 acres in Calvin, 1000 acres in Jefferson, 1000 acres in Mason, and numerous other tracts in various parts of Cass. He still retained 2000 acres, moreover, for his personal use, of which 800 acres were under cultivation;[32] the remainder he disposed of from time to time by selling to black settlers on long-term credit, thus giving them a chance to improve and make their payments from crops grown on the land. On a few occasions, he supposedly had payments deferred over twenty years.[33]

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[30]Interview with Mr. Clyde Byrd, 19 November 1973, Lansing, Ingham County, Michigan.

[31]H. S. Rogers, R. Russell, and Imley and Beach were examples of other non-Quakers who contributed to the economic growth of some freed slaves. Vide. Tax Assessment Roll, Records of Cass County 1850, Vol. 6 of 37, Michigan State Historical Commission (Lansing, Michigan).

[32]H. S. Rogers, History of Cass County, from 1825 to 1875 . . ., p. 324; Portrait and Biographical Record of Berrien and Cass Counties Michigan, . . ., p. 391; Michigan Constitutional Convention of 1850, ed. by F. W. Stevens, of the Detroit Bar, reprinted from Detroit Saturday Night (n.d.), pp. 20-21; Real Estate holding of George Redfield, Tract Book of Cass County, State of Michigan, Roll No. 3 Records of Michigan State Library (Lansing, Michigan: 11 July 1956) Charles Adam Weissert, Notes on Cassopolis, Michigan, . . ., p. 1.

[33]H. S. Rogers, History of Cass County, from 1825 to 1875, . . ., p. 324.

An example of his practical friendship and fairness for the former slave is demonstrated in the following deed between Redfield and William Lawson.[34]

> George Redfield and wife to William Lawson. Deed. Received for Record April 10th[,] 1863 at 12 o'clock a.m. This indenture made this 9th day of March in the year . . . 1863 Between George Redfield and Jane E. Redfield of the town of Ontwa[,] County of Cass . . . parties of the first part and William Lawson of the town of Calvin . . . named party of the second part . . . in consideration of the sum of 400 dollars to them in hand paid by the said party of the second part . . . sold . . . unto the said party of the second part his heirs and assigns forever the following described tract of land . . . the south half of the southeast quarter of section 21 in town 7 south of Range 14 west containing 80 acres of land . . ..[35]

As indicated, Redfield charged Lawson five dollars per acre, which was the standard price he charged blacks[36] not excessively fortunate.[37]

Not all of the large non-Quaker landowners or their agents who transacted business with the ex-slaves were as kind and sympathetic as Redfield. George Turner, an attorney for George Beach and his wife

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[34]Redfield's strong sympathies for blacks can be attributed to two sources; his first wife was a Quakeress and he had worked among blacks in Georgia prior to his migration North. During his four years in the South, he became knowledgeable about slavery and the character of its adherents. Though heartily desiring the discontinuance of the institution, Redfield never adopted radical abolitionists' views. He believed that slavery gradually would decay if it was left alone; freedom, he assumed, consequently would follow without bloodshed and sectional animosity. C. P. E. Knuth, Early Immigration and Current Residential Patterns of Negroes in Southwestern Michigan, . . ., p. 103; A. Mathews, History of Cass County, Michigan, . . ., p. 276.

[35]Record of Deeds. Liber 26. Cass County. Register of Deeds Office, Cassopolis, Michigan, p. 597.

[36]Vide. Record of Deeds. Liber 26. Cass County. Register of Deeds Office, Cassopolis, Michigan, p. 553.

[37]One informant stated that George Redfield charged one of her ancestors, Samuel Hawkes eight dollars an acre. Interview with Mrs. Bertha Newsome 20 November 1973 Calvin Township, Cass County, Michigan.

Sophia Imley of Hartford, Connecticut, for example, took advantage of the illiterate Irvin James' family.[38] That family paid 400 dollars[39] twice for a tract which included the, "west half of the southeast quarter of section 14, in town 7 south of range 14 west supposed to contain 80 acres of land . . . in Cass County . . . ."[40] The attorney kept the first 400 dollars.

Pulling themselves up from the depths of deprivation through purchasing land was the general rule among most ante-bellum black inhabitants of the county. Even if they were defrauded, many continued their upward climb like the James. Inspite of this, there were exceptions to that darkened form of the Horatio Alger mystique. Some, like the Saunders' ex-slaves, were furnished with economic assistance by their former masters.[41]

In the latter part of 1849, John Saunders purchased approximately 476-750 acres in Calvin and Porter Townships, costing an estimated

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[38]Interview with Mr. Orlando James, 29 November 1973 Calvin Township, Cass County, Michigan.

[39]James accumulated that sum by selling wool, sweet potatoes, and cured tobacco throughout the county. Interview with Mr. Orlando James, 29 November 1973, Calvin Township, Cass County, Michigan.

[40]Taken from Warranty Deed. Signed, sealed and delivered in the presence of Joseph Smith and Asa Kingsbury, 28 December 1858. A copy of the document is a possession of Mr. James.

[41]William C. Gregg, papers, undated, entitled, "Reminiscences of Calvin Township, . . .," p. 44; William Pease and Jane Pease, Black Utopia: Negro Communal Experiments in America, . . ., p. 28; James D. Corrothers, In Spite of the Handicap, An Autobiography, . . ., p. 18; John Cancy, "The Negro People in Michigan," . . ., p. 223; Everett Claspy, The Negro in Southwestern Michigan, . . ., p. 4; History of the Negro in Michigan, Federal Writers Program, . . ., p. 22; A. Mathews, History of Cass County, Michigan, . . ., pp. 386-387; G. Hesslink, Black Neighbors: Negroes in a Northern Rural Community, . . ., p. 44; Richard M. Dorson, American Negro Folktales (New York, New York: Fawcett World Library, 1968), pp. 19-27. Each scholar has cited a different figure concerning the amount of money Saunders spent.

$12,050-15,000, for his former slaves.[42] This tract was divided into parcels of roughly 18-21 acres for each individual.[43] Young children and elderly people received equal shares. Also a small log cabin was erected for each family on their plots. However, by the mid-1850's, since most of the Saunders were illiterate and possessed little knowledge of business, many lost their lands either to unscrupulous whites, to pious Quakers, or to shrewd blacks.[44] Recorded evidence reveals that the principal gainers from the Saunders naivete were other ex-bondmen, ironically, most of the buyers carried the Saunders surname. Between 1850-1860, Daniel, Solomon, Mary, John, and William, for example, had increased their land holdings by as much as six or eight times.[45] One writer claims that land entries for Cass County on 17 October 1853, 19 October 1853, 23 November 1853, and 24 November 1853 indicated that Daniel, Mary, and Solomon each instituted surveys of large land parcels respectively embracing 3442, 1508, and 7424 acres each.[46] Without doubt, someone erred. Calvin Township, where the majority of the Saunders were located, always has been six square miles by six square miles.[47] Since

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[42] Vide. Record of Deeds, Liber L, Cass County, Register of Deeds Office, Cassopolis, Michigan, pp. 403-404, 404-405, 405-406, 407, 466-515, 625-626. The monetary figure was derived from the deeds. The aforementioned deeds reveal that lands were bought in the following townships; Calvin, Porter, North Porter and LaGrange.

[43] Eventually, the former slaves adopted their former master's surname.

[44] C. P. E. Knuth, Early Immigration and Current Residential Patterns of Negroes in Southwestern Michigan, . . ., passim.

[45] Federal Census Schedule, 1850 and 1860 for Cass County.

[46] C. P. E. Knuth, Early Immigration and Current Residential Patterns of Negroes in Southwestern Michigan, . . ., p. 77.

[47] Interview with Mr. Frederick Sackrider, Agricultural Extension Agent for Cass County, East Lansing, Michigan 13 September 1973. Michigan State Union Building.

there are 624 acres in a square mile the total acreage for the whole township always has been 22,464. If the aforementioned individuals had surveys instituted on 12,372 acres, land holdings approximately half the size of Calvin Township was examined for them. Inspite of this, by 1850 only nine adult Saunders owned property in the county, worth approximately $2600; by 1860, eleven adult Saunders owned property worth $10,100 and; by 1870, five adult Saunders owned property worth $8440.[48] There were several reasons why most of them lost their land.

Even though Saunders gave each of his former slaves acreage, one informant mentioned, no records or existing stories indicate that they were provided with farm supplies. Without the necessary tools, clearing unimproved and uncultivated land was nearly impossible. Even though the Quakers oftentimes loaned them tools, an axe or a shovel was a pretty important implement that was used daily. Furthermore, one anonymous interviewee related, seeds were not a part of that arrangement.[49] One writer felt that the sudden change in status, from dependent slaves to independent freemen was the principal reason why many lost their possessions.[50] Another informant speculated that some lost their holdings because they were the possessors of prime flat lands,

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[48] Vide. Federal Census Schedule, 1850, 1860, and 1870 for Cass County.

[49] Interview with anonymous Calvinite, 3 December 1973, Calvin Township, Cass County, Michigan. The outfit of a farmer in that era was very primitive and simple. A yoke of oxen, an ox cart, a sled, a plow, a log cabin, a shovel and a hoe, a scythe, a rake and a pitch fork was about all that was required. Autobiographical notes by E. Lakin Brown, edited by his daughter A. Ada Brown. Reprinted from Vol. XXX, Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections (Schoolcraft, Michigan, 1906), p. 9.

[50] Booker T. Washington, "Two Centuries Under Freedom," Outlook Magazine, Vol. LXXIII (January-April 1903), pp. 294-295.

desired by the county's white inhabitants.[51] Nonetheless, by the early 1900's, nearly all the Saunders had lost their land endowments.[52] In 1903, for example, when Booker T. Washington visited Calvin, desirous of observing the utilization of his Tuskegee philosophy, he observed that

> the bare mention of a Saunders family would quite likely cause a quiet smile to creep over the face of one of the old [black] inhabitants who did not belong to that group. These people not only had not held their own materially, . . . a few years [after] . . . get[ting] planted in their free homes . . . a few of the young men began developing habits of idleness . . ..[53]

As illustrated, many Saunders did not take advantage of their gift, perhaps, if they had been forced to "hussle" for their property wealth, respect for ownership would have ensued.

During the time when some of the Saunders were losing their property, recent black arrivals, who had gotten over the initial experience of freedom, were ready to settle down to the business of purchasing land. The expertise[54] that some of these people brought with them and the monies eventually accumulated, enabled many to purchase and hold large possessions of land. But, since they were one of the later groups of nineteenth-century migrants to Cass County, their land selection was limited. White pioneers who arrived earlier held

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[51]Interview with Mrs. Emaline Anderson and Robert Matthews, 29 November 1973, Vandalia, Cass County, Michigan.

[52]The land once owned by one of the Saunders is now the possession of Turk Carter. This does not imply that his ancestor took advantage of some of the Saunders' ex-slaves. Interview with Bill and Francis Lawson 15 November 1973, Pokagon Township, Cass County, Michigan.

[53]Booker T. Washington, "Two Centuries Under Freedom," . . ., p. 295.

[54]Since many of the former black residents of Logan County were farmers many had accumulated some expertise in that field. Interview with Mr. Orlando James, 29 November 1973, Calvin Township, Cass County, Michigan.

most of the county's superior flat farm lands.[55] Furthermore, because of the difficulties involved in clearing heavily timbered lands, many whites chose the open prairies for their homesites.[56] Another barrier which made acquisition of prairie land nigh impossible for blacks was cost; during the 1850's-1860's when black migration and settlement in Cass was at its peak, flat lands sold for roughly 30 to 50 dollars per acre.[57] Because many of the black emigres had sold their real property in their previous homes, most of them arrived in the county land hungry and were willing to jump at any available tract proffered.

In the 1830's, much of the land in eastern Cass -- principally in Porter and Calvin — was purchased for speculative purposes. Many white owners delayed its development in hopes of obtaining higher profits. Throughout the decade of the 1830's, land prices increased; however, by the 1840's, the demand, and, consequently the price for real estate declined. Therefore, during the era of greatest black migration large tracts of virgin land suddenly became available in eastern Cass at prices ranging from $4.00 to $5.00 per acre. For the black arrivals, the unimproved land in the two townships appeared attractive because

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[55]Since they made those acquisitions in the late 1820's and early 1830's, that land cost them only $1.25 per acre.

[56]Early Cass County: A Brief History for Use by Teachers, Compiled by Olive Dickeson, et. al., . . ., p. 7; G. Elwood Bonine and G. S. McIntyre Cass County Land-Use Committee, 1940 (Cassopolis, Michigan: 8 April 1940), p. 8; Interview with Mr. and Mrs. Guylor Haines, 1 December 1973, Calvin Township, Cass County, Michigan. One of the prominent soil types, yet not the best in Michigan, was the clay loams. In reference to crop productivity, they were the most fertile types in the county. Such land was owned by pioneer white settlers.

[57]State of Michigan. Gazetter and Business Directory for 1856-1857 (Detroit: H. Huntington Lee and Company and James Sutherland, 18-6), p. 25.

of its cheapness; and, since sales lagged, acreage was obtainable on very liberal credit terms.[58] Furthermore, since large percentages of the available real estate was heavily wooded and the soil wet and cold, many white speculators perceived the land poor ex-slave immigrants as a welcomed relief for getting rid of their albatrosses -- which they rejected as agriculturally marginal.[59]

After purchasing the described acreage, some of the settlers cleared tracts and then constructed small log cabins for their families. However, the labor required in building such homes was an immense undertaking, for the primeval forest needed to be chopped off, cut up, logged and burned.[60] After its completion, cultivation was relatively easy, providing that the essential farm implements were available.[61]

The majority of the land in the eastern townships were rolling and somewhat inclined to be broken, but the heavy and damp soil found

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[58] C. P. E. Knuth, Early Immigration and Current Residential Patterns of Negroes in Southwestern Michigan, . . ., p. 81; James D. Dorrothers, In Spite of the Handicap, An Autobiography, . . ., p. 18. The available lands were located principally in Calvin and Porter Townships.

[59] According to Frank Anthony Renkiewicz, Poles who migrated to ante-bellum St. Joseph County, Indiana, also faced problems that were similar to those encountered by the ante-bellum blacks of Cass. Since they too were late immigrants to that county they acquired the heavily forested wet lands. Vide Frank Anthony Renkiewicz, The Polish Settlement of St. Joseph County, Indiana: 1855-1935, dissertation for the Ph.D. at the University of Notre Dame in Modern History (South Bend, Indiana: University of Notre Dame, 1967), pp. 3-7.

[60] H. S. Rogers, History of Cass County from 1825 to 1875, . . ., p. 112. Since the area was heavily wooded, lumbering became an occupation pursued by some ante-bellum blacks of Cass County. By 1860, approximately nine sawmills producing 1,480,000 feet of finished boards was located in Calvin Township. C. W. Bunn, a freed black, after relatively heavy investments, prospered as the owner of two or three mills.

[61] An informant — desiring to remain anonymous -- mentioned that the soils, in some places, were good and rich. Consequently, upon learning about the soil fertility in those places, many whites attempted to re-purchase their "albatrosses." Perhaps, this is one of the reasons why the living relatives of some of the old patriarch lost their possessions. Interview with an anonymous Calvinite, 16 November 1973, Calvin Township, Cass County, Michigan.

there produced some fine crops; consequently many of the black farmers prospered.[62] Some grew corn, potatoes, and others vegetables, while others tried their luck with the cereal grains (soil chart map in the appendix). Even if they faced dire financial straits or agricultural dilemmas, obtaining the necessities was not a difficult undertaking as indicated by the following excerpt from the Thornton Biography.

> One thing we never lacked [was] having enough to eat. Wheat was one-dollar a bushel. I went to the front door one day and out in the road stood a deer. I have seen four and five at one time from the house . . .. There were no tramps those days . . .. If a man could not kill a deer and have it on the same day for breakfast, he was not considered a good farmer.63

Flax and wool were the principal home grown raw materials prepared; yarns were spun, dyed and woven by wives and daughters. From the finished products, other essentials such as clothing, bedding and many household articles were manufactured. Shoes were made by cobblers traveling from house to house.[64] Sometimes, if a surplus of money was available, these artisans provided footwear for the entire family. The lack of cultivated fruit was one of the privations the black pioneers had to undergo, because precious and relatively expensive land was not available for such a luxury. So, wild blackberries,

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[62] E. L. Arnold, An Arnold Family Record: 323 Years in America, Mimeographed paper, Cass County Historical Society Papers, Cass County Library (Cassopolis, Michigan), p. 91.

[63] Thornton Biography, mimeographed paper, Cass County Historical Society Papers, Cass County Library (Cassopolis, Michigan), pp. 2-4. For a similar account pertaining to obtaining food vide "Early Life Reduced to Bare Essentials," Dowagiac Daily News, Vol. 52, no. 212 (Dowagiac, Michigan) Wednesday 13 October 1948, p. 3.

[64] Some farmers, especially those who were unable to pay the cobblers, made their own shoes out of buckskin or obtained them from bartering Indians.

strawberries, raspberries, cranberries and crab apples, which grew in large quantities in the region, were gathered and dried by the women for those craving sweets.[65]

A few thrifty people made additional gains by successfully growing some marketable crops on progressively larger and larger plots of their initial land purchases which they subdivided. Excellent examples of the economic growth of the black settlers are evidenced in the success of Samuel Hawks, Isaac Stewart and William Allen. After cutting and selling cords of wood to his Jackson County, Ohio, neighbors, Hawks migrated to Calvin in 1853. With his savings, he purchased 80 acres in the township for 800 dollars. Before deciding to make the township his permanent residence, Hawks returned to Ohio and continued working there for six years. Eventually, he returned and acquired more real estate, which he either purchased from his savings or confiscated from those unable to honor the numerous loans which he granted.[66] In 1854, Stewart bought 80 acres in Calvin, in a few years his holdings increased to 240 acres. Unlike other blacks in the county, Stewart made frequent business trips outside the county; by the mid-1860's, he was the owner of lands in Kansas too.[67]

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[65] Lois Bowman, Porter Township History, Mimeographed paper, Cass County Historical Society Papers, Cass County Library, Cassopolis, Michigan, p. 14; H. S. Rogers, History of Cass County from 1825 to 1875, . . ., pp. 103-104.

[66] Interview with Mrs. Hazel Hawks, 3 December 1973, Calvin Township, Cass County, Michigan; Booker T. Washington, "Two Centuries Under Freedom," . . ., pp. 299-300.

[67] Cass County, Calvin Township, Papers of Pioneers 1805-1921. Paper of Negroes 1828-1939, History of the Colored People of Calvin Township, written 1939, . . ., p. 2; Interview with Mr. Crawford Stewart and Mrs. Gladys Ash, 28 November 1973, Dowagiac, Cass County, Michigan.

Without doubt, the most successful agricultural entrepreneur in the county was Allen. As previously indicated, Allen acquired his first landholding because of the generous assistance of Quaker William Jones. But as the years passed, that small farmer became one of the most successful farmers in nineteenth-century Cass County and Michigan. In 1873, for example, he began investing in livestock and eventually became the county's principal stock buyer; in that year he owned 1200 sheep, 100 hogs, many cattle, and 15 to 18 horses. Also, he raised sweet potatoes which he marketed in Niles, Kalamazoo, Battle Creek and Grand Rapids. On one occasion he carried 40 bushels of potatoes to the aforementioned cities and returned with 80 dollars. Making molasses and maple sugar was another one of his business ventures. He owned a sugar camp and a 50 foot long cabin, used for boiling the sugar water. Many years he made as much as 100 gallons of molasses and 25 pounds of sugar. Through his various business dealings, Allen bought approximately 800 acres of land in Calvin and Porter Townships.[68] Others with less colorful family histories, after accumulating the necessary money from crop sales, also purchased additional land.[69]

> Elbert Wade to Green Allen: Deed. Received for record January 29, 1863 at 12 o'clock a.m. This indenture made this 29[th] day of January in the year 1863 between Elbert Wade of the County of Cass . . . and Green Allen of the County . . . aforesaid . . . in consideration of the sum of 600 dollars to him in hand paid by the said party

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[68] Michigan Manual of Freedmen's Progress, . . ., p. 107; Allen Family [Cass County] Genalogical Material, . . ., pp. 1-3; Rosanna Wilson, Biographical Sketch, undated of William Allen of Cass County, . . ., pp. 1-3.

[69] A few acquired property in the large cities of the county. T. J. Martin and C. Fabe Martin were good examples of those few. Vide Everett Claspy Papers. Colored Dowagiac Files. Southwestern Michigan College.

> of the second part . . . release . . . that certain . . . parcel of land . . . lying . . . in the county . . . described as the west half of the southwest quarter of section eleven in Twon 7 south range 14 west containing 80 acres . . ..[70]

As time passed, many continued their industrious habits and business expertise as indicated by the nicknames that their contemporaries gave to them (appendix). William Allen, the livestock raiser was called "Hog Bill"; Henry Lane, the producer of animal fodder, was labelled the "Hay King"; Samuel Hawks, the land magnate, was referred to as "The Real Estater"; Charles Bunn, the timber buyer and owner of a saw-mill, was addressed as the "Lumberman."[71]

In an early 1900 study of Calvin, entitled, "Negro Governments in the North," Richard R. Wright, Jr., says:

> The Negroes, who make up the township, are, as a rule, land owners. There are 163 Negroes on the tax books; they own 8853.73 acres of land assessed at $224,062, and with a market value possibly of $400,000. Some of these were included among the landowners mentioned having property in other townships and counties also; and some own city property. The wealthiest of them owns about 800 acres in all, several pieces of city property, and has personal property amounting to more than $18,000. Several families are reported to be worth from $50,000 to $100,000 and one to be worth more than $150,000.[72]

In addition, during the early 1900's, "Hog Bill" entertained Mr. Booker T. Washington at his country home when that educator visited the county, and also was amused in Chicago by such men as Philip D. Armour, of the Armour Packing Company, and other notable men in the

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[70] Record of Deeds. Liber 26. Cass County. Register of Deeds Office (Cassopolis, Michigan), pp. 389-390. For similar deeds Vide Record of Deeds Libers 26 and 28. Cass County. Register of Deeds Office (Cassopolis, Michigan).

[71] Interview with Mr. Clyde Bird, 19 November 1973, Lansing, Michigan.

[72] Booker T. Washington, The Story of the Negro: The Rise of the Race from Slavery, Vol. I, . . ., pp. 248-249.

finished meat processing business.[73]

Since many of the earlier black emigres became economically independent through property ownership, some willingly hired black late-comers[74] who also eventually achieved economic self-sufficiency.[75] Some times, the later immigrants either lived with and worked for previously established relatives or lived with and worked for patrons who had paid for their transportation to the area.[76] Furthermore, since a considerable number of the earlier emigres to Calvin and Porter owned their homes, many rented portions of their land and dwellings to the new black inhabitants.[77] After the proper amounts were accumulated and land purchased by the later emigres, many established black settlers continued to assist their brethren in house-raisings, in corn husking bees, in community harvesting and in defense. Motivations for rendering assistance varied with each individual, but, probably the greatest factors were pride and respect

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[73] Michigan Manual of Freedmen's Progress, compiled by F. H. Warren, . . ., p. 107. For information relative to the agricultural expertise of others in the 1900's vide Michigan Manual of Freedmen's Progress, . . ., pp. 37-42.

[74] Occasionally, some of the emigres arrived with necessary funds for purchasing acreage, however, assistance was still offered. For example, if he migrated to the county with only one animal and was desirous of building a large flock, older settlers loaned them an animal of the same species but opposite sex for studding. Interview with Mr. Orlando James, 29 November 1973, Calvin Township, Cass County, Michigan.

[75] Even though the established blacks helped, Quakers continued with their assistance to the emancipated.

[76] C. P. E. Knuth, Early Immigration and Current Residential Patterns of Negroes in Southwestern Michigan, . . ., p. 80.

[77] Since he was not a farmer, Isaac Stewart -- a gunsmith -- rented portions of his farm to others. Interview with Mr. Crawford Stewart and Mrs. Gladys Ash, 28 November 1973, Dowagiac, Cass County, Michigan.

in knowing that nearly all the black inhabitants of the county could scornfully shake their fingers at their detractors and say "I told you that you were wrong."[78] On the whole, the successful black farmers' sense of community or "race" found expression when they endorsed the notes of black newcomers who wanted to borrow money for property but lacked security.[79] Because of their assistance, most of the new emigres were able to purchase farmsteads.

After visiting a rural black settlement, Dr. Samuel G. Howe[80] concluded that blacks as farmers were in better economic circumstances than ex-slaves in urban areas pursuing other occupations.[81] Even the A.C.S., which usually printed nothing favorable about freed slaves, speculated that, ". . . those colored persons who have settled in the

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[78]Interview with Mr. Orlando James, 29 November 1973, Calvin Township, Cass County, Michigan.

[79]On at least one occasion, an established black farmer lost part of his estate by going security for later newcomers. Vide The Cassopolis Vigilant Vol. VIII, no. 50, whole no. 416 (Cassopolis, Michigan), 29 April 1880. This display of kindredship was not unique only to blacks, other ethnic groups in Michigan responded similarly. For instances, the Germans that settled in the cities of Frankenmuth, Frankentrost, and Frankenlust; the English miners in Keweenaw and Houghton Counties; the Danes in Montcalm; the Finns in Houghton; the Swedes in Kent and Muskegon; the Dutch in Ottawa and Allegan and; the Hungarians in Menominee aided others with like background in their financial development. Vide George P. Graff, The People of Michigan, . . ., pp. 17, 22, 25, 31, 33, 37, and 47. Similar situations occurred in Indiana, especially among the Poles of St. Joseph County, Indiana. Vide F. A. Renkiewicz, The Polish Settlement of St. Joseph County, Indiana: 1855-1935, . . ., passim.

[80]Dr. Samuel G. Howe was a member of the American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission. In a book on Canadian blacks he lamented that the younger generation, who had never experienced slavery and who enjoyed equal civil and political rights in Canada, failed to produce any outstanding individuals in proportion to their numbers, as the white community did. Vide Samuel G. Howe, The Refugees from Slavery in Canada West (Boston, 1861), . . ., passim.

[81]F. Landon, "Agriculture Among the Negro Refugees," Journal of Negro History, Vol. XXI, no. 3 (July 1936), p. 305.

country, especially those who have been able to procure land, are generally comfortable. Some of them are thriving farmers."[82] Without doubt similar assertions could have been posited about those blacks who settled in Cass during the ante-bellum years. Since most were self-sufficient, obtaining the essentials for survival posed no serious problem to the many who owned either full graneries, packed corn cribs, developed herds or loaded smoke houses. For this reason and others, economic crimes in that rural area were virtually non-existent (appendix).[83] Those who settled in the small non-rural towns in the county, working as domestics, cooks or handymen, could not boast about their severing of the umbilical cords which led to the rebirth of independent people.[84]

A comment on the value of the property which they possessed should shed further light on the economic status of the freed blacks in the county. Of course it is difficult for one living in the eighth decade of the twentieth century to appreciate the figures, revealing

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[82] The African Repository, Vol. XXVII (Washington: Published Monthly by the American Colonization Society, 1851), p. 327.

[83] Among the former slaves in the urban areas, where the competition of immigrant labor had to be met, there was much pauperism. For example, in Philadelphia in 1837 blacks formed 14 percent of the inmates in the county almshouse although they constituted only 7.4 percent of the population. Without doubt, similar figures could be found in any major city of the ante-bellum era. Usually, the percentage in jails were about the same, for many had to commit petty crimes for their survival. E. F. Frazier, The Negro in the United States (New York: MacMillan Company, 1971), p. 595.

[84] Interview with Mr. Orlando James, 29 November 1973, Calvin Township, Cass County, Michigan; Interview with Mrs. Bertha Newsome, 16 November 1973, Calvin Township, Cass County, Michigan. One informant mentioned that in the town of Sumnerville, located in Pokagon, some blacks were employed as non-agricultural laborers for the Rogers, Droits and others. Since they performed such tasks very few became owners of property. In effect, they remained the pawns of their employees. Interview with Mrs. Frances and Mr. Bill Lawson, 15 November 1973, Pokagon Township, Cass County, Michigan.

the value of property owned by that group between the 1840's and 1870. Land values naturally were much lower during those periods; therefore, it was conceivable for an individual with 100 dollars to purchase an adequate amount of land for farming. With a few more dollars a person also could erect a cabin that would be as modern as any constructed during that era. In 1846, five blacks owned approximately 320 acres, and in the following year seven more procured an additional 680 acres. By 1849, prior to the coming of the Saunders, 22 had amassed 1646 acres in Calvin Township and three owned 212 acres in adjacent Porter.[85] In 1850, 35 acquired $11,750 in real estate, roughly 2611 acres in both Calvin and Porter. By 1860, 144 held $113,435 in real property, nearly 25,207 acres in the same townships. In 1870, 119 accumulated approximately $287,440 in land value, an estimated 63,875 acres in Calvin and Porter.[86]

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[85] James O. Wheeler and Stanley D. Brunn, "An Agricultural Ghetto: Negroes in Cass County, Michigan, 1845-1968," . . ., p. 323; Harold B. Fields, "Free Negroes in Cass County Before the Civil War," . . ., p. 383.

[86] Vide Federal Census Schedule 1850, 1860, and 1870 for Cass County. In 1850, 12 blacks in the remaining 13 townships owned 5000 dollars in real estate, totalling roughly 110 acres. During that same year, 16 non-farmers in Calvin and Porter owned 1075 dollars in real property, approximately 239 acres; 17 non-farmers in the remaining 13 townships owned 310 dollars in land, an estimated 69 acres. In 1860, 26 blacks in the remaining 13 townships possessed 28,780 dollars in land property, nearly 6395 acres. In that same year, six non-farmers in Calvin and Porter owned 720 dollars in acreage, about 160 acres. Nine non-farmers in the 13 other townships acquired 2400 dollars in property, approximately 533 acres. In 1870, eight individuals classified as farmers according to the census returned gave no information about their worth. In the given year, 22 non-farmers in only Calvin owned 19,800 dollars of land, close to 440 acres. Even though ante-bellum blacks of Cass were owners of large land holdings, all of their acreage was neither cultivated nor cleared. The estimated amount of property was obtained by dividing the assessed property value recorded on the census returns by the average price paid by black land acquirers, four or five dollars. For convenience the figure four point five was employed. Usually the person supplying information to the census agent gave an estimate of all of his property, both improved and unimproved, acreage. When the tax assessor appeared the estimations decreased for wise reasons.

Undoubtedly, had it not been for their own industriousness and more importantly Quaker practical benevolence, it is questionable whether that many blacks would have become property owners. Inspite of this, since most of the black inhabitants of Cass County were very self-conscious -- verging on paranoia -- about their vulnerable positions on the outer rim of the larger community, many were proud of their progress and the achievements of their neighbors. They cheered, furthermore, every evidence of black economic advancement as proof belying the contentions of the negrophobes. This feeling of pride is illustrated in the following article, which was written by a black reporter for the Cassopolis Vigilant (circa 1870's).

> . . . William Allen, a farmer living north of town, . . . [has a] 'sheep barn,' which indeed is truly wonderful. The main part of the building is 175 feet long and 45 feet wide with an addition to the same [structure by] 70 feet long by 40 feet wide. This immense structure now contains over 1000 sheep [,] besides room for grain; the beauty of the building is [that] the stock are always out of the storm. Water is furnished by a windmill near by [and] water . . . [is] conveyed by pipes into the troughs inside the barn. Our farmers are not all dead. Can any farmer in the county winter more sheep in one building? If so lets hear from him.[87]

Since many of the former slaves sought the companionship and camaderie of those with similar backgrounds, naturally, most of the county's freed-slave gravitated towards the developing black community in Calvin. Eventually, land purchased in Calvin Township -- especially in and around Calvin Center -- and land procured in adjacent Porter Township, became the foundation for a strong settlement of black

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[87]Information supplied by Mrs. Rosella Wade, 15 December 1973, Calvin Township, Cass County, Michigan. Newspaper clipping from the Cassopolis Vigilant, n.d. (Cassopolis, Cass County, Michigan).

farmers still in pursuit of additional acreage.[88] That colony, furthermore, made it inevitable that the county would attract attention, especially among local whites. Despite this, after basic economic problems were solved, many ex-slave inhabitants turned their attention to the cultural development of the county -- especially in Calvin Township.

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[88]Reginald Larrie, "Corners of Black History," Detroit Free Press, . . .; Michigan Manual of Freedmen's Progress, compiled by Francis H. Warren, . . ., p. 289; David Manners Katzman, Before the Ghetto: Black Detroit in the Nineteenth Century, . . ., p. 55; William H. Pease and Jane H. Pease, "Organized Negro Communities: A North American Experiment," Journal of Negro History, Vol. XLVII, no. 1 (January 1962), p. 21; A. Mathews, History of Cass County, Michigan, . . ., p. 387.

Chapter III

THE REACTION TO "THEM"

The amicable environs, the availability of low priced lands, the developing black communities within the larger area, and more importantly, the pressing desire to escape continuous harassment, caused parts of Cass County to become attractive to many blacks. Because of those factors and others, the black population increased considerably, and consequently led to the development of some white discontent in the county. Such feelings were not unique to Cass for frequently similar emotions surfaced in the adjacent communities, irrespective of the number of blacks within their boundaries.[1]

That little group of whites in Cass and the neighboring areas exhibited little hostility toward the small ratio of blacks within their area (circa 1836-1850), for those ex-slaves posed no threat to the white establishment; yet, that group refused to welcome larger numbers of "unrefined field hands" whom they perceived to be threatening.[2]

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[1]The fear that the black newcomers might increase the numbers already established was the principle reason for the discontent. Certainly other reasons existed, such as, the attraction of slave catchers to communities, the fear of amalgamation, the possibility of loss of wealth, prestige, political domination, and others.

[2]L. F. Litwack, North of Slavery, . . ., p. 68; William Pease and Jane Pease, Black Utopias: Negro Communal Experiments in America, . . ., p. 46. Ironically, those disgruntled few in the region granted more hospitality to the runaways than that accorded to the emancipated. James B. Browning, "The North Carolina Black Code," Journal of Negro History, Vol. XV, no. 4 (October 1930), pp. 461-473; J. H. Russell, The Free Negro in Virginia, 1619-1865, . . ., p. 72; Mr. Crawford Stewart, 28 November 1973, Dowagiac, Cass County, Michigan.

The primary rationale for their negative reactions lay in the difficulties that they foresaw in defining the status of hundreds of ex-bondmen. But creating more fear among that group of whites was the assumption that some of the new arrivals would challenge the community's racial order by attempting to determine "their" own destinies, completely divorced from white supervision. Since many of the manumitted sought permanent homes, that desire further contributed towards the development of other hostile responses. Moreover, it is safe to speculate that as the proportion of blacks increased, so too did incidents of prejudice and discrimination,[3] partially, and in some instances totally, attributable to that small segment in the county's white population. Therefore, since neither benevolent Quakers nor abolitionists constituted a majority of the white population, it might be expected that the tremendous influx of blacks into Cass would produce an outburst of racial tensions.[4]

Although flare-ups occurred in other Michigan areas, there is little evidence suggesting that native whites of Cass precipitated racial confrontations[5] during the ante-bellum era. A multitude of

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[3]Frank V. Quillin, The Color Line in Ohio (Ann Arbor: George Wahr, 1913), passim. Since the number of grumblers was unknown, the increase of acts of racism proved difficult to obtain.

[4]Vide appendix to Chapter Two, Chart VIII. In communities with a relatively small percentage of blacks, fewer occasions of negrophobia were made evident than in those areas holding larger numbers. Even though violent incidents of racism were infrequent, does not imply that such locales' white citizens were less authoritarian and more tolerant. Vide Thomas F. Pettigrew Racially Separate or Together? (New York: McGraw Hill Book Company, 1971), p. 137.

[5]Without doubt, violence was/is not the only barometer for measuring social pressure among the races. Quite often, minorities within a given area might display an external appearance of contentment, but internally, they may be comparable to a dormant volcano. Appearances of discontent, then, were not exhibited merely through violent occurrences.

factors contributed to that lack of tensions. One could surmise that either the Quaker traditions or the activities of the other people involved in the U.G.R.R. partially explain the absence of identifiable frictions. Yet even more significantly, the character of most of the emigres nipped its appearance; they usually were "well-behaved col'ds,"[6] which resulted in white acceptance of them without many queries and harsh feelings. Also, some writers reasoned that the absence of friction was due to the spatial separation of the races, whether voluntarily consented to or rigorously enforced.[7] Since most of the blacks procured portions of the unoccupied lands without crowding the whites, those acquisitions prevented racial confrontations from developing in the county too. If however, crises arose that forced "them" to compete for scarce resources like acreage,[8] such economic conditions might have led to racial disorders.[9] Despite those reasons for its infrequence, racial turmoil was not the only barometers for measuring tolerance in that community.

Also, one would imagine that color prejudice in that rural settlement should have been non-existent because black and white contact was minimum. For example, there was no need to enter the

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[6]Interview with ex-senator Elwood Bonine, 17 December 1973, Lansing, Ingham County, Michigan.

[7]William Brittle and Gilbert Geis, "Alfred Charles Sam and an African Return: A Case Study in Negro Despair," in Black Brotherhood, ed. by Okon Edet Uya (Lexington, Massachussetts: D. C. Heath and Company, 1971), p. 115.

[8]George K. Hesslink, Black Neighbors: Negroes in a Northern Rural Community, . . ., p. 5; E. F. Frazier, The Negro in the United States, . . ., p. 220.

[9]Interview with Mr. Orlando James, 29 November 1973, Calvin Township, Cass County, Michigan.

heavily white populated areas such as Cassopolis or Dowagiac. In Calvin there were two black owned stores where one could buy the groceries he did not raise; pants, shoes and coveralls were also obtained from those places. Located also in the township were a barbershop, two blacksmith shops, a grainery, a gristmill, harness shop and post office.[10] Furthermore, for the most part, many white farmers were too busy pondering the possibilities of natural disasters.[11] After evaluating some of the Michigan governmental debates, it was ascertained that farmers or officials elected from farm districts never argued that unlimited black migration would adversely affect them.[12] In fact, the representatives from Cass County -- farmer George Redfield, farmer M. Robinson, lawyer James Sullivan, and others between 1850-1870 -- never became involved in arguments concerning "them."[13] The delegates from Cass, assuming that they spoke for

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[10]Interview with Mr. Orlando James, 29 November 1973, Calvin Township, Cass County, Michigan; Everett Claspy Papers, Cass County Library, Cassopolis, Michigan; Interview with Mrs. Bertha Newsome, 20 November 1973, Calvin Township, Cass County, Michigan.

[11]James D. Corruthers, Inspite of the Handicap, An Autobiography, . . ., p. 40; Interview with Mr. and Mrs. Clyde Byrd, 20 November 1973, Lansing, Ingham County, Michigan.

[12]Based upon an evaluation of the legislative debates in Ohio and Illinois, E. H. Berwanger avers that farmers who served in those states' government responded like the elected officials of ante-bellum Michigan. E. H. Berwanger, The Frontier Against Slavery, . . ., p. 35. The legislators from urban areas who listed their occupations as lawyers were the premier participants in discussions concerning the black issue.

[13]Vide Richard Cole, "A Legal Study of Whites and Blacks in the Michigan Territory," . . ., pp. 32, 33-42; Michigan Constitutional Convention of 1850, by F. W. Stevens, of the Detroit Bar (Reprinted from Detroit, Saturday Night, n.d.), pp. vi, 8-10; Vide the arguments concerning the passage or attempts to pass anti-black laws in the Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Michigan (Lansing: George W. Peck, 1853), pp. 137-139; Report on the Proceedings and Debates in the Convention to Revise the Constitution of the State of Michigan, . . ., pp. xvii, xxxi, xxxvii, 240, 241-244, 291, 492.

the majority of their constituents, were concerned with other questions, primarily economic.[14] Even though the county's participants in the state governmental machinery were not involved actively in attempts to limit blacks, those ex-slave residents in Calvin, Porter and the other townships did not endeavor to have social intercourse with their white neighbors.[15]

Because of the diversity of opinions held and displayed by local whites in Cass, the immediate white repercussion to the increase of the black population[16] was difficult to discern. It is safe to surmise, however, that the majority of the whites, neither associated with the Quaker sect nor operators of the U.G.R.R., accepted the ex-slaves rather nonchalantly.[17] Some illustrations of those different responses by whites in Cass and neighboring Berrien County to the new intruders will be incorporated in the following pages. An account of the development of social institutions and their significance to the ex-slave inhabitants of Cass County also will be included.

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[14] Everett Claspy Papers, Southwestern Michigan College Library, Dowagiac, Cass County, Michigan.

[15] Interview with Mrs. Bertha Newsome, 16 November 1973, Calvin Township, Cass County, Michigan; Interview with Mrs. Rosella Wade, 23 November 1973, Calvin Township, Cass County, Michigan; Interview with Mr. Orlando James, 29 November 1973, Calvin Township, Cass County, Michigan; Interview with ex-senator Elwood Bonine, 17 December 1973, Lansing, Ingham County, Michigan.

[16] James O. Wheeler and Stanley D. Brunn, "An Agricultural Ghetto: Negroes in Cass County, Michigan, 1845-1968," . . ., p. 328.

[17] Interview with Mr. and Mrs. Clyde Byrd, 17 November 1973, Lansing, Ingham County, Michigan; Interview with Mr. Crawford Stewart, 28 November 1973, Dowagiac, Cass County, Michigan; Interview with Mr. and Mrs. Guylor Haines, 1 December 1973, Calvin Township, Cass County, Michigan; Interview with Mr. Clarence Haines, 16 November 1973, Calvin Township, Cass County, Michigan.

Not surprisingly, some white citizens of Cass were very proud of the county's black settlers; they watched them develop with keen interest. Most of the whites were elated because it was simply the growth of a people in accordance with the Protestant ethic. Others were happy because such black economic evolution underminded the area's negrophobes.[18] Regardless of the justifications, a large segment of the white population lavishly praised some of the black inhabitants of Calvin and Porter.

While visiting those communities in the early 1900's, Booker T. Washington, the Tuskegee educator, questioned a few of the leading whites to ascertain how the races reacted upon initial contact. L. H. Glover, a prominent nineteenth-century democratic lawyer from Cassopolis and former Justice of the Peace in 1862, commented that, "the first generation of [black] settlers were fine . . . none better . . .. So far as prejudice towards the colored residents . . . [was] concerned, the farther away people live[d], the greater the prejudice. As they approach[ed] it [grew] less."[19]

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[18]There were several other reasons for the growth of that white pride, such as genuine friendship and bringing civilization to a former wilderness. The above mentioned reasons were cited frequently by all of the informants as the most important.

[19]Booker T. Washington, "Two Centuries Under Freedom," . . ., p. 305. In conjunction with that quotation those Cass County townships where no blacks lived were more racist; for example, in 1850 and 1960 Wayne Township had none. In the 1920's, that area became a breeding ground for the Ku Klux Klan activities. Another informant commented that that bizarre organization had members in other Cass Townships also. In 1923 unmasked Klansmen marched through Dowagiac in Cass County. Interview with Mr. Guylor Haines, 1 December 1973, Calvin Township, Cass County, Michigan; Interview with Mr. Frederick Allen, 9 December 1973, Vandalia, Cass County, Michigan. In conjunction with the decline of racism as one approached Calvin and Porter, an informant indicated that as more blacks arrived in the township, many whites fled. Interview with Mrs. Bertha Newsome, 16 November 1973, Calvin Township, Cass County, Michigan. Contrastingly, another interviewee contended that they did not flee out of fear -- the exodus was attributed to benevolent whites who sold land to the black emigres. Interview with Mr. Orlando James, 29 November 1973, Calvin Township, Cass County, Michigan.

Mr. C. C. Nelson, resident of the county for roughly 60 years and once employed as a postmaster, sheriff, and overseer of the poor, and Judge L. B. Des Voignes (another long-time inhabitant) filled the Tuskegee Sage's ears with laudatory comments about "them." Since Washington's race relations philosophy was essentially economic in scope, the assertion of Cass's Charles O. Harmon was welcomed news.

> Some of the best people of the county live[d] in Calvin and mingle[d] with these people in a business way with no distinction. I do not think that the fact of the colored settlers being there [was] considered any detriment to the community, although white people from communities which [had] no colored settlers might [have been] adverse[d] to buying land there . . .. The merchants of Cassopolis [found] these people extra good customers. That may be one criticism to make - . . . they [bought] too freely for their own good. As a general thing, though, they [were] good [bill] pay[ers] and [took] . . . pride in meeting their obligations.[20]

Since blacks were allowed to remain in the area at the sufferance of whites, most of them never became obnoxious to the people of power.[21] Furthermore, because they were "good ones" and aware of their powerlessness, such positive accolades -- which served a dual purpose, either as praises or indirect threats -- were bestowed upon them. In spite of this, a code of behavior for blacks appeared in a neighboring community's newspaper for whites "surrounded" by large numbers of ex-bondmen. D. B. Cook, editor of the Niles Republican, writes:

> . . . Our col'd [sic] population as a general thing, are inclined to be peaceable and quiet, and so long

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[20] Booker T. Washington, "Two Centuries Under Freedom," . . ., p. 304.

[21] That opinion was inferred indirectly by Rosanna Wilson in, Biographical Sketch, undated of William Allen of Cass County, . . ., p. 2; Interview with anonymous Calvinite, 3 December 1973, Calvin Township, Cass County, Michigan; Interview with Mr. Crawford Stewart, 28 November 1973, Dowagiac, Cass County, Michigan; G. K. Hesslink, Black Neighbors: Negroes in a Northern Rural Community, . . ., p. viii.

> as they remain so, all will be well with them. Old 'Black Bill,' the oldest colored inhabitant here, with his horse and dray, has obtained a good and honest living and enjoys the confidence of our businessmen. Such is the character of our citizenry that it would not require very much provocation to drive every saucy lazy colored man from our borders . . .. We advice [sic] our colored population to mind their own business, be honest, industrious, quiet and sober, and all will be well. Otherwise, there is trouble ahead, which they know little of at present.[22]

Some writers alleged that the neutral attitudes[23] of non-Quakers in Cass contributed to the organization and functioning of the U.G.R.R., and aided in the settlement of some blacks in the county. In this respect, the white objectors, as previously indicated, could tolerate the presence of a few blacks, but an influx supposedly attributed to amalgamationists[24] caused a great amount of consternation. Since local writers refused to incorporate the responses of negrophobes into their literature on Cass County, negative reactions to the presence of the

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[22] The Niles Republican, 3 July 1852, Vol. II, No. 3, whole no. 658, by D. B. Cook (Niles, Berrien County, Michigan), p. 2; For a similar expression in nineteenth-century Cass County, Vide "Personal Letter written by Ella to Aunt Sally," 7 September 1873, Cass County Historical Society Papers, Cass County Library, Cassopolis, Michigan.

[23] Norman McRae, Negroes in Michigan During the Civil War, . . ., p. 18; George N. Fuller, Michigan: A Centennial History, Vol. I (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Company, 1939), Chapter 26, pp. 352-361; Frank B. Woodford, Father Abraham's Children: Michigan Episodes in the Civil War, . . ., p. 4.

[24] A study of anti-abolitionist mob violence containing rhetoric about the fear of amalgamation is located in Leonard L. Richards, Gentlemen of Property and Standing: Anti-Abolition Mobs in Jacksonian America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), passim. Related works are Linda K. Kerber, "Abolitionists and Amalgamators: The New York City Race Riots of 1834," New York History, Vol. XLVIII (January 1967), pp. 28-39, and Lorman Ratner, Powder Keg: Northern Opposition to the Antislavery Movement, 1831-1840 (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1968), passim, and Allen Day Grimshaw, A Study in Social Violence: Urban Race Riots in the United States (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1959), passim.

large number of "them" were nearly impossible to obtain. However, it is feasible that the responses of that ante-bellum group were similar to the reactions exhibited by twentieth-century whites when they were faced with the appearance of the Black Muslims.

Among that group of whites, rumors developed and fears magnified. Tales about the newcomers hawked from the county courthouse to the neighborhood bars, and back to the homes about the dreadful prospect of having black neighbors.[25] Those whites who had never done so before, locked their doors, became fidgety, and watched "them" with apprehension.[26] Assuming that others were responsible totally for the black increase, on at least one occasion, the discontented retaliated by placing economic pressure on white entrepreneurs whom they blamed.[27]

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[25]"Muslim Cash Buys Up Farms," anonymous, no name of paper given, n.d., information obtained from Brother Cornelius X (Williams), 5 December 1973, Calvin Township, Cass County, Michigan.

[26]Arthur Sills, "Black Muslims Linked to Cass Land," Kalamazoo Gazette, 2 June 1968, (Kalamazoo, Michigan). The purchase of Calvin lands by the Muslims led to some tensions; some whites apparently feared that the acquisition might be the beginning of a "black state." Furthermore, they believed that from such a base a black militia would be organized, and then invade the south. Vide Richard Lehnert, "Muslims Build for Tomorrow," . . ., p. 7.

[27]"Before the Civil War," for example, "William Baldwin (founder of Pokagon Township) became an abolitionist, . . . [thus hurting] his business . . .." Vide Everett Claspy Papers, ...

For those negrophobes, interracial communities seemed to be "a nightmare come true."[28]

Though Cass was an area of some black freedom, occasionally some of "them" had to deal with negrophobes. Those people could make life difficult for blacks. For example, if such a person owned a grain mill and a black endeavored to have his corn ground, it was no easy undertaking.[29] However, the most vitriolic denunciations came from the community of Niles where many negrophobes were located. The harshest opinions were voiced by the editor of that county's ante-

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[28]Their reactions were comparable to those of other Americans during that era, especially those who advocated the emancipation of slaves but not the elevation of the manumitted to levels equal with the whites. They were convinced that blacks constituted an inferior class, thoroughly incompetent in discharging the duties of citizenship. When proposals to incorporate the former slaves into the body politic or petitions concerned with removing immigration barriers were presented to them or their elected representatives, the true feelings of that small segment of the white population were exhibited. Their reactions surfaced in a variety of ways. For example, in 1848 Charles Jones of Cassopolis donated approximately $10 to the A.C.S.; while others, through letters, demanded that their elected officials should stop the "black invasion." Interview with Mr. Orlando James, 29 November 1973, Calvin Township, Cass County, Michigan; C. G. Woodson, A Century of Negro Migration, . . ., p. 3. African Repository and Colonial Journal, Vols. XX-XXIII, no. 3, . . ., passim; Journal of the Constitutional Convention of the State of Michigan, 1850 (Lansing: R. W. Ingals, State Printer, 1850), p. 446. Michigan State University Rare Book Room, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Ingham County, Michigan. Representative George Redfield, on one occasion received a petition "of sundry inhabitants of the county of Cass praying a constitutional bar to all the negro race."

[29]Interview with Mr. Crawford Stewart, 28 November 1973, Dowagiac, Cass County, Michigan.

bellum newspaper.[30]

During that era, personal journalism was in vogue; newspapers often reflected the eccentricities and prejudices of their editors and paying customers. The Niles Republican[31] provided a striking example of such media.[32] Journalists and other contributors were responsible for that paper carrying articles relative to departure times of A.C.S. vessels,[33] attacks on Ezekiel Smith, editor of the

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[30]Niles is roughly 18 miles from Calvin Township. Interview with Mr. William and Mrs. Frances Lawson, 15 November 1973, Pokagon Township, Cass County, Michigan; Norman McRae, Negroes in Michigan During the Civil War, . . ., p. 56; "Underground Railway Operations Described," Vertical Files, Cass County Library, from the George Fox Papers, Cassopolis, Michigan. For a few contrasting assertions about Niles, especially in reference to the U.G.R.R. Vide Linda Rosenbaum, "Family Tracers Says Slaves Used Tunnels," Niles Daily Star, 15 July 1972 (Niles, Berrien County, Michigan); Pat Gallagher, "Demolition Crews Find Underground Railroad Tunnel?" Niles Daily Star, 22 December 1970 (Niles, Berrien County, Michigan).

[31]Ironically, the negrophobe editor of the Niles Republican offered to sell a printing press and type print to Nathan Thomas, the Schoolcraft, Michigan U.G.R.R. operator. Vide Nathan Macy Thomas Papers, a letter dated 17 September 1842 from Niles. Michigan History Collections, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Bentley History Library.

[32]In reference to ante-bellum blacks, newspapers labeled Republican rarely attacked the ex-slaves. Generally, the writers of papers affiliated with the Democratic party were the principal villains. The following excerpt from the Cass County Republican of 3 February 1859 illustrates that notion. "From a census just taken, we learn that there are at present 932 colored inhabitants in this county, comprising about 250 families, and that they own 7541 acres . . . averag[ing] about 30 acres to the family . . .. When we take into consideration the fact that this great body of colored people annually pay into the county treasury a large amount of taxes, does it not seem a little like injustice to prohibit them from enjoying any of the privileges of citizenship." The Cass County Republican, "Colored Population of Cass County," 3 February 1859 Vol. I No. 49 (Dowagiac, Cass County, Michigan), p. 3. Burton Collection, Detroit Public Library, Detroit, Michigan.

[33]Vide The Niles Republican, 27 March 1852, Vol. X, no. 51, whole no. 644, ed. by D. B. Cook (Niles, Berrien County, Michigan), p. 2.

Cass Advocate which was an anti-slavery press,[34] insinuations against the Quakers, abolitionists,[35] and blacks, and more importantly, nothing complimentary about the black settlements either in Calvin or Porter Townships.[36] That paper contains an article dated 8 June 1850, replete with stereotypical thoughts about Calvin's black residents.

> It is pretty well understood that there is a regularly organized band of coloured thieves extending from Detroit to Chicago. Their general place of rendezvous is in Cass County at the colored settlement, whither the negro [sic] who was . . . arrested was going with his plunder. They leave the cars at Dowagiac. The negro [sic] now in jail, freely confesses his own guilt, but as yet declines to implicate others. It would be well for our neighbors at Dowagiac to keep a sharp look-out, and the whole gang will soon be broken up.[37]

Such a press release denouncing the ex-slave inhabitants of Cass was not singular to that Niles publication.

The county's own National Democrat sold many copies by making

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[34]Vide The Niles Republican, 12 April 1845, Vol. II, no. 52, whole no. 280, ed. by D. B. Cook (Niles, Berrien County, Michigan), p. 2; The Niles Republican, 24 May 1851, Vol. IX, no. 9, whole no. 600 (Niles, Berrien County, Michigan).

[35]Vide The Niles Republican, 8 November 1856, Vol. XV, no. 32, whole no. 795, ed. by D. B. Cook (Niles, Berrien County, Michigan), p. 2.

[36]The Niles Republican, "Colored Population in Canada," 16 July 1853, Vol. XII, no. 15, whole no. 712, ed. by D. B. Cook (Niles, Berrien County, Michigan), p. 2; The Niles Republican 8 November 1856, Vol. XV, no. 32, whole no. 795, ed. by D. B. Cook (Niles, Berrien County, Michigan), p. 2; The Niles Republican, "Too Bad," 8 June 1850, Vol. IX, no. 9, whole no. 538, ed. by D. B. Cook (Niles, Berrien County, Michigan), p. 2. The Niles Republican, 10 September 1859, Vol. XVIII, no. 24, whole no. 887, ed. by D. B. Cook (Niles, Berrien County, Michigan), p. 3.

[37]The Niles Republican, "A Gang of Thieves," 8 June 1850, Vol. IX, no. 9, whole no. 538, ed. by D. B. Cook (Niles, Berrien County, Michigan), p. 2.

bigotry, discrimination, and prejudice marketable.[38] On 9 January 1858, for example, that paper published a sarcastic article entitled, "Cass County versus the Rest of Michigan," which partially indicated the editor's opinions about black Calvinites.

> Mrs. Wells, a colored lady of Penn Township . . . gave birth to four children on Monday evening last. Our informants, Eld[er] E. Richardson, and the Hon [ored] P[hineas] Norton, who seem to be remarkably well posted in this matter, assure us, they are all doing well, and that their average weight was four pounds - six ounces. The father thinks he will be able to raise them, provided he can get a new milch [sic] cow; to that end, several benevolent individuals have subscribed liberally. The little ebony newcomers are named respectively Mary, Matthew, Mark, and Luke.
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> At this rate how long will it take Penn Township to re-produce (in name at least) the 12 apostles, as well as all the other saints.[39]

Even though they were mocked, ridiculed, and stereotyped by some journalists and negrophobes within the populations of both Berrien and Cass Counties, many blacks refused to challenge their detractors. Instead, the energies of the ex-slaves were directed towards the further development of their adopted homes.

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[38]Vide The National Democrat, 15 March 1856, Vol. V, no. 46, ed. by William W. Van Antwerp (Cassopolis, Cass County, Michigan), p. 1; The National Democrat, 10 May 1856, Vol. VI, no. 2, ed. by W. W. Van Antwerp (Cassopolis, Cass County, Michigan), p. 2; The National Democrat, "A Question Settled," 12 July 1856, Vol. VI, no. 2 ed. by W. W. Van Antwerp (Cassopolis, Cass County, Michigan), p. 2; The National Democrat, 7 May 1856, Vol. VI, no. 3, ed. by W. W. Van Antwerp (Cassopolis, Cass County, Michigan), p. 2. All of the mentioned volumes of that paper are the possession of Mr. and Mrs. Frank Burmeister of Cassopolis.

[39]The National Democrat, "Cass County versus the Rest of Michigan," 9 January 1858, Vol. VII, no. 35, ed. by William W. Van Antwerp (Cassopolis, Cass County, Michigan), p. 2.

Ignoring their many disadvantages, blacks accomplished a great deal in the cultural development of Cass County -- particularly in Calvin. Within a short time after their arrival, they built schools, constructed churches, placed representatives in the local government,[40] and had members in the medical,[41] educational, and theological professions (Illustration No. 1 in Appendix).[42] Among no people of the county, in proportion to their means and advantages, was the pursuit of knowledge more important and honored than among those ex-slaves.[43] Education, some of the elderly blacks assumed, would improve the economic status of the offspring, produce literary geniuses like Phyllis Wheatley, scientific inventors like Elijah McCoy, or eloquent orators like Henry Bibb. They also believed that academic achievements would contribute to the breaking down of the omnipresent barriers of discrimination. More realistically, it was essential to some blacks because they realized that ignorant prey were inviting to

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[40]Even though blacks held the secondary governmental jobs in Calvin until the election of Cornelius Lawson (circa 1890's-1900's), a few held jobs of importance in that ante-bellum era. An article from The Niles Republican verifies that contention. "We learn that the colored man to whom was entrusted all the property of the colored settlement of Cass . . . fled the county with $3 or $4000 -- leaving the settlement quite destitute." The Niles Republican, "Too Bad," Saturday 8 June 1850, Vol. IX, no. 9, whole no. 538 (Niles, Berrien County, Michigan), p. 2. The premier governmental positions in the pre-Civil War years, like township supervisor, were held principally by Quakers.

[41]Interview with Mr. Orland James, 29 November 1973, Calvin Township, Cass County, Michigan. One source indicated that the first black was elected to office in 1875, Richard Wright, Jr., "The Economic Condition of Negroes in the North: Negro Governments in the North," Southern Workman, Vol. XXXVII (1908), p. 486.

[42]Interview with Mrs. Bertha Newsome, 16 November 1973, Calvin Township, Cass County, Michigan.

[43]H. B. Fields, "Free Negroes in Cass County before the Civil War," . . ., p. 380.

predators, especially when the latter convinced some of them to make unprofitable bargains. The illiterate Irvin James, for example, victimized by the swindling attorney George Turner, donated a parcel of land in the mid-1850's for the construction of a school. Appropriately, that one-room building was called the James School.[44] Other aged blacks desired schooling because it taught many how to read such essential literature as the Bible before being summoned to appear in the "hereafter."[45]

But since a few of the county's schools excluded or forced the former bondmen to use only designated portions of buildings,[46] blacks moved to establish more of their own educational facilities.[47]

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[44]Interview with Mr. Orlando James, 29 November 1973, Calvin Township, Cass County, Michigan; One writer mentions that in 1850-1860 the census returns indicated that 85 adults in Calvin were illiterate. The returns for the subsequent decennial period suggested a decline in the illiteracy rate, suggesting that education was desired as well as necessary. H. B. Fields, "Free Negroes in Cass County before the Civil War," . . ., pp. 375-384. Between the years 1848-1863, there were approximately 100 to 619 scholars in Calvin Township. Porter had approximately 330-608 students. Records of Cass County. Justice Docket 1852-1882, Michigan History Commission, Lansing, Michigan, Vol. 34 of 36. State Archives, History Division; Records of Cass County. General Account Book, p. 20, 1852-1882, Michigan History Commission, Lansing, Michigan, Vol. 36 of 36, State Archives, History Division, p. 52.

[45]Interview with Mrs. Bertha Newsome, 16 November 1973, Calvin Township, Cass County, Michigan.

[46]Discrimination in the field of education was neither singular to Cass nor the nineteenth century. For similar expression from the larger American community and Michigan Vide Leon F. Litwack, North of Slavery, . . ., pp. 114, 116, 119-120, 126-127; E. F. Frazier, The Negro in the United States, . . ., p. 72; Mildred E. Danforth, A Quaker Pioneer: Laura Haviland: Superintendent of the Underground Railroad,. . ., passim; Laura S. Haviland, A Woman's Life Work, . . ., passim. The construction of their own schools also instilled pride in many of the black residents.

[47]Integrated education was practiced generally in the county, but exceptions to that rule occurred ocasionally. Interview with Mr. Frederick Allen, 9 December 1973, Vandalia, Cass County, Michigan.

Occasionally, either abolitionists or philanthropists rendered financial aid, but more assistance came from residents like William Ford, James Coker, William Dungy and other blacks. Those persons and their contemporaries contributed to the development of Brownsville, Mount Zion, Willow Pond, Long, Calvin Center, Calvin Hill and Day schools between 1840-1870.[48] As those schools opened, education became increasingly important and necessary for social status among the parents of the youths, especially if it led to more prestige and material gains.[49] In the early 1900's, Wright described the facilities as, ". . . neat and comfortable, though small; like most rural schools, they [were] ungraded, but the . . . [education] . . . [was] reasonable and satisfactory. Each school [had] one teacher, who [was] colored."[50]

Even though disfranchisement was the lot of blacks in Michigan until the passage of the 15th Amendment, they were granted legal permission to vote in school elections in 1855 and thereafter. Purportedly, the legislation that removed the ban against their participation in such elections was attributed to the organization of schools in Calvin.[51]

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[48]Of the mentioned schools, the one located in Brownsville was integrated. Interview with Mr. Clyde Byrd, 19 November 1973, Lansing, Ingham County, Michigan. Becoming repulsed by the idea of integrated education, one white resident of the township built a shanty in one of the adjacent townships where whites constituted the population majority. By this act, he assumed that his children could attend a real school -- a white one. However, the white citizens of the aforementioned area refused to accept that blatant racist action (circa 1900's). Interview with Mr. Crawford Stewart, 28 November 1973, Dowagiac, Cass County, Michigan.

[49]Vide United States Census Population Schedules for Cass County, 1850-1870, especially the column labeled school enrollment during the census year.

[50]Richard Wright, Jr., "The Economic Condition of Negroes in the North: Negro Governments in the North," . . ., p. 187; During that era most teachers possessed an education equivalent to a contemporary eighth-grader.

[51]David M. Katzman, "Rural Blacks in Michigan," . . ., p. 31.

Surprisingly, some of "them," especially the Reverend M. T. Newson, of a Calvin church, were not satisfied with the schools established. Newson sought to establish a school for higher learning, and, more importantly, for practical education within the county. On 15 March 1856 the editor of the National Democrat printed an opinionated summary -- principally stressing the funding -- of Newson's proposed idea.

> We have received, from the Rev[erend] M. T. Newson, a long communication respecting the above school. We must decline publishing it, because of its length and because, in the present state of feeling on the subject, its publication would be of little benefit. Mr. N[ewson] asks for money. Had he asked for public meetings, with resolutions of sympathy . . . he could get any amount . . .. He must be satisfied with a statement of its substance. It seems [that] the colored people at Williamsville [located in Calvin Township] propose to erect a school house there at a cost of $2500, for the purpose of instruction in the higher branches of learning, and to purchase a farm worth $1500 on which the students may labor for their support while attending school. Mr. N[ewson] asks that the public assist this laudable enterprise. If the house is erected and the farm purchased, the Methodist Conference will take charge of the school and supply it with teachers. This is a perfect guarantee that the school will be properly conducted. Mr. N[ewson] has deposited a bond, with sufficient sureties that the money received by him shall be faithfully applied to forward the intended object. Mr. N[ewson] is the agent, and will receive subscriptions and furnish information. He desires all papers, in the state, friendly to the enterprise, to give a favorable notice.[52]

The project failed to materialize.[53] Notwithstanding that fact, it was

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[52] The National Democrat, "Manual Labor School for Colored Persons," Saturday 15 March 1856, Vol. V, no. 46, ed. by William W. Van Antwerp (Cassopolis, Cass County, Michigan), p. 2. The papers are the possession of Mr. and Mrs. Frank Burmeister of Cassopolis.

[53] Everett Claspy, The Negro in Southwestern Michigan, . . ., p. 4. A former local writer who had expressed an interest in the black settlers of Calvin, appeared disappointed when an institution of higher learning did develop in Cass. After all, he asked, were not Quakers responsible for famous educational plants in other parts of nineteenth-century America? Evidently, as indicated from the Claspy Papers and publications, he was unaware of Newson's idea.

not in the field of education but in the area of religion that black Calvinites built their major institutions.

As in other ante-bellum black communities, the theology preached in the churches established in Calvin was other worldly, for many of the ex-bondmen were convinced that the real world was the sole possession of white men. For example, when the rights guaranteed to all men were denied them, the former helots brought their "cases" to the religious institutions. While there, many blacks felt sure of receiving sympathy and succor.

Besides saving mankind and supplying comfort to the downtrodden, the black churches[54] of Cass County provided other valuable functions. First, they brought the practical learning of the schools to the people by providing a few educated ministers. The number of properly trained black clergymen in the nineteenth century was miniscule; however, some pious individuals were available who possessed oratorical abilities enabling them to serve as ministers for their neighbors lacking "white sophistication." The following, printed by William W. Van Antwerp, editor of The National Democrat, indicates that form of preaching probably often delivered in those ante-bellum churches of Calvin Township.

> We have heard of various specimens of negro [sic] eloquence in our time, but never actually listened to an illustration till yesterday. Dropping into an African

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[54]Considering that so many rural churches are now closed, it is remarkable that one of the historic churches is still active -- Bethel A.M.E. Church.

> meeting house in the out-skirt of the city we found the sermon just commenced. The topic seemed to be the depravity of the human heart, and the sable divine thus illustrated his argument: 'Bredren when I was in Virginny [,] one day de ole woman's kitchen table . . . broke, an' I was sent into do woods to cut a tree, to make a new leaf for it. - So I took de axe on de shoulder and I wonder [sic] into de depth ob de forest. All nature was beautiful as a lady going to de wedding. De leaves glistened on de maple trees, like new quarter dollars in de missionary box, de sun shone as brilliant and nature looked as gay as a buck rabbit in a parsley garden . . .. I spied a tree suitable for the purpose and I raised de axe to cut into de trunk. It was a beautiful tree! De branches reach[ed] to de four corners ob de earth, and raise[d] up high [in] to de air above, and de squirrels hop[ped] about in de limbs like little angels flopping deir wings in de kingdom ob heaven. Dat tree was full ob promise, my friends, jest like a great many ob you.
>
> Den I cut into de trunk, and made de chips fly like de mighty scales dropping from Paul's eyes. Two, three cut[s] I give [sic] dat tree, and alas, it was holler in de but! Dat tree was much like you my friends - full ob promise outside, but holler in de but! . . ..[55]

Second, the black churches stimulated friendship among the best of society; it was not uncommon that they served as meeting places where black newcomers became acquainted with mannerism of the older black settlers.

Third, they tended to raise the rude and degraded to the neatness and good order of the established "ones" by well-regulated meetings.

Fourth, they endeavored to interest the new emigres in industry,

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[55] The National Democrat, "Practical Preaching," Saturday 24 March 1855, Vol. IV, no. 52, ed. by William W. Van Antwerp (Cassopolis, Cass County, Michigan), p. 4.

economy, moderation, and, most importantly, in temperance;[56] encouragement of such virtues kept "them" ahead of their attackers.

Fifth, they attempted to enforce all the laws and customs under the moral surveillance of God; criminal actions in Calvin, for example, were infrequent because trials and chastisement for participants in minor offenses occurred in packed neighborhood churches.[57]

Sixth, they provided available services as a center for recreational activities; for example, on an alternating basis, social affairs happened every Saturday night at one of the churches in the township.[58]

Seventh, they served as depots for the U.G.R.R. and centers of abolitionists activities;[59] as stations for traveling fugitives arrangements for clothing and taking care of the runaways' needs were

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[56]Vide The National Democrat, "Good Breeding," Saturday 19 April 1856, Vol. V, no. 51, ed. by William W. Van Antwerp (Cassopolis, Cass County, Michigan), p. 2. Some nineteenth-century Americans, and backers of prohibition in the 1900's, assumed that consumption of intoxicants led to human debasement. And since the ex-helots were attempting to prove to the larger communities that they were not corrupt, for them to quench the thirst with alcoholic beverages meant double jeopardy. To maintain white respect, which was gained with difficulty, older residents condemned the use of all liquors, especially by black residents.

[57]L. W. Welch, A Diamond Sparkles, . . ., Appendix p. XXX; Interview with Mr. Orlando James, 29 November 1973, Calvin Township, Cass County, Michigan.

[58]Interview with Mrs. Bertha Newsome, 16 November 1973, Calvin Township, Cass County, Michigan. The churches would have social functions for the purpose of raising money for community use. Interview with Mr. and Mrs. Clyde Byrd, 17 November 1973, Lansing, Ingham County, Michigan.

[59]Interview with Mrs. Rosella Wade, 23 November 1973, Calvin Township, Cass County, Michigan. Quite ironically, one author claimed that fugitives shied away from the freed bondmen because they were not skillful in concealing runaways or in making arrangements to forward them to Canada. Vide Levi Coffin, The Reminiscences of Levi Coffin, . . ., p. 107.

provided by the women of the area.

Finally, those black institutions in Calvin provided a field of activities wherein some of "them" could acquire status and exercise leadership abilities either as deacons, trustees, stewards, or ushers.[60]

Having been released from the horrors of slavery, some of those blacks who settled in Calvin sought to thank God for their deliverance.[61] Consequently, between 1848 and 1853, they organized and helped to

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[60]Vide Carter G. Woodson, The History of the Negro Church (Washington, D.C.: Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, 1945), Chs. 1-9; E. Franklin Frazier, The Negro Church in America (New York: Schocken Books, 1964), Chs. 1-2; Benjamin May's The Negro's God as Reflected in His Literature (Boston: Chapman and Grimes, 1938), Chs. 2-3; Charles H. Wesley, Richard Allen, Apostle of Freedom (Washington, D.C.: Associated Publishers, Inc., 1935), passim. Most worshipful Prince Hall Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons Celebrating the First Masonic Pilgrimage to the Birth Place of Free Masonry Among Negroes in Michigan at Niles, January 13, 1859. First Lodge, Harrison Lodge, No. 6, 10 July 1960. Niles and Chain Lake Michigan Souvenir Program (n.p. n.d.), pp. 1-36. Niles Community Library, Niles, Michigan. The mentioned services that the black churches performed are hardly complete. Some of their other functions can be obtained from E. F. Frazier, The Negro in the United States, . . ., p. 74; E. F. Frazier, "The Negro Slave Family," Journal of Negro History, Vol. XV, no. 2 (April 1930), pp. 198-259; George Washington Williams, History of the Negro Race in America from 1619 to 1880, Vol. II (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1883), p. 132; Robert Austin Warner, The Rise of the Negro Society: New Haven Negroes (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1940), pp. 78-94.

[61]Lois W. Welch, A Diamond Sparkles, . . ., p. 22. Even though Quakers were present, they played no direct or significant role in the religious development of the black settlers. However, there were a few black Quakers in the county. Kincher Artiss is a case in point. Vide Quaker Records of Michigan. Birch Lake 1841-1915, Cass County Library, Cassopolis, Michigan, passim. Interview with Mrs. Rosella Wade, 23 November 1973, Calvin Township, Cass County, Michigan; William C. Gregg, undated, entitled "Reminiscences of Calvin Township, Cass County, Michigan. A semi-fictional account of the Saunders Colony of Freed Slaves," . . ., p. 48; P. L. Simpkins, "North Carolina Quakers and Blacks: Education and Membership," Journal of Negro History Bulletin, Vol. XXV, no. 7 (November 1973), pp. 160-162; Early Cass County: A Brief History, . . ., compiled by Olive Dickeson, et. al.

establish three[62] churches -- Chain Lake Baptist, Mount Zion, and Bethel, the latter two were African Methodist Episcopal Churches (hereafter called A.M.E.). All of the black religious institutions contributed to the further development of Calvin Township and also performed either some or all of the aforementioned functions for their members.

Chain Lake Baptist[63] was organized in the home of Turner Byrd on Saturday, July 1848 by Elder David Lee and eight other lay persons. Harrison Ash and Byrd were elected officers while Anna Byrd, Sarah Ash, Wiley Madrey, John Clark, and Katie Tann performed other administrative tasks. Initially, since a structure for holding services was not available, the organizers and growing congregation worshipped in individual homes on an alternating basis. Within two years, subsequent to their organization, a log church was built; that structure eventually became the birthplace of the Michigan Regular Anti-Slavery Baptist Association (hereafter called the M.R.A.S.B.A.). According to preserved minutes of a session held at Chain Lake between 7-10 October, 1858, that church had a membership of 80. Furthermore, the secretary's notes reveal (1860) that Chain Lake, with other churches in the association, corresponded frequently with both the Amherstburg Anti-Slavery

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[62]Three churches were necessary because horses and wagons were the standard means of transportation in the ante-bellum period. They were located in three points for the convenience of the settlers. Interview with Mr. and Mrs. Clyde Byrd, 17 November 1973, Lansing, Ingham County, Michigan. One informant mentioned that some white churches opened their doors at all, but blacks never attended. Interview with ex-senator Elwood Bonine, 17 December 1973, Lansing, Ingham County, Michigan.

[63]Since the site selected for the construction of the church was atop a hill which overlooked a chain of lakes, the church was named appropriately.

Association of Canada and with the Union Anti-Slavery Association of Ohio. At that time 75 people were members of Chain Lake Baptist Church and some of them belonged to the M.R.A.S.B.A.[64]

In the late 1850's, the church was incorporated under its present name in accordance with the laws of the state.[65] Soon thereafter, in 1860 on land donated by Turner Byrd, a substantial frame building costing $1200[66] replaced the log church.[67] Later a parsonage was added, built on real estate acquired from Julius Brown. Another parishioner, Charles Chavis, bought and then gave some land east of the newly constructed buildings which eventually became the cemetery.[68] In 1906, L. H. Glover, author of a Twentieth Century History of Cass County, provided the subsequent description of that "chapel amongst the crude black inhabitants of Calvin." The church house, the parsonage and the graveyard were reminiscent of a Massachussetts village. The cemetery, he continues, was laid out in family plots, and most of the graves had marble headstones that were well kept up, indicating systematic care (Illustration no. 2 in Appendix).[69]

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[64] A History of Chain Lake Baptist, original copy compiled by Mr. Carl E. Ash after interviewing Mr. Green Allen, Jr., unpublished manuscript, n.d. Mrs. Gladys Ash supplier of information.

[65] A History of Chain Lake Baptist.

[66] A. Mathews, A History of Cass County, Michigan, . . ., p. 389.

[67] Sometime in the 1950's or 1960's, Cass County lost that historical structure by fire.

[68] Because of the time lapse and the incomplete church minutes, succession and tenure of the various pastors proved difficult to obtain; but, the following served for at least one year -- Reverends Lett, Jones, Stewart, Moss, and Turner Byrd.

[69] L. H. Glover, A Twentieth Century History of Cass County, . . ., p. 293.

Like the Baptist Church, Mount Zion A.M.E. Church was founded immediately after the increase of blacks in Cass. Mathew T. Newson and a group of residents organized that institution. Richard Wood, Benjamine Howley and Lemuel Archer became the first trustees; Lawson Howell, William Scott and Joseph Allen served as the premier stewards. According to the oldest records found, the Reverend George Benson delivered the first sermon.[70]

For one year, like Chain Lake Baptist, this organization held its meetings in private homes until the membership purchased an acre and a half from John Hardy Wade[71] for a church site and cemetery. On this plot, they erected a log structure measuring 12 by 16 feet. Unlike the other churches in the township, Mount Zion had two doors -- an entrance for men and one for ladies. Upon entering, ladies sat on the right and men on the left.[72] "It was a familiar custom," contends the writer of the Allen family genealogy, "for the entire family to walk to church carrying baskets of food so they could spend the entire day worshipping."[73]

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[70] The History of Bethel A.M.E. Church, anonymous (n.p.n.d.), p. 3. Information obtained from Mrs. Rosella Wade, 23 November 1973, Calvin Township, Cass County, Michigan.

[71] Vide Record of Deeds, Liber 28, Cass County Register of Deeds Office (Cassopolis, Michigan), pp. 183-184.

[72] Allen Family [Cass County] Genealogical Material, . . ., p. 3. Even though the Quakers played no significant role in the religious development of the black settlers, the seating arrangement in the church was derived directly from Quaker behavior. Encyclopedia Brittanica, Sub Voce "Friends, Society of," by Edward Hyslop Milligan, Vol. XVIII, pp. 938-943; Encyclopedia Americana, Sub Voce "Friends, The Religious Society of," by Delight Ansley, Vol. XXIII, Illustration on page 94.

[73] Allen Family [Cass County] Genealogical Material, . . ., p. 3.

Within a short time span another A.M.E. church was needed, attributable to the number of converts to Methodism[74] and the growing black population of Calvin Township. Consequently, in 1856, an appropriate site was located two miles from Mount Zion. The purchase of this property allowed "them" to construct a branch church, Bethel A.M.E., which catered to the needs of a small group living in Calvin Center.[75] For convenience and the desire to keep the black Methodist community together, Sunday services and social functions were alternated between the two churches.[76] Therefore, the Reverend George Benson became a circuit rider performing the religious services for both A.M.E. churches in the township.[77]

Putting aside the black contributions, some attackers remained unappeased. However, stunned newsmen frequently printed articles about the remarkable achievements of those ex-slaves in Cass County. For example, a writer for the Indiana True Democrat of Centreville (Indiana) mentions that on 13 March 1850 the anti-black New Albany Ledger (Indiana) published an article illustrating their amazing ability. An excerpt reads, "There is in Cass County . . . a large settlement of

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[74] Blacks, especially those who "were called" to the ministry, were attracted to Baptist or Methodist Churches because education was not emphasized. Moreover, parishioners found salvation in the fiery messages of their often illiterate preachers. The emphasis upon feeling as a sign of conversion found a ready response among the oppressed. Vide E. F. Frazier, The Negro Church in America, . . ., p. 8.

[75] A History of Bethel A.M.E. Church, . . ., p. 3. The settlement was called Calvin Center because its geographical location in Calvin Township.

[76] Interview with Mrs. Bessie Snyder, 26 November 1973, Calvin Center, Cass County, Michigan.

[77] Both Bethel and Mount Zion were called the Day Circuit by the Methodist ministers, and, between 1850-1860 Benson was responsible for those parishes. Vide The History of Bethel A.M.E. Church, . . ., p. 3.

colored people, ... They have a fine location, well tilled, farms, neat and comfortable cottages and buildings [churches, schools and stores] . . ."[78] Regardless of that fact teachers and preachers helped significantly in making Calvin attractive to ex-bondmen.[79]

When read, such articles made it inevitable that the culturally developing black communities in Cass County would attract attention in the South and North, not only among the runaways and the emancipated, but also among slaveholders and slave catchers who respected no boundaries. Therefore, when their prey entered Michigan, predators assumed that either Cass County or Calvin Township would be the likely place that fugitives would seek asylum. On three occasions, daring intruders from Kentucky appeared in the county with the intentions of capturing runaways. Those forays upset the tranquility of the county which many of "them" helped to establish.

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[78] Indiana True Democrat, "A Settlement of Colored Persons," 13 March 1850 (Centreville, Wayne County, Indiana), Michigan Historical Collections, Bentley History Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

[79] William Pease and Jane Pease, Black Utopia: Negro Communal Experiments in America, . . ., p. 28; Everett Claspy Papers, . . ., passim; William C. Gregg Papers, entitled, "Reminiscences of Calvin Township, Cass County, Michigan," . . ., passim.

Chapter IV

PREDATORS, PREY, AND PROTECTORS
(KENTUCKY KIDNAPPERS, FUGITIVES, AND ABOLITIONISTS IN CASS)

Between 1830 and 1860 approximately 30,000 to 60,000 slaves fled north via the U.G.R.R. (appendix).[1] Operators of those clandestine routes in Cass boasted that they aided at least one out of every four fugitives to cross the state. For example, two of Michigan's most successful conductors, Nathan M. Thomas and Erastus Hussey, respectively from Schoolcraft and Battle Creek, both estimated that they received and then aided 1500 runaways, who passed through Cass.[2] The flight of this expensive farm livestock certainly represented a financial set-back for many slaveholders;[3] consequently, the attraction of runaways to or through Cass naturally caused many planters to view that county with suspicion.

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[1]William Pease and Jane Pease, Black Utopia: Negro Communal Experiments in America, . . ., p. 4.

[2]George Hesslink, Black Neighbors: Negroes in a Northern Rural Community, . . ., p. 37; J. B. Woodson, A Century with the Negroes of Detroit 1830-1930, . . ., p. 17; Beatrice Brown, "Cassopolis Michigan Boasts of Its Role in the Underground Railroad," . . ., p. 6; Ella Thomas, History of the Underground Railroad, . . ., p. 25; A. Mathews, A History of Cass County, Michigan, . . ., p. 110.

[3]To the slaveholders, they represented $1,500,000 loss. Not included in that estimate was the money making potential of each runaway. Vide N. M. Thomas Papers, . . ., passim.

Despite that fact, many fugitives, emboldended by a false sense of security due to the remoteness of that area, decided to settle permanently in the region; as a result, the density of the black population, especially in Porter and Calvin Townships increased considerably.[4] Their assumptions and the accelerated population growth spelled trouble for many.

After suffering from the loss of slave resources, some planters from a northern Kentucky county (Bourbon) in the winter of 1846-1847 banded together to find an effective cure for the runaway problem.[5] In 1847, a party, similar to a western vigilante group, left Kentucky and headed for Cass with the intention of capturing and then returning home with their valuable human property.[6] From that date to the outbreak of the Civil War, raiders from Kentucky directed forays into heavily black populated areas in Michigan. Unfortunately, the former slave settlers of Cass County were "blessed three times by the arrival of the pleasant gents from Kentuck."[7] Not surprisingly, each marauding expedition had its own unique account.

Even though the raiders clearly had the laws of the nation to support them, residents of Cass, both blacks and whites, did not

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[4]Between 1847-1860, the percentage of blacks increased from approximately 33 percent to 93 percent. The Dowagiac Daily News, "Looking Back in Dowagiac -- The Kentucky Raid," 30 July 1960 (Dowagiac, Cass County, Michigan).

[5]In Cass at the beginning of 1847, there were at least 50 runaway residents. The number has been estimated as high as 100, but the previous figure is nearer the truth. That indicates that the suppositions of the Kentuckians had a little credibility.

[6]L. H. Glover, A Twentieth Century History of Cass County, . . ., p. 289.

[7]Interview with Mr. Orlando James, 29 November 1973, Calvin Township, Cass County, Michigan.

watch the marauders idly or passively. Those determined to see that all men live in accordance with the dictates of humanity violated a Federal law. The moral commitments of the white protectors of Cass County placed them at odds with the invading slaveholders. Confrontations developed between the two groups.

Early in 1847, a young man calling himself Carpenter, arrived in Kalamazoo. Upon arrival, he entered the law office of Charles E. Steward, allegedly to study law. Claiming to be a native from Worchester County, Massachussetts and a strong abolitionist, he attempted to gain the confidence of the regions U.G.R.R. operators for the purpose of gaining some significant information about the location of fugitive settlements in Michigan. While still masquerading as an abolitionist, Carpenter visited some of the sites mentioned by Steward; the black settlement in Cass was one of those areas.

Pretending to be a canvasser for an eastern abolitionist newspaper while in the county, Carpenter readily obtained admission and was even granted hospitable entertainment by some of the blacks, Quakers, and other friends of the fugitives who resided in the locale. Hence, he received firsthand information pertaining to the number, exact location of the runaways, and the areas in Kentucky from whence they fled. Soon thereafter, the information accumulated by Carpenter was forwarded to his comrades.[8]

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[8] A. Mathews, History of Cass County, Michigan, . . ., p. 110; Levi Coffin, Reminiscences of Levi Coffin, . . ., p. 367. For information relative to other strategies employed by raiders from Kentucky in Michigan vide The Marshall Rotary Foundation, Five Star Final,

Later, the raiders from Kentucky -- the Reverend A. Stevens, Hubbard Buckner, C. B. Rust, John L. Graves (Sheriff of Bourbon County), James Scott, G. W. Brazier, Thornton Timberlake, ____ Bristow and, ____ Lemon -- arrived in Battle Creek, which they assumed would serve as their headquarters.[9] But upon arrival, the fatigued slavecatchers became aware that most of the settlement's citizens were hostile to

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"The Crosswhite Slavery Case," 9 December 1966, Vol. XVII, no. 1 (Marshall, Calhoun County, Michigan), pp. 1, 10, 11, 19; The Democratic Expounder, "Kidnapping," 19 February 1847, whole no. 532 (Marshall, Calhoun County, Michigan), p. 2 Michigan Historical Collection, Bentley History Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan; G. N. Fuller, Michigan Centennial History, Vol. I, . . ., pp. 352-361; The Birney Papers, Vol. 18, 1 January 1849 (Marshall, Calhoun County, Michigan), p. 1, William Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan; The Dibble Family Papers, 1814-1951, personal letter from Cornelia to her brother, 21 January 1849 (Marshall, Calhoun County, Michigan); The Negro in Detroit, anonymous, unpublished manuscript (Detroit, Michigan: Associated Charities of Detroit Research Bureau, 1920), passim, The Burton Collection, Detroit Public Library, Detroit, Michigan; Arthur Turner and Carl R. Moses, "Colored Detroit," unpublished manuscript (Detroit, Michigan, n.p., 1924), passim, The Burton Collection, Detroit Public Library, Detroit, Michigan; "The Negro in Detroit," unpublished manuscript, The Mayor's Interracial Committee (Detroit, Michigan: Prepared under the general direction of the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, n.p., 1926), passim, The Burton Collection, Detroit Public Library, Detroit, Michigan; Forrester B. Washington, "The Negro in Detroit," unpublished manuscript, (Detroit, Michigan: Research Bureau, Associated Charities of Detroit, 1920), passim, The Burton Collection, Detroit Public Library, Detroit, Michigan; The Detroit Democratic Free Press, "Annual Report of the Colored Vigilance Committee of the City of Detroit," 23 January 1843, ed. by John S. Bagg (Detroit, Wayne County, Michigan), Detroit Public Library, Detroit, Michigan.

[9] An Audit of the Scenic Historical and Recreational Facilities of Cass County and Dowagiac, Michigan: A Factual History of the Dowagiac Region and Cass County, Michigan, compiled by George R. Fox, sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce of Dowagiac, under the direction of the State Board of Control of Vocational Education (mimeographed text), (Dowagic, Michigan, 1941), pp. 33-34. It was only by chance that the raiders chose Battle Creek, at first, as their headquarters. Even though Carpenter spent the majority of his time in Kalamazoo, the raiders decided that Battle Creek should be their headquarters. Perhaps that site was chosen because of the U.G.R.R. activities of Erastus Hussey, who was known nation wide for his involvement with aiding fugitives.

slave hunters pursuing fugitives.[10] Prior to their coming, Cincinnati Quaker-abolitionist Levi Coffin received a detailed description from a Kentucky acquaintance about the upcoming foray; later he tried to relay that information onward to Erastus Hussey. Without success Coffin explains, "a young man then boarding with us . . . volunteered to go [to Battle Creek] if his expenses were paid. I agreed to pay his expenses and started him at once . . .."[11] But even without Coffin's news, the citizens of that Michigan community became aware of the intentions of the strangers. Consequently, the angered people, under the leadership of Hussey, drove the marauders out. Such determined opposition caused the Kentuckians to look elsewhere for a new headquarters; Bristol, Indiana, less than one hour away from Cass eventually became that sought after place.[12]

Immediately after their forced departure, Hussey, convinced that the raiders would visit the black settlements in Cass, dispatched letters to Stephen Bogue and Zachariah Shugart warning them about their impending dangers. Nevertheless, it transpired that Hussey's intentions failed due to the slowness of the mails.[13]

From their base the raiders, heavily armed with revolvers and bowie knives, traveled northward and re-entered Michigan at Porter

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[10] History of the Negro in Michigan, Federal Writers Program, . . ., p. 41; A. Mathews, History of Cass County, Michigan, . . ., pp. 111-112.

[11] Levi Coffin, Reminiscences of Levi Coffin, . . ., p. 368.

[12] A Mathews, History of Cass County, Michigan, . . ., pp. 111-112; John Dancy, "The Negro People in Michigan," . . ., p. 224; B. T. Washington, The Story of the Negro: The Rise of the Race from Slavery, . . ., p. 245.

[13] A. Mathews, History of Cass County, Michigan, . . ., p. 111. Another warning, which had its source in Kentucky, also arrived too late.

and then commenced to traverse the township. After reaching a point near the southeast corner of Calvin, they stopped. The Kentuckians had planned to surround their prey once they were located, overpower and carry them back to Bristol[14] where it was easy to prove that the runaways were their legal property.[15] The blacks were found easily, for the marauders had, as was afterward discovered, very accurately drawn maps designating the exact location of their prey in Calvin, Penn, and Porter Townships. Subsequently, in the darkness of night the main raiding party stealthily made their way to the places where the runaways were housed.

On the night of 16 August 1847, the predators began their business. After leaving their wagons two miles south of Shavehead Lake, they divided into groups and proceeded to the houses Carpenter suggested.[16] Those parties planned to seize their prey as simultaneously as possible, hasten back to the home of Quaker operator Jefferson Osborn, join those assigned to Osborn's home, proceed together to the point where the wagons were left, and then drive three miles rapidly southward until crossing the Indiana state line.[17]

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[14]The predators, if they were ostracized and driven out of Bristol, could have found a base and partial jurors in either Goshen, Elkhart, or South Bend. William C. Gregg Papers, undated, entitled, "Reminiscences of Calvin Township, Cass County, Michigan," . . ., p. 48.

[15]History of the Negro in Michigan, Federal Writers Program, . . ., p. 23.

[16]Index to the Sites of Cass County Map, compiled by George R. Fox, Vertical Files of the Michigan State Library (Lansing, Ingham County, Michigan), pp. 5-82; B. T. Washington, "Two Centuries Under Freedom," . . ., p. 37-38; "The Underground Railroad in Northern Indiana," compiled by Helen Hibberd, . . ., p. 14.

[17]A. Mathews, History of Cass County, Michigan, . . ., pp. 111-112.

That Quaker's home was singled out because while Carpenter was in the county, a family of five fugitives recently had arrived there; subsequently, they decided to remain. Like other Quaker abolitionists in the area, Osborn gave employment to the runaways on his farm. Consisting of an elderly man, his wife, two sons and a daughter, the fugitive family accepted Osborn's offer and subsequently built a small house a few yards from that Friend's abode. When the raiders appeared at the fugitives' home, the males were the first persons captured; they were seized and handcuffed to a bed without a shot being fired. While that action was occurring, the mother and daughter luckily escaped by jumping from a window and concealing themselves in the surrounding forest.[18]

Among one of the other groups of marauders was a Baptist minister, the Reverend A. Stevens, who claimed to be the owner of another family who settled in Cass. Not only were his slaves present in the region, but they had leased a piece of land from Zachariah Shugart and built a snug home on that acreage two or three years previous. While there a child was born. Stevens and party approached their cabin and tried to gain entrance, but the door was locked. The reverend demanded admittance, but the occupants recognized the voice and refused to obey. Repulsed by the arrogance of his surly property, the preacher seized an axe, battered down the door and entered. Desperately, the husband began fighting the intruders and, for sometime he kept the predators at bay. Nevertheless, his courageous defense was to no avail; he was wounded and overpowered. During the

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[18]A. Mathews, The History of Cass County, Michigan, . . ., p. 112.

scuffle, the mother escaped through a nearby window without her child. After realizing what had happened, the clergyman picked up the babe and made it cry; the wailing lured the mother from her hiding place and led to her capture too.[19]

It seemed as if the raid was about to succeed, but the rapid spread of the news underminded the success of the Kentuckians plan. Alarms were sounded by freed blacks,[20] members of the Osborne family,[21] Stephen Bogue,[22] and others. Around dusk almost every citizen in the county knew that the peace of certain Cass areas had been disturbed. And even more importantly, some of them felt that the formerly tranquil environments of those communities had to be returned to normal. At that juncture many of that area's white citizens started to act; the protectors were determined to stop the predators.

They captured the raiders' wagon which was hidden near

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[19]Levi Coffin, The Reminiscences of Levi Coffin, . . ., p. 370. Other runaways, like the pastor's chattel, who felt that their freedom must be maintained regardless of any suffering or sacrifice, also offered spirited resistance to the intruders: for example, a family of runaways called the Christophers, who lived on a fortified peninsula that jutted out into Shavehead Lake, were firm believers in their freedom. From their heavily protected defense that clan would have given the Kentuckians a fiery reception. Interview with Mr. Delbert Vaughn, 28 November 1973, Cassopolis, Cass County, Michigan. Another example was Moses Bristow. He offered such resistance to his former master that he was subdued only after receiving a severe beating with the butt of a whip. H. S. Rogers; A History of Cass County, from 1825 to 1875, . . ., pp. 137-138.

[20]Duane De Loach, "Cass Markers Recall Stirring Underground Railroad Days," . . .

[21]Index to Sites on Cass County Map, compiled by G. R. Fox, . . ., p. 8.

[22]A. Mathews, The History of Cass County, Michigan, . . ., p. 112.

Shavehead Lake, took it to Birch Lake and sank it.[23] Meanwhile, a party led by abolitionists Moses Brown and "Nigger Bill" Jones[24] captured another contingent of the raiders. That group forced the slaveholder-minister, who at the time of capture was astride a horse, to exchange positions with the walking captive black mother. Then he was compelled to carry the infant and

> . . . whenever they passed a house, the people were called out to look at that child-stealer, a preacher. When they reached . . . [settlements] in the county . . . Bill Jones further compelled him to march up and down the street[s] and called the attention of the people to this divine who had been stealing a negro[sic] babe and taunted him so much that he actually cried with vexation.[25]

The party of Kentuckians who made the capture at Osborn's had intended to await the return of their comrades, but after finding themselves encircled by a group of irate farmers, the raiders became uneasy. The growing size of the crowd caused the marauders at the Quaker's[26] abode to retreat speedily to the place suggested by the main body of the Kentuckians as a rendezvous site -- Odell's Mill

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[23] A Short History of Vandalia, H. East Recorded by Miss Clara Bonine, . . ., p. 1; Underground Railway Operations Described, . . ., passim. The two lakes are separated by approximately 3 to 6 miles.

[24] Duane De Loach, "Cass Markers Recall Stirring Underground Railroad Days," . . ., passim.

[25] Levi Coffin, Reminiscences of Levi Coffin, . . ., p. 372.

[26] Almost simultaneously, the other companies from the main raiding party were greeted with similar receptions. A. Mathews, History of Cass County, Michigan, . . ., p. 112.

just south of Vandalia in Calvin.[27] At dawn, when a few of the smaller raiding parties reached that place, they too found themselves surrounded by crowds[28] of angry farmers armed with clubs, scythes, and other farm implements. By that time the Kentucky slaveholders had captured ten runaways.[29] Inadvertently, the chosen rendezvous site became the detention area, not only for the runaways, but for the Southerners as well. The guards were Brown, Jones, and 200 to 300 black and white residents of the county.[30]

Among the prey, predators, and protectors tempers flared. Even though the emotions of the participants were exhibited, battle was averted because of the wise counseling of the Quakers. After a little

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[27]Since most Quakers argued that slavery was sinful in principal, many naturally assumed that a true Christian could not abide oppressive laws that strengthened the institution. The Fugitive Slave Law of 1793 serves as a striking illustration of such a law. For this reason they actively participated in the capture of the southerners. Furthermore, since most of the blacks of the county were sober, industrious, honest, and intelligent, such characteristics gained them the respect of nearly every white in the region. Therefore, upon receipt of the alarm, the Kentuckians were confronted not only by Quakers, but by non-Quakers as well. William C. Gregg Papers, undated, entitled, "Reminiscences of Calvin Township, Cass County, Michigan, . . ., pp. 30-31; L. W. Welch, A Diamond Sparkles, . . ., p. 21; Index to the Sites on the Cass County, compiled by G. Fox, . . ., passim.

[28]The estimated size of the gathering ranged from 50-300 spectators.

[29]Index to the Sites on the Cass County Map, compiled by G. Fox, . . ., passim.

[30]At day break on the 17th of August 1847 that large number of people came from Cassopolis after hearing the news from Stephen Bogue. Naturally, their motives for participating in the defense of the blacks were numerous and diverse. Some were drawn there by friendship to the fugitive families, while others were merely curiousity seekers. Others, including the responsible would be defendants, were motivated by their interest in the cause of liberty and by a desire to preserve the peace and order of the neighborhood. H. S. Rogers, A History of Cass County from 1825 to 1875, . . ., passim.

coaxing from those pacifist, the Kentuckians consented to have the runaways taken to the courthouse in the county seat.

The level of excitement in Cassopolis ran high at nine o'clock on the morning of 17 August 1847; the crowd of 300 persons, plus the 13 Kentuckians and their ten captives entered that settlement. The news, like the alarm, spread rapidly to all parts of the county when the strange procession arrived; an immense throng of spectators congregated around the courthouse.[31] The majority of the bystanders, though not abolitionists, clearly sympathized with the runaways and plainly indicated their intense disapprobation of the raiders.[32] The atmosphere in the city became tenser when the circuit court commissioner arrived; immediately he issued a writ of habeas corpus against the Kentuckians. It required that the predators show cause why the suspects should not be released from custody.[33] Furthermore, indictments were issued against the "gents" for attempted kidnapping and assault and battery. Since the raiders were unable, at that moment, to show any cause for the detention of the runaways, the judge permitted the fugitives to leave their place of incarceration.[34]

Upon hearing the judge's decision, the Kentuckians secured the services of George B. Turner.[35] Even though the raiders had the law

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[31] The Dowagiac Daily News, "Looking Back in Dowagiac -- The Kentucky Raid," . . .

[32] A. Mathews, The History of Cass County, Michigan,. . ., p. 113.

[33] The Dowagiac Daily News, "Looking Back in Dowagiac -- The Kentucky Raid," . . .

[34] The Democratic Free Press, "Abduction in Cass County," Monday 30 August 1847, Vol. II, no. 80, ed. by John S. Bagg (Detroit, Wayne County, Michigan), p. 2 Michigan Historical Collections, The Bentley Library, Ann Arbor. Realizing that they were among friends, at first, the fugitives felt that it was unnecessary to flee.

[35] That young lawyer cheated the Irvin James family out of $400 (vide chapter 2).

on their side, he informed them that the rendition of the fugitives was impossible because of the crowd's temperament. As an alternative, Turner suggested that the Kentuckians take the names of the responsible parties obstructing the execution of the law, and then look to them for damages.[36] Mr. Turner, nevertheless, offered to take every legal step possible to insure the raiders that the law would prevail. E. S. Smith and James Sullivan[37] appeared in behalf of the fugitives.

After a time elapse of three days,[38] the trial commenced. Circuit Court Commissioner Ebenezer McIlvain from Berrien County presided over the case in the absence of A. H. Redfield.[39] In defense of his clients, Turner offered the statutes of Kentucky and the National Constitution, as evidence that slavery existed in that southern community. In addition, Turner offered oral testimony which indicated that slavery had a legal existence there. He further argued that the judge, as well as all the courts, state and national, were bound to accept the legality of the institution for it was

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[36] H. S. Rogers, The History of Cass County, from 1825 to 1875, . . ., p. 139.

[37] Both of those individuals were professed abolitionists.

[38] A. Mathews, The History of Cass County, . . ., p. 113; G. N. Fuller, "The Underground Railroad in Michigan," . . ., p. 353.

[39] One informant indicated that some judges, having to swear out warrants against runaways, notified U.G.R.R. operators in the area before arrest were made. While others purposedly got lost so that they were not associated with that dirty part of their job. Preferring not to cop-out, McIlvain presided over the case. As previously indicated in Chapter I, that magistrate performed a vital function in the U.G.R.R. activities. He was one of the premier conductors in Niles. Interview with ex-senator Elwood Bonine, 17 December 1973, Lansing, Ingham County, Michigan; D. Emmers, The Civil and Political Status of the Negro in Michigan and the Northwest before 1870, . . ., p. 46.

recognized by the Federal laws. Upon the aforementioned points contends Alfred Mathews, author of the History of Cass County, the young lawyer made his strongest argument, but on all points the judge decided against Turner's clients. One of the most interesting highlights of the trial occurred when Turner boldly charged McIlvain with illegal and corrupt rulings; he lamented that the judge, since he lived in Berrien County, had no jurisdiction in the Cass affair and had come to the county as the willing tool of abolitionists bent on violating Federal laws.[40] Inspite of Turner's tirades, the judge released the fugitives for good, and that same day they were hurried to the farm of Ishmael Lee, where a party of 52 other runaways,[41] under the supervision of Zachariah Shugart, were forwarded to Canada.

An incident of some interest occurred just after the disgruntled Kentuckians started their journeys southward. According to Mathews, the raiders were preceded upon the road by homeward bound Josiah Osborn, which was a "blessing in disguise."

After having traveled a short distance on the road to Calvin, Osborn sighted four blacks in a cornfield lying in ambush for the raiders. After a series of questions, the Quaker ascertained that they planned to "bushwhack" the slaveholders, whom they knew would pass by. The ambushers[42] were determined to execute their scheme, but that

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[40] G. N. Fuller, "The Underground Railroad in Michigan, . . ., p. 353. Because the court records pertaining to that trial were lost, I had to synthesize the accounts elaborated in secondary sources and separate fact from fiction from some of the information given by the informants.

[41] H. S. Rogers, The History of Cass County, from 1825 to 1875, . . ., p. 141; M. R. Schoetzow, A Brief History of Cass County, . . ., p. 141; William C. Gregg Papers, undated entitled, "Reminiscences of Calvin Township, Cass County, Michigan, . . ., pp. 30-33.

[42] The identities of the young men were not uncovered.

Friend prevailed upon them to desist from their purposes. Half an hour later the predators rode safely by the spot. Later, the ambushers denied that they had intended to murder the Kentuckians, but said they only planned to wound them and kill their horses. They further commented that migration to Canada would be their next step if the plan had succeeded. When asked what was their rationale for the plan, the blacks said they "wanted to give the slaveholders something to remember Michigan by . . .."[43]

However, there was a sequel to the unsuccessful raid. The slave owners, thus deprived of legal recourse in Cass County, brought suit in the United States District Supreme Court at Detroit in February 1848 to recover the value of their lost property. They filed suits against Judge Ebenezer McIlvain, Jefferson Osborn, Ishmael Lee, Zachariah Shugart, William Jones, D. T. Nicholson, and Stephen Bogue. After being delayed for several years, the case finally came to trial in January of 1851. The suits against the Cass area citizens were compromised when the jury stood 8 to 4 in favor of the plaintiffs; subsequently, the defendants were ordered to pay $1600 for the escaped slaves, plus $2200 for damages and court cost.[44] Thus nominally the Kentuckians got justice but their slaves were gone; furthermore, it

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[43] A. Mathews, The History of Cass County, Michigan, . . ., p. 114.

[44] Jefferson Osborn Papers, Correspondence, 1851, Michigan Historical Collections, The Bentley Collections, Ann Arbor.

was mentioned that their attorneys took all of the money as fees.[45]

Though the protectors were successful in denying the raiders the opportunity of returning the fugitives to the South, the heavy fines caused serious economic repercussions for a few of the whites. However, at first Stephen Bogue, Josiah and Jefferson Osborn and D. T. Nicholson refused the courtroom compromise, regarding any payment that might be made as "blood money."[46] After being persuaded by acquaintances who were unwilling to see their friends and co-religionists imprisoned by a second act of defiance, the aforementioned individuals involved themselves in a plan to gain economic assistance in paying the monies. The following letter, in its entirety, indicates the change of stance by Osborn and Nicholson; it also suggests the determination of some Cass County citizens to aid their troubled neighbors.

> For Jefferson Osborn and D. T. Nicholson
> Calvin[,] Cass County, Michigan
> June 15, 1851
>
> To all who may be interested in our behalf we would respectfully inform every true friend of justice and humanity that in Jan[uary] 1849[,] 6 suits were commenced against us in the Circuit Court of the United States for the District of

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[45]Duane De Loach, "Cass Markers Recall Stirring Underground Railroad Days," . . .; Index to the Sites on a Cass County Map, . . ., passim. One writer opined that the citizens of Cass and Calhoun Counties, where a similar raid and trial occurred, were forced to pay the blood money because of the indirect pressure exerted upon the participants by presidential aspirant General Lewis Cass (a Michiganite). Vide Louis Martin Sears, "Cass, Lewis," in Dictionary of American Biography, Vol. II, ed. by Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1958), pp. 562-564; The Lewis Cass Papers, Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, passim; The Lewis Cass Papers Burton Collection, Detroit Public Library, Detroit, passim; The Lewis Cass Papers, The State Archives, Lansing, passim.

[46]H. S. Rogers, A History of Cass County, from 1825 to 1875, . . ., passim.

> Michigan to recover the value of 10 men and women called slaves and for the penalties in certain cases allowed by the act of 1793 [.] Our trial has been had at great expences [sic] and the jury were [sic] unable to agree upon a verdict --The cost of the witnesses taken to Detroit amounted to near[ly] $1600 [.] Other expences [sic] of the lawyers . . . amounted to $2200 [,] all of which we have to pay. Another trial will be had in Oct[ober] . . . which will cost the undersigned a large sum of money and we feel that our all though small . . .[,] may be [,] will be taken from us [.] Should our defence [sic] be attended with success [,] we need not say that we would like the assistance of the friends of humanity in this matter [.] All know it and can see our situation as the defendants have done nothing contrary to the principales [sic] of justice [,] the Laws of their God [,] of their country. We appeal to all and ask them to contribute their mite [sic] and save us from ruin [.] By so doing [,] you'll have our sincere thanks.
>
> To be paid by the 1st of October 1851,
> Jefferson Osborn and D. T. Nicholson
>
> Names of contributors and amounts

Benaiah A. Tharp	5.00	Harrison Ash	1.00
Jackson Arkill	5.00	Green Allen	1.00
John Walker	2.00	James Allen	1.00
J. H. East	7.00	Samuel Archer	.50
Turner Byrd	8.00	Aaron Marshall	?
John Wade	?	F. J. T. East	?
Willis Brown	1.00	____ Wood	?
Levi Tharp, Jr.	?	____ Calloway	?
Tillman Grett	.50	Asa Northrup	?
Hartwell Abrams	.25	John Reed	?[47]

In paying the reparations to the raiders, some of the other protectors lost their homes. For example, the Lees were forced to move to Iowa, where they started completely anew.[48] Zachariah Shugart, after his "brush with the law," also was compelled to move to Iowa.[49] Several others suffered severe economic privation without being forced to leave the county. After coming to grips with reality, for example,

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[47] Jefferson Osborn Correspondence, 1851, . . .; 31 others contributed to the financial straits of the betroubled protectors of Cass.

[48] Blanche Coggan, "The Underground Railroad in Michigan," . . ., p. 125.

[49] From a letter of Mr. G. B. Wilson, Elberon, Iowa, 27 February 1969, Niles Community Library (Niles, Berrien County, Michigan).

the Osborns were obliged to work ten years to pay off the balance of that compromise.[50] Such was the price "the Quakers paid for their belief that 'in as much as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me.'"[51]

Ironically, the abolitionists cause in Michigan, especially in Cass, was greatly advanced because of the incident.[52] Even though he was not a resident of the county, the proceeding excerpt, by Schoolcraft abolitionist Nathan Macy Thomas, expressed the sentiment that motivated many in Cass to convert to that reform movement.[53]

Schoolcraft Jan[uary] 3, 1849 (For The Liberty Press)

> . . . It is no time to fatten when the slave power of the nation is putting forth its most powerful effort to extend its blighting curse over the vast regions of the west and the southern manhunter is prowing forth in pursuit of his prey and involving worthy citizens of our state in oppressive law suits for having acted in accordance with the dictates of humanity and the spirit of the age by interposing obstacles to the accomplishments of his base designs. For the prevention of such direful evils in [the] future it appears to me to become the duty of friends of freedom through out the state to put forth the

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[50] L. H. Glover, A Twentieth Century History of Cass County, Michigan, . . ., p. 112.

[51] Beatrice Brown, "Slaves Made Way Through Cass County-Underground Railway Flourished at One Time," The Kalamazoo Gazette (n.d.) information obtained from the Michigan State Library Vertical files.

[52] C. P. E. Knuth, Early Immigration and Current Residential Patterns of Negroes in Southwestern Michigan, . . ., passim.

[53] Contrastingly, one interviewee stated that as the time elapsed, the raid and trial brought out a new characteristic in some of the protectors. He contends that since the Bogues and Bonines employed many runaways during the summer, they had to develop a scheme for getting rid of the fugitives. Mr. Byrd mentioned that his father told him a story that one of the gentlemen, would ride into Cassopolis, then gallop back home hurriedly and tell the fugitives that the Kentuckians had returned to reclaim their property. Naturally, the runaways would start for Canada minus the goods promised to them. Interview with Mr. Clyde Byrd, 17 November 1973, Lansing, Ingham County, Michigan.

> best exertions to induce legislative action for the passage of a law prohibiting the officers and citizens of the state from aiding in the capture of the escaping fugitive from the galling yoke of Southern despotism.
>
> N. M. Thomas[54]

Without doubt, others expressed similar opinions about the probabilities of future episodes between slaveholders and abolitionists.[55]

The raid and the trial also had direct effects, but not the expected results, upon the black settlers of the Cass Townships. Both merely advertised the county as a safe retreat for slaves and also caused some slave owners to hesitate before attempting to undertake a search in that region for their chattel.[56] Not surprisingly, the county had gained a reputation for defending the helpless runaways. However, a few blacks in that area, as a result of the raid, became uneasy and fled to Canada,[57] yet, still larger numbers of non-native ex-slaves and fugitives migrated directly to Calvin and Porter Townships from Ohio, Indiana, and even Canada. Because of the courage evinced by the Quakers, many of the new black emigres felt certain that capture by Southerners was impossible.[58] Not only was the assistance rendered

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[54]Nathan Macy Thomas Papers, correspondence 1847-1849, Michigan Historical Collections, Bentley History Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

[55]Vide The William Birney Papers, Vol. 18, Marshall, Calhoun County, Michigan, 1 January 1849, "Slave Case Public Meeting in Marshall 20 December 1848," William Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

[56]Cass County, Calvin Township Papers of Pioneers, 1805-1921 Papers of Negroes 1828-1839, . . ., p. 2.

[57]If the raid effected the black population growth in Cass it was certainly miniscule. Vide Charts III-VII in appendix to chapter I.

[58]Booker T. Washington, "Two Centuries Under Freedom," . . ., p. 293.

by the Friends to land-hungry blacks, a notable example of practical abolitionism, but so too was their defense against the predators from Kentucky.

The repulsion of the raiders by Cass citizens created shock waves in Kentucky. The rendition of the stories told by the baffled and enraged marauders was the principle reason for the excitement. Upon returning home, the Kentuckians were received as heroes and martyrs. Public meetings were held, their insults and treatment were rehearsed. The citizens of Cass were denounced on platforms as fanatical abolitionists, traitors to the country, and barbarians. In fact, not only were the residents of Bourbon County aroused to the highest pitch of frenzy, but so too were many citizens throughout the South. The proceedings of the rallies and pamphlets relating to the incidents in extravagant terms were distributed widely. Pro-slavery books, John Dancy mentions, were written in most inflammatory language and sent all over the South about the citizens of that Michigan area.

The literature containing vivid descriptions of the raid and trial eventually reached the Kentucky Legislature. Soon thereafter, that appalled body of the government demanded redress from the Michigan government for infringing upon the rights of Kentuckians.[59] Furthermore, since some of the fugitives belonged to a personal friend of Congressman Henry Clay, the reaction of those Michiganites to the predators was one of the factors which influenced that stateman's

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[59]John Dancy, "The Negro People in Michigan," . . ., p. 225.

course of action on the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850.[60] The Michigan Riot, the hot bed of radicalism, and the Cass County renegades were cited by that senator in detail in Congress, and proved of some significance in securing the passage of a stronger bill.[61] Further, since General Lewis Cass had presidential aspirations and desired not to alienate any section of the country, that native son agreed with that Kentucky legislator in his description of the citizens of Cass.[62] Nevertheless, the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 did not stop the Quakers and other abolitionists in the county from serving as protectors for runaways. The enactment of that law neither made the county a "big game resort" for the predators nor did it make all the citizens of Cass passive "game wardens."

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[60]The law was a part of the Compromise of 1850, which attempted to settle the bitter strife between opponents of slavery in the North and slave owners of the South. All of the provisions of the compromise helped to delay the outbreak of the Civil War for about 10 years. Since he was a skilled statesman, Clay assumed that keeping the nation united was of paramount importance. For that reason and others, the Fugitive Slave Law became a part of that compromise.

[61]The Detroit Journal, "Historic Calvin," Monday 6 January 1896 (Detroit, Wayne County, Michigan), p. 3. Information located in the Detroit Public Library. The law appointed numerous commissioners and gave those appointees the power to judge and return a person to slavery, while simultaneously denying that person the right of testifying on his behalf, the right of jury trial and habeas corpus. The commissioners got $10 if a decision favor the slaveholder and $5 if the decision was beneficial to the accused. Furthermore, if marshalls refused to make an arrest of a suspect, he could be fined $1000 and forced to pay for the fugitives. If a citizen declined to aid that law enforcer in the capture, he could also be fined $1000 and made liable for $1000 in damages. Vide Dr. Philip Mason, "Fleeing Slaves Used Underground Route," Ann Arbor News, 31 January, 1961, information located in the Michigan State Library Vertical Files.

[62]Vide W. L. G. Smith, The Life and Times of Lewis Cass (New York: Derby and Jackson, 119 Nassau Street, 1856), pp. 699-726 Michigan State Library; Sketch of the Life and Public Services of General Lewis Cass, n.a. (n.p. n.d.), p. 8 Michigan State Library; Speech of Mr. Cass of Michigan on the Powers of the Government over Slavery in the Territories, delivered in the Senate of the United States, 20 February 1854 (Washington: Printed at the Congressional Globe Office, 1854), pp. 1-21.

While the raiders from Bourbon County were retelling their exploits among acquaintances, another Kentuckian, John Norris from Boone County was preparing a foray into Cass. That area interested Norris because he received valuable information indicating that David Powell and family, who had been runaways for two years, were located in the region. On September 1849, that predator started for the county with a party of eight men. About 10 or 11 o'clock on the 27th of September, they forcibly broke into the Powell house. Guards were stationed at the doors to prevent the escape of anyone. After battering down the door, Norris demanded that the free black visitors and inmates of the Powell house remain silent. Finding his property, except David and his son Samuel, among the inhabitants of the house, Norris told his slaves that they would follow him back to Kentucky. Then the raiding party forced the mother and two children from their beds and compelled them to follow Norris under gun point. The younger boys, captured with their mother, were willing to return to Kentucky, but the eldest son objected because of his recent marriage to a freed black woman. Norris then informed the son's wife that she could accompany her husband back to Kentucky. Ironically, Norris guaranteed the spouse that she would be well treated in the South. Wisely the wife declined the invitation. Lucy, the mother also objected for her husband would be left behind. Despite their arguments, they were bound with cords and hurried to Norris' covered wagons; then they started post-haste for Kentucky, after leaving a contingent of the raiders at the house to prevent the free black inmates of the house from giving the alarm.[63]

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[63] The South Bend Fugitive Slave Case Involving the Right to a Writ of Habeas Corpus, Microcard (New York: For Sale at the Anti-Slavery Office, 1851), pp. 1-2. Michigan State University Library, East Lansing, Michigan.

The party took a circuitous route, passing through South Bend on the morning of the 28th of September. But, just outside of that city, they stopped for refreshments. While the raiders were resting, the sheriff of that Indiana county and a posse of approximately 140 armed men rode up to the Kentuckians. Norris observed that force was about to be used to take his property. If a fight ensued the marauders would not remain nonviolent. Sheriff Crocker commanded the fugitives to get into his wagon; Norris then ordered them to sit still. Immediately, both sides drew their revolvers. The sheriff informed the Kentuckians that he possessed a writ of habeas corpus and he had no other object than to ascertain the status of the blacks who were with him. Norris responded by saying that any member of the posse could question the blacks about their places in society. Sheriff Crocker told the captives that they need not answer any queries, and he further mentioned to the Kentuckians that resistance was useless since they were outnumbered. Eventually, the sheriff convinced Norris and party to reholster their weapons and return with him to South Bend where a fair hearing would be accorded to them. Besides, the sheriff commented, it would detain the slaveholders for only an hour or two. Norris and his party consented.[64]

While the group was enroute to that Indiana city, it was discovered, on Friday the 29th of September, that Mrs. Powell and children had been kidnapped from Cass. Consequently, several large armed parties from Cass started in pursuit; but it was not until Saturday,

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[64] Reports of the Cases Argued and Decided in the Circuit Court of the United States for the Seventh Circuit, Vol. V, ed. by John McClean (Cincinnati: H. W. Derby and Company, Publishers, 1855), p. 94.

the 30th of September that the pursuers from that Michigan county found the right direction. During Saturday and Sunday, numbers of blacks, estimated between 75-200 arrived in South Bend. Many of them were angry, but they conducted themselves in a law-abiding manner.

On Saturday, Mr. Wright Modlin,[65] one of the pursuing white protectors from Cass filed an affidavit with a South Bend attorney claiming that Norris and company were guilty of kidnapping a quiet and industrious free black family from Michigan. Also, a writ for the arrest of the Kentuckians was issued.

When Sheriff Crocker and that party entered the city, the citizens of South Bend responded in a similar manner as the farmers of Cassopolis when they were confronted and annoyed by the Bourbon County raiders.[66] Later that Saturday, the streets of that Indiana village were crowded with excited people grumbling about the trouble caused by the slave catchers. Most of the spectators were blacks from the adjacent Indiana areas and Cass County. Those ex-slaves from that Michigan community entered the village in heavily armed companies. Throughout the ensuing day the number of blacks from Cass in the crowd increased to approximately 400.[67] The officers and other judicial officials of South Bend, like those in Cass in 1847, became aware that the growing size and tempers of the crowd would not allow any delays

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[65]Another source indicated that the affidavit was made by a white person, Wright Modlin, and by one of the blacks in custody. Report of the Cases Argued and Decided in the Circuit Court of the United States for the 7th Circuit, . . ., p. 99.

[66]In essence, the marauders were looked upon almost universally in the North with loathing and adhorrence. The South Bend Fugitive Slave Case, . . ., p. 8.

[67]The South Bend Fugitive Slave Case, . . ., passim.

in securing a hearing for the fugitives.

The courthouse at South Bend, whither the captives were taken and held, was at once jammed with spectators, and the streets around it crowded. When the legal procedures started, the suspected fugitives immediately were released by the decision of the trial judge; but they were rearrested and placed in jail for safe keeping. On the following day warrants were sworn out against the Kentuckians, charging them with riotous activities and other breaches of the civil processes. Furthermore, a suit in behalf of the fugitives was instituted against their masters. Meanwhile more armed blacks came to that city from Cass County and the neighboring Indiana and Michigan regions. Fortunately, a display of violence by the intense bands was avoided. Two days later the fugitives were released by the judge on a second writ of habeas corpus.[68]

Realizing the partiality of the judge after the announcement of his decision, Norris gathered his men around the captives. Then they seized their prey with one hand, brandished their weapons with the other and threatened to shoot anyone who would attempt to take away their property. This action occurred while the judge was still sitting on the bench and shortly before he decided to adjourn the hearing. Naturally, the sight of the guns caused the spectators to become highly excited. Some sprinted out of the courthouse and spread the alarm throughout the city. During the courtroom fracas members of the listening audience encircled the Southerners and their captives, then, they demanded that the Kentuckians lay down their weapons. But, the

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[68] W. H. Siebert, The Underground Railroad from Slavery to Freedom, . . ., p. 276.

unweilding raiders continued to flash their guns, threatening to shoot. Mr. Liston, one of their counselors (a native from South Bend) jumped upon a table and called upon the slaveholders to use their revolvers, after all, they would be justified in doing so. Convinced that escape was impossible, the Kentuckians finally re-holstered their revolvers.[69]

Once the slaves were released, they were surrounded by a great number of blacks. In the crowd were some of the Powell's friends from Cass. Soon thereafter, the elated captives and acquaintances proceeded to a wagon, which carried them to Cass County where David and Samuel rejoined the former captive members of the family. Without bidding adieu to many friends, they commenced the journey to Canada. Upon seeing and hearing that news, the slaveowner Norris declared that his rights had been violated, and, consequently vowed that he would get compensation under the law for that sham called justice.[70]

On the 21st day of December 1849, Norris commenced a suit in the United States Circuit Court, for the District of Indiana against Leander B. Newton, George Horton, Edwin B. Crocker, Solomon W. Palmer, David Jodon, William Wilmington, Lot Day, Jr., Amable Lapiere and Wright Modlin, to recover the value of his lost property and other damages. Since Modlin was a citizen of Cass, the suit against him was dismissed; and since the black spectators looked alike neither Norris nor his comrades were able to recognize any of the former slaves who participated in the rescue.[71] As a result of the trial's outcome,

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[69] The South Bend Fugitive Slave Case, . . ., p. 5.

[70] W. H. Siebert, The Underground Railroad from Slavery to Freedom, . . ., p. 276.

[71] Reports of the Cases Argued and Decided in the Circuit Court of the United States for the 7th Circuit, . . ., p. 97.

the complainants from Kentucky were awarded $2856 and the court cost of $1632.66 was assessed to the eight Indiana abolitionists.[72]

Like the citizens of Bourbon County, now the citizens of Boone County had stories to tell about the "fanatics" from Cass and surrounding areas. Furthermore, Henry Clay had more "war stories" to relate to his fellow congressmen about the perils of predators pursuing prey in Michigan and other northern areas. The Fugitive Slave Law was necessary, Mr. Clay lamented! In September of 1850, as previously indicated, the Federal government responded to the troubled slaveholders.

Nevertheless, the protectors of Michigan including Zachariah Shugart,[73] James Bonine,[74] William Jones,[75] and especially Nathan Macy Thomas of Schoolcraft plus some other unidentified Cass County activists, did not sit idly by after the enactment of that law. On 31 January 1855, thanks to the efforts of Erastus Hussey, a bill was introduced in the Michigan senate seeking to protect the rights of the state's black residents. The bill became Michigan's Personal Liberty Law. It directed

> all prosecuting attorneys to defend all persons arrested as fugitives . . .. Moreover, these persons accused of being escaped slaves were

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[72] H. East, Recorded by Miss C. Bonine, from reminiscences of her father, A Short History of Vandalia, . . ., p. 35.

[73] From a letter of Mr. G. B. Wilson, Elberon, Iowa, 27 February 1969, . . ., passim; Interview with Mr. Orlando James, 29 November 1973, Calvin Township, Cass County, Michigan.

[74] Interview with ex-senator Elwood Bonine, 17 December 1973, Lansing, Ingham County, Michigan.

[75] Interview with Mrs. Bonine, 17 December 1973, Lansing, Ingham County, Michigan.

> entitled to the benefits of the writ of habeas corpus, trial by Jury, the right of appeal through the county courts. All costs were to be borne by the state, and local jails were not to be used to incarcerate alleged fugitives. This law also handed out still punishment for those persons who bore false witness. Anyone falsely accusing a person of being an escaped slave could be punished by a fine or imprisonment. In all cases involving Negroes alleged to be fugitives two witnesses were required. A second act prohibited state marshalls from helping to recapture suspected fugitive slaves.[76]

After a month's deliberation on the bill, it eventually became law, thanks to the backing of Michigan protectors.

Despite those decisions, both the Federal Fugitive Slave Law and the state's Personal Liberty Law were broken repeatedly by protectors and predators until the advent of the Civil War. For example, the Lansing Republican on 9 June 1857 reprinted a letter, written by a captive fugitive from Cass (Newberg Township) to his wife;[77] the original appeared in The Three Rivers Herald. The following notably indicates how slaveholders responded to the state's law.

> . . . My dear wife [,]
> I am in a bad situation. I am robbed and gagged, and carried I cannot tell where. Two men stopped me in the road and said if I did not give up my money they would shoot me; then they took me into the

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[76] Norman McRae, Negroes in Michigan During the Civil War, . . ., p. 19. That enactment gave additional strength to a law codified in 1827 which was designed to protect Michigan's black residents; it was called "an act to regulate Blacks and Mulattoes, and to punish the kidnapping of such person." David M. Katzman, Before the Ghetto: Black Detroit in the Nineteenth Century, . . ., pp. 5-6.

[77] The gentleman who wrote the letter was kidnapped by slaveholders on the 12th of June. He started from Newberg Township for Vandalia and was seen for the last time about two miles from that place. On the 19th, the letter referred to was received by the postmaster with an insertion indicating that it was found three miles outside of South Bend, Indiana.

> woods, and tied me, and kept me there until night. Then they put me into a wagon and drove all night until about day light; then they stopped and put me into an upper room of the house and I understood they would drive again when night came.
>
> While sitting there and giving vent to a flood of tears, I searched my pockets and found a piece of pencil, then I looked into a small stand drawer and found this paper. Now I write these lines that I may drop them if I have an opportunity, where some one may find them. Whoever may chance to find this, direct [it] to Mary Roy, Newburgh [sic], Cass Co [unty], Mich [igan] and please write in this and letter [sic] her know where it was found.
>
> Now my dear wife, if these lines should come into your hands, do not forget to pray to our God, who worketh wonders, and who is able to deliver those who trust in him, and if I should never see you again, my prayer will be that he [sic] will bless you and my dear children, and protect their lives.
>
> I have no doubt they will take my life soon.
>
> Written by your affectionate and loving husband.[78]
>
> Aaron Roy[79]

Because of the different opinions held by the Quakers, abolitionists, blacks, and slaveholders in regards to human bondage, volatile situations often occurred whenever the latter appeared in the county. Even though some southerners were aware of the feelings of many in Cass, cautious slave hunters continued to visit the region until the outbreak of the Civil War.[80] Inspite of the potentiality for crisis situations, the blacks of Cass continued to deal with their own unique problems, while simultaneously looking cautiously at all strangers.[81] Even with

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[78] The Lansing Republican, "Kidnapping," Tuesday 9 June 1857, Vol. III, no. 7, whole no. 111, ed. by Hosmer and Fitch (Lansing, Ingham County, Michigan), p. 4.

[79] No one knows (neither the informants nor the writers of secondary sources or family genealogies) what happened to the kidnapped Roy.

[80] Interview with Mr. Crawford Stewart, 28 November 1973, Dowagiac, Cass County, Michigan.

[81] William C. Gregg Paper, undated, entitled "Reminiscences of Calvin Township, Cass County, Michigan," . . ., p. 47

the threat of kidnapping in mind many of them became activists in nineteenth-century reforms, especially those that attempted to contribute to the elevation of the race, not only in Michigan but throughout ante-bellum America.

Chapter V

FOR THE ELEVATION OF THEIR STATUS

Even though some white Michiganites (circa 1847-1861) demonstrated their willingness to protect the area's black residents, some ex-slaves realized that a fight for equality was necessary. Aside from the benevolent 1855 Michigan legislature that enfranchised blacks in school-district elections and passed the Personal Liberty Laws, there were few bright days for the state's ex-slave population. Besides general discrimination against them, one reason for that dismal picture was that racial distinctions still remained in the state's laws. For example, legislation codified during the territorial days, such as, disfranchisement, exclusion from jury duty, anti-miscegenation laws, the denial of militia duties and benefits, and other discriminatory ordinances were all affirmed in the 1850 constitution.[1]

Because of the presence of such laws, many ex-bondmen felt more of a need for civil protection against area whites than against slave catchers who made occasional forays into the state.

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[1]D. M. Katzman, Before the Ghetto: Black Detroit in the Nineteenth Century, . . ., pp. 5-6, 30; For information relative to the cited examples vide Richard Cole Paper, 1970, entitled "A Legal Study of Whites and Blacks in the Michigan Territory," . . ., pp. 33-42; H. S. Rogers, The History of Cass County, from 1825-1875, . . ., p. 126; Dorothy Emmer, The Civil and Political Status of the Negro in Michigan and the Northwest before 1870, . . ., pp. 30-31; E. H. Berwanger, The Frontier Against Slavery, . . ., p. 38.

Usually those whites, who were responsible for the legislative restrictions, were convinced that the former slaves had no place in the state or the nation. An article, representative of the thought of that group, appeared in The Niles Republican on 25 April 1857 states:

> 'That this government was created by white people, for the benefit of the white race, is not only a truth of history, but has now become a settled judicial fact.' Such was the assertion which we used a few weeks since in reference to the recent decision of the Supreme Court. The negro [sic] race has not only never been regarded by the general government as citizens, but in none of the states have been [sic] treated as such . . .. The black race has nowhere and under no circumstances been recognized by the white race. And it ought never to be. The history of the world shows the failure of every other effort for self-government by almost every race of men. And if it has been deemed dangerous for the most patriotic and enlightened of the Anglo-Saxon race to attempt the experiment to be threatened if the benighted negro [sic] are to cast in the weight of their numerical strength? . . ..[2]

Such expressions motivated many blacks to become conscious of the contradictions between their status and that of white Michiganites. As a result of their unrest, touched-off by their substandard social positions, came the state-wide conventions, petitions,[3] referenda,[4] and court tests.[5] Many black Michiganites actively participated in those protest movements.

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[2]The Niles Republican, "Shall Negroes be Made Citizens!," Saturday 25 April 1857, Vol. XVI, no. 4, whole no. 819; ed. by D. B. Cook (Niles, Berrien County, Michigan), p. 1.

[3]The History of the Negro in Michigan, Federal Writers Program, . . ., pp. 48-49. In the Constitutional Conventions held in Lansing in the 1830's and 1850's, petitions for black suffrange outnumbered all others; N. McRae, Negroes in Michigan During the Civil War, . . ., pp. 9-10.

[4]E. H. Berwanger, The Frontier Against Slavery, . . ., p. 40.

[5]Blanche Coggan, "The Underground Railroad in Michigan," Negro History Bulletin, Vol. 127-128 (October 1969), p. 125.

A notable illustration of their involvement occurred on 26-27 October 1843, when approximately 23 delegates from Jackson, Washtenaw County, Marshall and other Michigan communities convened at Detroit's First Street Baptist Church. On that date William Lambert, William C. Monroe, and Henry Jackson[6] issued a call "for the purpose of taking into consideration the Negroes' Political Standing as a people, and to adopt measures for the improvement of the same."[7] While there, they also deliberated on questions concerning temperance, moral reform, and slavery. Noticeably absent were representatives from Cass, for in 1843 that county had a small black population. Furthermore, when that area's number of ex-slave residents increased, some of the elderly and established black settlers[8] argued that if the laws, even though oppressive, were obeyed those same laws would take care of them. They were met with laughs from the younger black men, and sometimes by the question "what would have become of all the runaways if you gentlemen had always obeyed the law."[9] Nevertheless, the opinions of those patriarchs did not deter the young questioners because many of them realized that the state's heinous laws discriminated against all ex-slaves regardless of their residence. Even though their actions were not as obvious as black Detroiters, many of

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[6]The aforementioned were prominent black Detroiters and race leaders in that city.

[7]History of the Negro in Michigan, Federal Writers Program, . . ., pp. 48-49.

[8]One noticeable exception to that generalization was Thomas Jefferson Martin. He was named not in honor of that president, but according to county legend, named after his father -- The Monticello Sage.

[9]William C. Gregg Papers, undated, entitled, "Reminiscences of Calvin Township, Cass County, Michigan," . . ., p. 69.

the youthful black settlers of the county struck a few blows against those codes. This chapter will highlight some of their attempts to elevate the race.

Since some of the younger blacks in Cass were not content with segregated living and second-class treatment, many actively sought integration with the group that enjoyed all privileges. But as previously suggested, nearly all the avenues of assimilation into the larger Michigan community were blocked by laws. In spite of the restrictions imposed on them by the state, the civil rights accorded to the freed slaves were a matter of local concern, controlled by public opinion.[10] Such was the case in Cass County.

When occasional adverse feelings did spring up, they were detrimental to most ex-bondmen in that county. However, because of its Quaker population, such anti-black expressions and accompanying repercussions were a rarity. Another factor contributing to the infrequent appearance of hostile opinions was the good character of most of the black residents. For these reasons and others, the incidents of prejudice and discrimination were infrequent.

Nevertheless, exceptions to that rule were discovered. On at least one occasion an incident of discrimination occurred when

> the landlord of the Bond House . . . got into difficulty. Three distinguished colored individuals from Cass . . . put up at his house one day this week. In the morning he provided

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[10]Dorothy Emmer, The Civil and Political Status of the Negro in Michigan and The Northwest before 1870, . . ., p. 31.

> them with a table in the dining hall by themselves and loaded it with the best the house afforded. This was very offensive to their dignity, they must set [sic] down at the table with his guests or have a fight. They were pointed to the table provided and were assured they should have as good fare as other people. They argued the case, but it was no time for argument, they must eat by themselves or walk out and they finally walked out . . . minus breakfast . . ..[11]

Even though he housed them, those three gentlemen spread the word about that proprietor's practices. As a result of the activities of the visitors, neither blacks nor friends of the ex-slaves in that region would frequent that establishment.

Not surprisingly, that incident at the hotel was not the only illustration of youthful blacks[12] of Cass demonstrating for racial reforms.[13] For example, on another occasion, they raised their voices against the oppression of all blacks in America. A slogan used by the protestors was "liberty for us and for all."[14] Perhaps, the county's most active objector to the plight of blacks in ante-bellum America was Thomas Jefferson Martin. As chairman of the first convention of black men held at Battle Creek in 1860, he gave early evidence of his sterling qualities of mind and dedication to the race's uplift. No

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[11] The Niles Republican, Saturday 10 September 1859, Vol. XVII, no. 24, whole no. 887, ed. by D. B. Cook (Niles, Berrien County, Michigan), p. 1.

[12] Vide William Gregg Papers, undated, entitled, "Reminiscences of Calvin Township, Cass County, Michigan," . . ., p. 82; Booker T. Washington, "Two Centuries Under Freedom," . . ., p. 305.

[13] Vide The National Democrat, "Good Breeding," Saturday 19 April 1856, Vol. V, no. 51, ed. by William Van Antwerp (Cassopolis, Cass County, Michigan), p. 2; G. P. Graff, The People of Michigan, . . ., p. 16.

[14] The National Democrat, Saturday 10 May 1856, Vol. VI, no. 2 ed. by William Van Antwerp (Cassopolis, Cass County, Michigan), p. 2.

race movement within the state during that era was without his support.[15] Two years prior to the gathering, one indication of his loyalty was exemplified in his strong promotion of a West Indies Emancipation celebration and banquet that occurred in Vandalia on 2 August 1858.[16]

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[15] Michigan Manual of Freedmen's Progress, compiled by F. H. Warren, . . ., p. 278.

[16] Usually a well known abolitionist delivered an address to the participants concerning the plight of blacks in ante-bellum America or Michigan. If however, a prominent speaker was not available for a festive occasion or other rallies, the activists called upon others to address the integrated gatherings. On at least one occasion, the participants in the crowd questioned the credibility of some of the speakers. A case in point occurred on 10 May 1856 when "a colored man named Woods lectured . . . [and] told his experience while a slave. He represented himself as having been a slave in Tenn [essee] - was owned by a very good master - has 7 children there that he is lecturing for the purpose of getting money to free them . . .." All this may, or may not be true; it is the old stereotyped tale which too many colored persons seize upon to the credulity of the whites. If we are not mistaken, this Woods is the identical negro [sic] who aided Governor Bingham in carrying on political meetings in one or two of the eastern counties of this state, and has, we believe, been forwarded by the negro [sic] worshipers [sic] of Michigan, from place to place, until he reached this village. He came here consigned to a somewhat noted negro-worshiper [sic]. . . . After the lecturer . . . told his story, the hat was passed around . . . and a small sum raised for him. Considering that the collection was taken up just at the opening of a political campaign, it was slim indeed. After the collection . . . a gentleman of high political aspirations, read what purported to be the deed of emancipation, from Woods's master, to him. The question has arisen in our mind, whether at $16 per month (the price of a good farm hand) Mr. Wood would not make money faster than be lecturing." The National Democrat, Saturday 10 May 1856, Vol. VI, no. 2, ed. by William W. Van Antwerp (Cassopolis, Cass County, Michigan), p. 2. Interview with Mr. Crawford Stewart, 28 November 1973, Dowagiac, Cass County, Michigan; The Cass County Republican, Thursday 22 and 29 July 1858, Vol. I, no. 13, ed. by W. H. Campbell (Dowagiac, Cass County, Michigan), p. 3; On many occasions, when celebrations occurred in that region, music was supplied by the Calvin Township band. That group usually was transported to the outdoor pavillion by the prettiest horses and wagon in the county. According to one informant, only one other black settlement in Michigan and Ohio had a musical ensemble. (When festive occasions were held in the black communities of Battle Creek and Kalamazoo, the band appeared and performed.) Interview with Mrs. Bertha Newsome, 20 November 1973, Calvin Center, Cass County, Michigan.

Furthermore, to the dismay of the area's whites, Martin and some comrades, plus their devoted white friends, conscientiously opposed the county-wide celebration of the 4th of July. When word of the upcoming affair became known on 21 June 1856, many of those black activists seriously questioned how the concept of independence applied to them. How could the birth of an independent nation be celebrated, they queried, when freedom was a privilege enjoyed by a select group. Soon thereafter a planned counter rally, which would demonstrate the hypocrisy in such an event, was set in motion. After becoming aware of the intentions of the men, the ladies felt that they too should be involved in the counter-celebration. Eventually, they planned to march in a procession with a portion of them carrying black flags to represent the slave-holding states and another group carrying white flags to represent the free states. Placards relating to that rally were posted throughout Cass stating the intentions and mentioning that the Honorable Zachariah Chandler[17] of Detroit would address the audience about that sham 4th of July celebration. When William W. Van Antwerp, editor of The National Democrat, published an article pertaining to plans of the protesters, the news infuriated many white citizens in that county and in adjacent regions. Some thought that the organizers of the protest and its distinguished guest would desecrate an honorable American event. Despite such feelings, the counter-festivities occurred.[18]

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[17]Zachariah Chandler was one of the ante-bellum Senators from Michigan. He served in the federal government from 1857 to 1869.

[18]The National Democrat, "By their Fruits We Shall Know Them," 21 June 1856, Vol. VI, no. 8, ed. by William W. Van Antwerp (Cassopolis, Cass County, Michigan), p. 2; The National Democrat, Saturday 5 July 1856, Vol. VI, no. 10, ed. by William W. Van Antwerp (Cassopolis, Cass County, Michigan), p. 2.

Once they had made some racial advances, those young black activists protected their newly acquired rights with extreme vigor. On at least one occasion, 21 November 1872, an incident occurred which partially substantiates that contention. On that day eight black men became implicated in an election day brawl. The flare-up was triggered by some white Democrats in Calvin when they questioned why inferior blacks should be allowed to cast a Republican ballot. To "add insult to their injury" the gentlemen referred to them as bucks.[19] The young blacks, tired of being classified in the same category as animals, attacked. Later warrants were issued for their arrest, charging them with assault and battery. However, before their trial and conviction, some open-minded whites, primarily supporters of the freed slaves, felt they were justified for their actions because, ". . . like white men, when they are imposed upon or attacked, they will defend themselves, as they have a right and ought to do . . . ."[20]

Even though they were one of the least discriminated against groups of blacks in Michigan, some blacks in Cass wanted to become assimilated totally into the American mainstream as indicated by their concern for the welfare of blacks in Cass and throughout the nation. Also, some were dedicated toward the development and maintenance of a totally democratic American society. Not surprisingly, some of the efforts of the youthful demonstrators brought about changes that directly affected their well-being in the county -- especially in the courts.

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[19] The Cassopolis Vigilant, "The Calvin Row," 21 November 1872, Vol. 1, no. 28 (Cassopolis, Cass County, Michigan), p. 2.

[20] The Cassopolis Vigilant, "The Calvin Outrage," 16 May 1872, Vol. 1, no. 1 (Cassopolis, Cass County, Michigan), p. 2.

Many writers,[21] concerned with the plight of ante-bellum blacks, summarized that racial discrimination infected the courts of the north before the Civil War. That contention was not applicable in Cass County.

Despite major discrimination against them[22] in many vital legal rights connected with the use of the courts blacks of that county did not suffer continuously from de jure discrimination. The right to have an attorney and the right to counsel as indicated in the trial of an ex-slave named Smith who was represented by Daniel Blackman is an example of the legal rights afforded to the ex-slaves.[23] Furthermore, on a few occasions, the testimony of blacks helped the prosecuting attorney obtain convictions against white offenders. For example, in December of 1849, Peter and Calvary Saunders appeared as witnesses in the people of Michigan versus Alonzo and Benaya Mayra.[24] In another case (May of 1860), the testimony of George Saunders played an instrumental role in the trial that led to the imprisonment of two white burglars and their black accomplice. Not only did he participate

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[21]Good examples are L. F. Litwack, North of Slavery, . . ., passim; Alexis De Tocqueville, Democracy in America, ed. by J. P. Mayer (Garden City, New York: Anchor Book, Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1969), passim; Wilbur Zelinsky, "The Population Geography of the Free Negro in Ante-Bellum America, "Population Studies, Vol. III (March 1950), pp. 386-401.

[22]The composition of the juries is the only example of the discriminatory policies practiced in the Cass courts.

[23]National Democrat, "Quite a Coinscidence [sic]," 29 March 1856, Vol. V, no. 48, ed. by William W. Van Antwerp (Cassopolis, Cass County, Michigan), p. 2.

[24]Papers of Phineas Gregg of Calvin, 1849-1882, Justice of the Peace Docket Book, Michigan History Collection, Bentley Historical Library, Ann Arbor, p. 15.

in the judicial procedures, but Saunders was also responsible for filing the complaint.[25] The black residents of that county also had a right to bail as illustrated in the case of the people versus Samuel, Howard, and Harry Lucas. For the crime of stealing from a dry good store in LaGrange Township, they had to pay "the sum of $75.00 with good and sufficient sureties that they would reappear at the next term of the circuit court at Cassopolis or be committed to jail."[26] The right to make use of the writ of habeas corpus, the right to sue or be used, and the right to a trial by jury -- even if their peers seemed to be bleached -- were granted also to those settlers.[27] Without doubt, some of the privileges bestowed upon the ex-slaves were granted because

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[25]Criminal Files Cass County, no. 214, Calendar D. Law, The People versus William Garrett, Edward Smith, George Davis (1860), p. 89, Cass County Court House, Cassopolis.

[26]Criminal Files Cass County, no. 193, Calendar D. Law, The People versus Samuel Lucas, Howard Lucas, and Harry Lucas (1859), p. 54, Cass County Court House, Cassopolis; After a perusal of some unrelated cases involving thefts committed by whites, that sum certainly was not excessive. There were/are four terms of court each year which usually meet on the second Monday in February, the second Monday in May, the second Monday in September, and the second Monday in November. Perhaps, those sessions were used in the nineteenth century. Local Court Rules 43rd. Judicial Circuit of the State of Michigan, Cass County Circuit Court, Cassopolis, Michigan

[27]Vide Criminal Files Cass County, no. 246, Calendar D. Law, The People versus John Dungie (1862), p. 170; In that case Henry Wilson sued John Dungie for assault and battery. The latter nailed Wilson with a hammer; Papers of Phineas Greg of Calvin, 1849-1882, . . ., pp. 82-83; In the aforementioned examples, a trial by jury was accorded to the offenders. In reference to the writ of habeas corpus, that courtroom procedure was used in cases involving slave catchers, The black settlers of the county also made use of the courts in civil proceeding, such as, marriages and divorces. Vide the Civil Files for Cass County, Cass County Courthouse, Cassopolis. Conceivably, the ex-slaves willingness to participate in judicial proceedings either indicated their level of sophistication or desire to abide by the rules of a white world they wanted to become a part of.

of black activists like Martin and devoted white friends.

Had it not been for the efforts of that group, some blacks, especially the young, who committed offenses too serious for a church trial, would not have been able to take advantage of those constitutional guarantees.[28] To those law breakers, the abilities to take advantage of those privileges were indeed a blessing. An excerpt from an 1857 issue of The National Democrat illustrates the wave of black lawlessness that swept across Cass, particularly Calvin.

> Within the past two weeks, no less than five warrants have been issued by a Justice of the Peace, in this village, upon the complaint of Nigger vs Nigger, of Calvin Township. The blacks of that town quarrel and fit [sic], cut and carve, among themselves . . .. In one row, James is stabbed, another nigger has the plumb [sic] end of his nose bitten off, another is assaulted and battered, another sets at defiance our valiant Republican sheriff, and swears he never will be taken, and we guess he never will be, for the nigger has got pluck to the back bone. What appears singular in these proceedings, no security for costs are taken, and the county, consequently have [sic] to shoulder witness, constable, sheriff, prosecuting attorney and Justice's Bill.[29]

Perhaps the most notorious troublemaker and largest bill

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[28]At one time during the 1850's-1860's, the blacks of Cass furnished approximately two-thirds of the county's court business. Booker T. Washington, "Two Centuries Under Freedom," . . ., p. 304; Even though they frequented the courts quite often, the exact number or percentage incarcerated in the county was unknown. Between 1850-1860, there were roughly 22-30 prisoners held in the jails. The races of the inmates were not given. Vide The Federal Census of 1850-1860, Social Statistics, schedule 6.

[29]The National Democrat, "Bleeding Calvin," Saturday 21 February 1857, Vol. VI, no. 41, ed. by William W. Van Antwerp (Cassopolis, Cass County, Michigan), p. 2; If the Social Statistics of the Federal Census of 1850-1860 included black lawbreakers, the bills accumulated by all the convicts amounted to $919 and $2693 for the respective years. The exact amount they were responsible for was a part of those totals.

producer in the county was Albert Saunders. After appearing before the judges (1858-1860) for stealing a gelding worth $100,[30] seven dollars in cash, a pair of boots,[31] assault and battery, threatening to murder, and attempted rape,[32] Saunders certainly should have been grateful to those activists because at all of his trials he received a fair hearing. On the occasion of the assault and attempted rape of Sarah Howell, many blacks protested because they thought the jurors were too lenient. Saunders had, after all, fouled a woman.[33] Included in that group of dissatisfied ex-slaves were many of the protesters who were responsible for judicial privileges being granted to blacks of the county.[34] As a result of the case, Saunders served a prison sentence of undetermined length.

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[30]Criminal Files Cass County, no. 155, Calendar D. Law, The People versus Albert Saunders (1858), p. 282, Cass County Court House, Cassopolis.

[31]Criminal Files Cass County, no. 224, Calendar D. Law, The People versus Albert Saunders (1860), p. 106, Cass County Court House, Cassopolis.

[32]While Lawson Howell was away, Saunders broke into his house and attempted to rape Lawson's wife, Sarah Howell. After beating the kids off and locking them outside, Saunders began tearing the clothes off the wife. She resisted his maneuvers, but, to no avail. Seeing the family's shotgun above the mantel piece, Saunders took it down, pointed it at the wife, and screamed "God damn you, Sarah Howell, I am going to get it." At this juncture Mrs. Howell unlocked the front door and ran. The gun toting Saunders was in hot pursuit. After catching her and then knocking her down, near the family's cornfield, he yelled again, "God damn you, Sarah Howell, I am going to get it." Fortunately, Wright Modlin, a neighbor, overheard Sarah's frightening plea for help and rushed to her rescue. Seeing him approach, the unsuccessful Saunders took flight. Criminal Files Cass County, no. 225, Calendar D. Law, The People versus Albert Saunders, . . ., pp. 106-107.

[33]Vide Criminal Files Cass County, no. 225, Calendar D. Law, The People versus Albert Saunders. The testimony of Wright Modlin, Sarah Howell, Lawson Howell, . . ., pp. 106-110.

[34]Probably, other blacks, angered by the trial's outcome, were motivated by the fact that Saunders was the principal destroyer of an image that many had worked so hard to build.

However, before his trial and conviction, Saunders was released from jail by paying or having someone pay his bail of $500.[35] As an indicator of the fairness of the Cass courts, on one occasion, it was discovered that a white man who had kidnapped and raped a black girl was assigned a similar bond of $500.[36] In spite of that fact, the outcome of any trial or the amount of bond stipulated in any case involving a black depended upon several factors -- one of the most important was the political affiliations of the judges and jurors.[37] Nevertheless, the black settlers of the county enjoyed some judicial privileges that probably were denied other ante-black Michiganites.[38]

Another illustration of the activists' dedication to the race's uplift was their involvement in the Civil War. During the rebellion some Cass County free blacks with a lot of material possessions to lose, responded nobly to the call for soldiers. Over half of those liable to do military duty took up arms in defense of their county and

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[35]Criminal Files Cass County, no. 225, Calendar D. Law, The People versus Albert Saunders, . . ., p. 107.

[36]Incidentally, that unidentified assailant gave the girl a social disease.

[37]For example, the magistrate who forced the white rapist to pay a $500 bail, if he wished to be released from jail, fined the black republican November 1872 election day brawlers $1000 each. That judge was a Democrat. The Cassopolis Vigilant, "The Calvin Row," . . ., p. 2.

[38]For comparisons vide E. H. Berwanger, The Frontier Against Slavery, . . ., passim; D. M. Katzman, Before the Ghetto: Black Detroit in the Nineteenth Century, . . ., passim; D. Emmer, The Civil and Political Status of the Negro in Michigan and the Northwest before 1870, . . ., passim; History of the Negro in Michigan, Federal Writers Program, . . ., passim; "Blacks in Ingham County, 1850-1860," B. C. Wilson (Winter 1972), unpublished manuscript, pp. 1-19; E. J. Muzik, "The Influence of the Cross White Case on the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850," Michigan History Collection, Bentley History Library, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan; W. W. Stephenson, "The Colored Schools of Detroit, 1839-1869," Michigan History Collection, Bentley Library, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan; N. McRae, Negroes in Michigan During the Civil War, . . ., passim.

for the liberation of their brethren. Approximately 100 Cass black men volunteered and became a part of the First Michigan Colored Infantry, later known as the 102nd United States Colored Infantry (hereafter referred to as the U.S.C.I.).[39] "This was a record worthy of emulation, as it was unequalled by any other nationality [in the county]. A great number of men went away and never returned, leaving large families to get along as they best could."[40] However, there were a few young men with economically secure parents who did not serve. For example, Henry and Kathryn Wilson obtained a release, by paying $300 and finding a substitute from military duty for their son Macomb.[41] In another case, Frances Oglesby was drafted but fled to Canada as a great many others did to keep out of the war. After General Lee's surrender, Oglesby returned.[42]

To many of the residents of the county, both blacks and whites, the enlistment of those ex-slaves was an encouraging and welcome sight.

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[39] A Brief History of Cass County, compiled by Mae R. Schoetzow, . . ., p. 73. There was some discrepancy in the exact number of volunteers that came from the county. According to one source 36 inductees came from Cass. Vide Record of Volunteer's Relief Fund, 1862-1865, Vol. 35 of 36, Michigan History Commission, Lansing, Michigan, State Archives History Division, Department of State. Another indicated that 71 dressed in blue for a noble cause. Michigan Manual of Freedmen's Progress, compiled by F. H. Warren, . . ., passim.

[40] After visiting the cemeteries adjacent to Bethel and Mount Zion, roughly ten identifiable gravemarkers bearing the initials U.S.C.I. were observed; Cass County, Calvin Township Papers of Pioneers, 1805-1921, Paper of Negroes 1828-1839, . . ., pp. 2-3.

[41] Cass County, Calvin Township Papers of Pioneers, 1805-1921, Paper of Negroes 1828-1839, . . ., p. 5. Interview with Mrs. Emaline Anderson and Robert Mathews, 29 November 1973, Vandalia, Cass County, Michigan.

[42] The rationale for the cited desertion and military deferment payment were not uncovered; Cass County, Calvin Township Papers of Pioneers, 1805-1921, Paper of Negroes, 1828-1939, . . ., p. 3.

To them, the inductees would assist in removing the cancerous sore that plagued the nation. The feelings of the county's citizens were evinced when a contingent of the U.S.C.I. left Niles, one of Michigan's induction sites, and marched into Cassopolis. When they passed homes en route to the county seat, Cass farmers wished them well and gave them fruit. The white residents were surprised when the splendidly garbed black troopers arrived in that city. To the freed slaves who happened to be in Cassopolis, the appearance of the soldiers caused "goose pimples to rise."[43] Everyone in the town scurried about to make them comfortable and welcome. For many of the men in the regiment, proudly wearing the blue uniforms, Cass was home. Without doubt, all of the fanfare certainly was appreciated.[44] To the surprise of many of the soldiers, some of their detractors were among the well wishers, also handing out fruit and praise.[45]

At the conclusion of the war many of those negrophobes were faced with a new problem. Some blacks from other regions of America, impressed with the descriptions of the county they overheard around battlefield campfires, accompanied their comrades in war back to the county. Thanks to the efforts of the protesters who were responsible for improving the status of blacks in the county, the newcomers were able to settle down and enjoy some privileges without putting up a

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[43]Interview with Mrs. Bertha Newsome, 20 November 1973, Calvin Township, Cass County, Michigan.

[44]N. McRae, Negroes in Michigan During the Civil War, . . ., p. 56; unpublished manuscript, no title, no date, held by Mrs. Rosella Wade, 23 November 1973, Calvin Township, Cass County, Michigan.

[45]Interview with Mr. Crawford Stewart, 28 November 1973, Dowagiac, Cass County, Michigan.

fight. However, they were confronted with an even more strange phenomenon. For the attackers of the blacks and the older ex-slave settlers, the new emigres posed different problems. They had to be seasoned and broken in; if they were acceptable, primarily to the older patriarchs, a niche in the black caste system that developed in Cass had to be carved out for them. However, before considering them as candidates for integration, they had to be sober, industrious, honest, and intelligent.

Chapter VI

NEITHER BLACK, NEGRO, NOR WHITE -- BUT "COL'D"

Since most of the earlier black arrivals had worked diligently in developing a favorable reputation in the county, many wanted to see that image continued. Built and maintained by hard work, thrift, and sobriety, many were convinced that those virtues were cherished by most of the pre-Civil War black residents and their offspring.[1] However, some thought that the same assumptions could not be taken for granted with regards to new emigres.

The fear that new arrivals, if they refused to labor, would besmirch the community's name forced many of the older patriarchs to assist the new emigres. For that important reason

> . . . Mr. Allen [Hog Bill] would always take in anyone who wanted to pay his way by helping with the chores. He never liked triflers . . .. In those days the people of his race were always busily employed and had no time to look after other peoples business. A great number of his race said he had much respect for what they had accomplished in their brief period of freedom. For the shiffless [sic] and the thriflers who tried to climb up by pulling some one down he had no use.[2]

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[1]For an example of that opinion vide "Marmaduke Ash Is Dead," Cassopolis Vigilant (Cassopolis, Cass County, Michigan, n.d.), . . ., passim.

[2]Rosanna Wilson, Biographical Sketch, undated of William Allen of Cass County, . . ., p. 2.

But before the new ones were even considered as candidates for aid, they had to possess some essential requirements for initiation into Cass's free "col'd" society.

At the conclusion of the Civil War approximately 250[3] new blacks migrated to Cass.[4] Those who moved there with the intentions of finding a haven were awakened rudely for a caste system, based primarily upon previous status and, more importantly, on color had developed in the county.[5]

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[3]J. Wheeler and S. Brunn "An Agricultural Ghetto: Negroes in Cass County, Michigan 1845-1968, . . .", p. 318; Census and Statistics of the State of Michigan 1865.

[4]Not only did some migrate to the area from the South, but the surrounding northern states and Canada contributed to Cass black population growth. Vide the 9th Census Schedule of the United States, Cass County, Michigan.

[5]While conducting the oral research for the project nearly all of the informants, who were direct descendants of the earlier patriarchs, indicated that an aristocracy based upon color failed to materialize in Cass. But after completing an interview with one of the settlers, "who preferred not to deal with the past," visitors arrived at the home. Since they were relatives, the source warmly received them all -- except one of the children. Possessing a flat nose, kinky hair, and a darker complexion than the other family members, the one-year old youngster was ignored by the informant. Later that person compared all the children, the youngster with the very prominent Negroid features was highlighted. The description of the child given by the source was hardly favorable. After being in the house for approximately two hours, he got the attention of the informant -- the one year old cried for a diaper change and a desire to take off his cumbersome winter coat. In contrast to the opinions expressed that appalling display convinced me that color consciousness was prevalent in the county. It is my opinion that the expression did not blossom in the twentieth century without having strong roots in the nineteenth century. Interview with Mrs. B. Newsome (16 November 1973), Calvin Township, Cass County, Michigan; Interview with Mrs. F. Lawson and W. Lawson (15 November 1973), Pokagon Township, Cass County, Michigan; Interview with Mrs. R. Wade (23 November 1973), Calvin Township, Cass County, Michigan; Interview with Mr. C. Stewart (28 November 1973), Dowagiac, Cass County, Michigan; Interview with Mr. G. Haines (1 December 1973), Calvin Township, Cass County, Michigan; Interview with Mrs. H. Hawkes (3 December 1973), Calvin Township, Cass County, Michigan; Interview with Mrs. G. Ash (28 November 1973),

Even though the war had made all blacks free, the newcomers were astonished when they realized that the possession of freed papers were just as important to the earlier settlers as they were to ante-bellum whites (appendix). Often they demanded to inspect the documents of those seeking homes in the townships of the county. Their principal reasons for that request were either memories associated with the Kentucky raid or the fear that the newcomers were spies intent upon betraying family secrets.[6] If the papers were not available or in satisfactory order, the earlier arrivals became reluctant about accepting the new emigres. When exceptions were made, which occurred frequently, those who were free before the great conflict held themselves aloof from the "contrabands of war."[7] For example, if the manumitted of the area responded like other freed blacks who started communities in the ante-bellum years,[8] they considered it demeaning to marry a person who was recently a slave. In fact, rigid caste lines were followed in the selection of one's mate.[9] Were not those recently freed, the earlier arrival questioned, crude, slow witted, and lazy?[10] Not only would they attract other

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Dowagiac, Cass County, Michigan; One of those informants claimed that the caste system was based upon residential tenure, while Anderson and Robert Mathews (29 November 1973) Vandalia, Cass County, Michigan; Mr. Clyde Byrd (19 November 1973), Lansing, Ingham County, Michigan; wealth was also important in determining ones station in the county's black social hierarchy.

[6]Interview with Mrs. F. Lawson (15 November 1973), Pokagon Township, Cass County, Michigan.

[7]The term applied to those who had been freed as a result of the Emancipation Proclamation. Without doubt, it was derisive term. E. F. Frazier, The Negro in the United States, . . ., p. 277.

[8]The speculation was necessary for many sources did not want to deal with the question of aristocracy. Usually, that question was asked while I was heading for the door.

[9]E. Horace Fitchett, "The Origin and Growth of the Free Negro Population of Charleston, South Carolina," Journal of Negro History, Vol. XXVI, no. 4 (October 1941), p. 43.

[10]James D. Corruthers, Inspite of the Handicap, An Autobiography, . . ., passim.

unwanted contrabands, they further surmised, but what would become of the communities' reputation?[11]

Also similar to other black communities that started in the ante-bellum era,[12] the twentieth-century offspring of those people who were free before the Civil War frequently evinced strange feelings of superiority over those who were the direct descendants of slaves. For example, "one old settler, after getting his free papers, bought the slave girl he loved and came North with her; ever after, during a domestic spat, he silenced her with 'shut up, Lizzie, remember I bought you.'"[13] Furthermore, one informant mentioned that a neighbor, in a heated discussion, decided to remind her that a grandmother and a great grandmother were runaway slaves.[14] Since the status of ancestors was still a sensitive point, answers to inquiries pertaining to that issue were skillfully evaded by most of the informants.[15]

Not surprisingly, color played an even more important part in in-group relations. Freed papers were essentials, but if the ex-slave was not "light-bright damn near white with good doing moss,"[16] his chances for acceptance by the dominant "col'd" group were "slim and none."

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[11]That opinion was implied by Booker T. Washington in, "Two Centuries under Freedom," . . ., p. 305.

[12]For another example vide "The Roberts Settlement," Ebony Magazine, Vol. VII, no. 12 (November 1951), pp. 40-44.

[13]Richard M. Dorson, American Negro Folktales, . . ., p. 21.

[14]Interview with Mrs. France Lawson and Mr. William Lawson (15 November 1973), Pokagon Township, Cass County, Michigan.

[15]When they did answer, precious time was spent on that subject. Many felt that they had to convince me that their ancestors were as free as a few white men. Occasionally, freed papers were presented to substantiate their contentions. One settler (Carl Ash) in the 1930's presented a paper to the county Historical Society to prove that the first black settlers in the area were free.

[16]Interview with Mrs. Marguerite Berry (16 October 1973), Lansing, Ingham County, Michigan. Mrs. Berry is known for her writings on blacks in Michigan, especially in Mecosta County.

The earlier arrivals, primarily mulattoes who comprised 75 percent,[17] 72 percent,[18] and 75 percent[19] of the county's total ex-slave population respectively in 1850, 1860, and 1870, were the principal architects and beneficiaries of the color caste that evolved in the county (Map in the appendix). Ironically, many of those same half-breeds who were forced to flee the areas of their nativity (prior to the Civil War) because of skin color were now using shades of complexion to keep the new "potentially threatening" emigres outside of the "col'd" established order. Preferring such labels as "sepia," "high yellow," "yellow," "teasing brown," "golden brown," and "olive brown," those ex-slaves who claimed that they were part "Indian and mulatto,"[20] part "Indian and Gypsy,"[21] part "Dutch, Indian, Irish and colored,"[22] part "Indian and Egyptian,"[23] and no part African or black, perceived themselves to be superior to the darker hued blacks (illustrations in the appendix). Further inflating their egos were whites who assumed that the mulatto's intellectual ability and physical attractiveness far exceeded that of the darker colored ex-bondmen. For example, one writer ascertained that Bill Harris "was slow of brain," because he was "decidely black," but Eliza "was keen witted and

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[17] E. F. Frazier, The Negro in the United States, . . ., p. 198.

[18] Vide the 7th Census Schedule of the United States, Cass County, Michigan.

[19] Vide the 8th Census Schedule of the United States, Cass County, Michigan.

[20] L. W. Welch, A Diamond Sparkles, . . ., p. xxxii.

[21] Allen Family [Cass County] Genealogical Material, . . ., p. 3.

[22] Allen Family [Cass County] Genealogical Material, The Family Bible of Frederick Allen, Vandalia, Cass County, Michigan.

[23] Benton Harbor News Palladium, "Cass Markers Recall Stirring Underground Railroad Days," Duane De Loach, . . ., passim.

learned rapidly" because she was a quadroon.[24]

Furthermore, since many of the mulattoes were provided with economic assistance by their slave-holding fathers,[25] some were able to acquire real estate early. The land acquisitions gained them the respect of many whites. Those less fortunate or without a patron white father were not so lucky. Almost immediately, comparisons were made between the most favored "col'ds" and the other "niggers."[26] Probably often some whites wondered why the latter group could not have been like Bill Allen, Turner Byrd, or Benjamin Howley. Without doubt, those comparisons further elevated the egos of the mulattoes.

Another privilege granted to them because of their biological make-up was the opportunity to vote. Because of the presence of the word "white" in the state's voting law, most blacks were unable to participate in the elections. However, a Detroit mulatto, Mr. Gordon, decided to challenge that law in 1844. He sued and subsequently the case reached the Michigan Supreme Court. Two years later a decision was drawn-up; it stated that if a black possessed a preponderance of white blood, he was to be regarded as white and therefore a voter.[27] As

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[24]William C. Gregg, undated, entitled, "Reminiscences of Calvin Township, Cass County, Michigan,". . ., p. 52. A quadroon is a person having one-fourth Negro blood. The term could also refer to a child of white and mulatto parents.

[25]For example, one family was descended from a confederate general who had bought his mulatto son a farm in Calvin. Vide Richard Dorson, American Negro Folktales, . . ., p. 21.

[26]That feeling is implied by the writer of "Marmaduke Ash Is Dead," Cassopolis Vigilant, . . ., passim.

[27]Michigan Manual of Freedmen's Progress, compiled by F. H. Warren, . . ., p. 34; Blanche Coggan, "The Underground Railroad in Michigan," The Negro History Bulletin Vols. 27-28 (October 1963), p. 125; The state's provision that allowed them that concession was based upon an Ohio decision of the 1840's. In reference to that decision vide Charles H. Wesley, "The Participation of Negroes in Anti-Slavery Political Parties," Journal of Negro History, Vol. XXIX, no. 1 (January 1944), pp. 32-74.

a result of the court's judgments approximately 225 Cass mulattoes voted in the 1856 presidential election.[28] That also caused the "heads of the half-breeds to swell."[29]

If the mulattoes of Cass were like the color conscious ex-slaves of other ante-bellum communities, they too attempted to disassociate themselves as much as possible from the darker colored freed black masses.[30] Envious of the classes above them and contemptuous of those below them, many of the half-breeds of the county identified their interests, loyalties, and manners with the whites of the region. While attempting to gain entrance into the white world, many also deemed it necessary to consciously accept the forms of life, language, traits, and habits of the white folks. A notable illustration of that desire appears in the following excerpt from Inspite of the Handicap, written by a former "col'd" resident of the county.

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[28]The Niles Republican, Saturday 8 November 1856, Vol. XV, no. 32, whole no. 795 ed. by D. B. Cook (Niles, Berrien County, Michigan), p. 2; The National Democrat, "A Question Settled," Saturday 12 July 1856, Vol. VI, no. 11, ed. by W. W. Van Antwerp (Cassopolis, Cass County, Michigan), p. 6. One editor contended that they were voting prior to the outcome of the Gordon Case. Vide The Niles Republican, Saturday 12 April 1845, Vol. II, no. 50, whole no. 280, ed. by D. B. Cook (Niles, Berrien County, Michigan), p. 2. A similar opinion was expressed by D. M. Katzman, Before the Ghetto: Black Detroit in the Nineteenth-Century, . . , p. 21.

[29]Despite the high court's response, some whites, who paid no attention to the shades of black, wondered if they would eventually be represented in government by inferior ex-bondmen. "Americans Must rule America," they lamented. The National Democrat, Saturday 17 May 1856, Vol. VI, no. 3, ed. by William Van Antwerp (Cassopolis, Cass County, Michigan), passim.

[30]Since many of the informants preferred talking about the future, some of their reactions to certain words created suspicion. The terms "black," "bad hair," and "slave ancestry," caused some discomforts among them.

> . . . as a . . . minister, I have often regretted my lack of early contact with the masses of my race. I have been at the disadvantage of having to learn their moods and methods of thought by experience, and as an observer, instead of knowing these things intuitively, as one would who grew up among them. The unschooled Negro, when he premeditates church meanness, either talks in riddles or assumes a sullen enigmatic manner quite difficult for me to fathom. . . . they were of the 'razor toting' class whose nearly every word is an indecency or an oath, or a threat to 'cut yo' h'a't out. Their ways were not my ways and their thoughts were not my thoughts. Their conversations fairly recked with lasciviousness and vulgarity.[31]

Even though they were black only by compulsion, the mulattoes could not escape altogether the discrimination and contempt which generally was dealt out to the former slaves.

Desiring to isolate themselves from the masses whom they perceived to be illiterate, that haughty group retreated to a fanciful world which permitted them to revel in make believe. Chain Lake Baptist Church became their base.[32] In-group marriages,[33] the accumulation of trappings associated with excessive wealth, the organization of

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[31]James D. Corruthers, Inspite of the Handicap, An Autobiography, . . ., p. 70. Even though it was written at the turn of the twentieth century, it is conceivable that similar opinions surfaced in the ante-bellum era.

[32]Interview with Mr. Orlando James, 29 November 1973, Calvin Township, Cass County, Michigan. Since Chain Lake played a significant role in aiding fugitives, the perculiar actions of those parishioners leads one to wonder if they only assisted mulatto runaways? Neither written nor oral sources furnished answers to that query.

[33]Sometimes members of that group married whites instead of other mulattoes. Booker T. Washington, when he was uncovering the area's history, was informed that there were at least 12 interracial couples in the county in 1903. Even though there were ordinances forbidding interracial marriages in the ante-bellum years, the federal census schedule of 1850-1860 indicated that one couple challenged the community's racial lines.

exclusive groups,[34] and other elitist activities took place in that fanciful world. A notable illustration, especially in reference to matrimony, frequently occurred when dark skinned males seeking wives were run out of certain "col'd" communities in Cass.[35] Yet, it was not unusual for parents to consider marrying their daughters to rich darker colored males. However, the number of such arrangements were relatively small.[36]

To further add insult to injury the darker colored newcomers had to petition to get into the churches of the county, foresake interests in race betterment, refrain from disturbing the status quo,[37] cease from protesting, and, finally approach the old patriarchs if they wished to demand redress for grievances.[38] To the anger of the "black folks" rules of acceptance, for both the real white world and the

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[34]A case in point was the Prince Hall Lodge Office and Accepted Order of Masons which was organized in 1859. Initiation rites were held in either Niles, Calvin, or Williamsville.

[35]Because they were fearful of "mongrelization," usually relatives married relatives. Those arrangements eventually led to a strange pattern of kinship; nearly all of the people of Calvin are related. After reading one diary of a county Justice of the Peace, the interesting initials "WA" or "AW" were written next to the majority of the mulattoes married between 1850-1860. Vide The Papers of Phineas Gregg of Calvin Township, 1849-1882. Record of Marriages for Cass County, Michigan, Michigan History Collections, University of Michigan, Bentley History Library, Ann Arbor, passim; G. K. Hesslink, Black Neighbors: Negroes in a Northern Rural Environment, . . ., pp. 149-150. In the 1960's, Hesslink indicated that the darker skinned males frequently were greeted that way by the Calvinites. Conceivably, the same could have happened in the 1850's and 1860's.

[36]Vide the 7th and 8th Census of the United States, Cass County, Michigan.

[37]William C. Gregg, undated, entitled, "Reminiscences of Calvin Township, Cass County, Michigan,". . ., p. 69.

[38]G. K. Hesslink, Black Neighbors: Negroes in a Northern Rural Community, . . ., p. 152.

"Alice and Wonderland World" the mulattoes created, were forced upon them.

For the new arrivals, integration with the dominant "col'ds" was virtually impossible, because the mulattoes had developed barriers that purposely hindered their upward mobility. The primary reason for those strange actions centered around the simple but crucial question of power which both groups were jockeying for. Since the half-breeds were not willing to relinquish any prestige, the newcomers virtually lost out. The little clout they possessed, which was definitely sanctioned by most of the area whites, was used to the detriment of the new emigres. But, unwilling to be pawns of the peculiar acting "col'ds" many of those "decidely black," complained; such actions were translated as a challenge to the established order. When such occasions happened, the law enforcers of Cass usually received a mysterious message from an anonymous member of the elite singling out the "troublemaker."[39] Those reactions, and a multitude of others, isolated the migrants that came to the county.

After becoming aware of the implicit alliance that developed between the "col'ds" and the whites, those newcomers with prominent African features became very bitter. Resentment was keenly directed not at the whites who contributed to the creation of that system, but instead towards the color conscious older settlers. Expecting the

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[39]According to one source the old timers and the sheriffs had a beautiful rapport in the 1940's and 1950's. That close friendship probably started in the ante-bellum years. Interview with Mr. Frank Burmeister (27 November 1973), Cassopolis, Cass County, Michigan. An example indicating that friendship surfaced in William C. Gregg Papers, undated, entitled, "Reminiscences of Calvin Township, Cass County, Michigan,". . ., p. 82.

whites to harbor prejudice and practice discrimination, the new arrivals became baffled, discouraged, and actually outraged, when the mulatto old timers turned their backs on them.[40] Humbling themselves to whites was expected, but kowtowing to "light-bright-damn-near white col'ds" was not a part of the game plan designed by the emigres. Clearly, the lines of demarcation were drawn; the darker emigres verbally attacked the mulattoes for their peculiar opposition to them. The mulattoes countered with venomous retorts.[41]

The turmoil created by the caste system was one of the problems of major significance that was not attempted to be solved jointly by all the citizens of Cass. Without doubt, the mulattoes were not about to entertain thoughts suggesting change, for such ideas, if implemented, would definitely affect their security. Many of the whites probably thought that it was a family affair and consequently did not become involved.

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[40]George K. Hesslink, Black Neighbors: Negroes in a Northern Rural Community, . . ., p. 148.

[41]That color caste was not unique only to the ex-slave population of Cass. For additional examples vide J. H. Franklin, "James Boon, Free Negro Artisan," Journal of Negro History, Vol. XXX, no. 2 (April 1945), pp. 150-180; Leo H. Hirsch, Jr., "New York and the Negro, from 1783 to 1865, Part II," Journal of Negro History, Vol. XVI, no. 2 (October 1931), pp. 415-454; E. H. Fitchett, "Traditions of the Free Negro in Charleston, South Carolina," Journal of Negro History, Vol. XXV, no. 2 (April 1940) pp. 138-152; E. Franklin Frazier, "The Negro Slave Family," Journal of Negro History, Vol. XV, no. 2 (April 1930), pp. 198-259; E. Franklin Frazier, The Free Negro Family: A Study of Family Origins before the Civil War (Nashville, Tennessee: Fisk University Press, 1932), passim; R. A. Fischer, "Racial Segregation in Ante-Bellum New Orleans," American Historical Review, Vol. LXXIV (February 1969), pp. 926-937; Charles S. Sydnor, "The Free Negro in Mississippi before the Civil War," American Historical Review, Vol. XXXII (July 1927), pp. 769-788; Edward B. Reuter, The Mulatto in the United States (Boston: Richard G. Badger, The Gorham Press, 1918), passim.

Because the darker emigres fight for integration into the dominant "col'd" society was bitter and protracted, the effects of that system and subsequent battle are still being felt. For example, Richard Dorson, while accumulating information for his study on American Negro Folktales (circa the mid 1950's), found some settlers who were still resentful of the aristocracy. They "spoke candidly and even brutally about . . . their neighbors genealogies, tearing apart the polite veil of Ohio origins to reveal direct connections with slavery."[42] One informant also suggested that the degree of prejudice to dark skin intensifies as one approaches the mulatto settlement in Calvin.[43]

As a result of their actions, the mulatto old timers virtually isolated themselves from the darker pigmented new arrivals. Furthermore, one source suggested that their peculiar responses contributed to the poor communication that developed between the first settlers and their offspring and the other black Michiganites.[44] In reference to that county, the subject of conversation among the new arrivals and other area blacks neither centered around the rugged ex-slaves who migrated and created a civilization in the wilderness of Cass, their fights against verbal abuses, their defenses of runaways against slave catchers, nor their non-involvement in the protests against local injustices, but their peculiar notions of aristocracy. Consequently, there evolved a new reputation for the county's older settlers; they were perceived by most black outsiders and new arrivals as being very

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[42] Richard M. Dorson, American Negro Folktales, . . ., p. 21.

[43] Interview with anonymous Calvinite, 29 November 1973, Calvin Township, Cass County, Michigan.

[44] Interview with Mrs. Granville Nicholson (24 January 1972), Lansing, Ingham County, Michigan.

aloof and cold. Because of that system and the reactions of its principal beneficiaries Cass became and remained a haven for only a select group of ex-slaves -- the "col'ds."

Chapter VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Even though Michigan's black laws were as harsh as any found in the northwestern states during the ante-bellum era, the research on Cass County suggested that those ordinances did not find popular support and never were enforced strictly. The actions of some of the white residents were attributed mainly to the growing anti-slavery sentiment that nearly swept across the breadth of the county. Furthermore, the little sympathy that most of them had with the designed racial distinctions and their desire to see moral reforms implemented also were contributing factors. Later those same whites further illustrated their disdain for the peculiar institution by actively becoming involved in the operations of the U.G.R.R. The friendship displayed by most of the whites certainly was conducive to black settlement in Cass; consequently, many ex-slaves migrated to that rural county instead of the developing urban areas in Michigan.

Besides the tolerance level of whites, land availability also attracted some freed slaves to that county. Taking advantage of all opportunities granted by the area's whites the intelligent, frugal and ambitious blacks began to purchase either the poorer or least desirable tracts of land in the county -- especially in Calvin and Porter Townships. Unlike those who constituted the employing class in urban locales, their acquisitions not only enstilled pride in the

ex-slaves, but also helped to sever the umbilical cords that usually bound them to whites for economic survival. As a result of the success enjoyed by many of the black farmers, a reputation built on hard work developed among most of them. Nevertheless, a small number of whites in the region were not appeased by their accomplishments. To the attackers, both the successful and unsuccessful blacks looked alike!

Inspite of constantharassment by the region's negrophobes, the black emigres continued to contribute to the maintenance of the good name of the townships they settled in. Not only did many procure additional acreage, but some also assisted in the cultural development of the county. For example, they built churches and schools, held township offices, and had representatives in the professions. Nevertheless, the blooming reputation of the ex-slaves did not silence their attackers; it merely attracted the attention of outsiders, especailly those who benefitted immensely from the institution of slavery.

On three separate occasions slave catchers made forays into that county. Immediately after their arrival, the shocked raiders not only realized that many area residents openly defied a federal law, but the number of friends the ex-helots had was greater than expected. Rallying behind the blacks, they twice forced the raiders to make hasty departures for the South without their property. Their reactions to the opponents of slavery greatly angered both southern communities and federal elected representatives from such areas. As a result of the repulsion of the slave catcher in Cass and also other contributing factors, many southerners responded by pressuring the federal government to re-strengthen the Fugitive Slave Law in 1850. Like many whites of other northern communities who sympathized with the ex-slaves,

the friends of blacks in Cass responded to that Federal mandate by endorsing the Personal Liberty Laws that the state passed. Without doubt, the actions of those Cass reformers were appreciated greatly by all the black settlers in the county.

Although they were granted more privileges than most of the ex-slaves in Michigan, some of the black settlers in Cass felt that certain changes were necessary to bring about equality for all. Consequently, they actively became involved in protest movements that intended to uplift their status. Excluded from that group of protesters were the first settlers, for they had no desire to challenge the status quo or incense their omnipresent attackers. Even without their assistance the efforts of the young apostles of change led to some judicial reforms and even more importantly, it helped to sensitize some of the region's whites to the plight of slaves and freed blacks throughout America. However, their greatest commitment to change was evinced in 1863 when many of the county's young reformers volunteered and then risked their lives in the War of Emancipation. After Appomattox, those fortunate enough to return home witnessed a new phenomenon -- a black aristocracy had developed there.

The caste system that evolved in the county served more to divide than unite the black residents. Based primarily upon color and previous status, the established families -- principally mulattoes -- built a reputation on exclusiveness and non-co-operation with the darker settlers and newcomers. Fearing that they would "rock the boat," the mulatto aristocrats forced those seeking assimilation into their society to appeal directly to them. However, before being considered as initiates into the elite society, the darker hued ex-slaves and new

emigres had to meet certain qualifications. What eventually evolved was an intense struggle involving light-skinned haves and dark-skinned have-nots, fighting for status in the county. Unfortunately, that in-fighting continued into the early twentieth century and remained the principal decisive factor among the area's blacks.

Despite the obstacles encountered, the blacks who settled in rural Cass were not harassed as much as those in urban environments. In ante-bellum America where the only thing guaranteed blacks was discrimination, the few occasions of racism that surfaced in the county represented definite improvements for the ex-slave settlers. The principal reason for its infrequency was attributed mainly to that strange association that developed in the county. Since it was built upon mutual dependence, questions concerning physical differences diminished as the economic need for each other increased. As a result of that compact, by which ex-slaves provided labor for white farmers, many blacks in Cass acquired something tangible in exchange for their work -- real estate. That possession meant respect, economic self-sufficiency, and, more, freedom[1]; also, it eliminated a step that usually appeared in the evolution of a slave to a free man, continuous economic serfdom. The same contentions could not be made about those inhabiting the crowded slums of urban ante-bellum America where for sustenance blacks usually had to kowtow to whites for menial jobs.

With the assistance of some white acquaintances, the ex-slaves appeared to have made Cass a haven. But, because of the aristocracy that

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[1]One informant mentioned that since he held land, he had no feelings about being a second class citizen. Interview with Mr. Robert Mathews (29 November 1973), Vandalia, Cass County, Michigan.

developed in the county, not all of the black residents were convinced that such a place existed there. The dreams of most of the black emigres about finding peace, freedom, and contentment developed into partial fruition; however, some of those hopes were smashed -- not by whites but by the mulatto older settlers!

Even though the study only dealt with one rural Michigan county, it is the writer's opinion that the black residents of Cass enjoyed more privileges than those who settled in urban ante-bellum Michigan communities. For example, they could vote in school district elections, hold township offices, participate in some federal elections, testify against whites, petition against injustices without fear of reprisals, and acquire real estate. If more freed slaves would have migrated to such areas, used those privileges, and then acquired land, they too could have taken advantage of some of the benefits bestowed upon citizens of America. They also would have been more advanced than those who became citizens and voters after the Civil War.

Although Cass failed to qualify as a haven in all aspects for its black residents -- due to limitations placed on them by some of the white citizens, southern intruders, and by some members of their race -- it serves as an example of a struggle waged by blacks with white friends, to gain some acceptance in a part of ante-bellum America.

EPILOGUE

Between the years 1870-1974 some changes occurred in Cass that directly effected the black settlers in that county. For example, after the Civil War eliminated the issue of slavery, much of the energy of the champions of the downtrodden -- the Quakers -- was spent on quarrels pertaining to outward forms of devotion, for instance, to sing or not to sing in religious meetings.[1] Also because the county's black population began to decline,[2] attributed mainly to the large migration of the children of the pioneers to the large cities of Detroit, South Bend, and Chicago, other former white friends began to purchase the land once held by the former slaves. Not only did they have to face problems without their former associates, but as a result of their flight from the rural haven to the congested urban slums one-third of the population of Calvin Township eventually became white and one-half of the land area controlled by whites.[3] Ironically, the county's black population increased between 1950-1970 due to the

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[1] The Story of the Birch Lake Quakers, Calvin Township, Cass County, Michigan, . . ., p. 7.

[2] George K. Hesslink, Black Neighbors: Negroes in a Northern Rural Community, . . ., p. 65; Wheeler and Brunn, "An Agricultural Ghetto . . .," Geographical Review, . . ., p. 319.

[3] Thus it is evident, as one source indicated, that whites have always had an interest in the "agriculturally marginal" real estates in that area of the county. Interview with an anonymous Calvinite, 16 November 1973, Calvin Township, Cass County, Michigan; George K. Hesslink, Black Neighbors: Negroes in a Northern Rural Community, . . ., p. 71.

black exodus from the urban blight.[4]

In a larger social sense, however, nothing had changed. For the new arrivals who strengthened the county's black population were just that -- newcomers. And since the social divisions had not disappeared entirely,[5] they were forced to learn the procedures of becoming "good" neighbors by abiding by the terms dictated by the pioneer families. In fact in some cases, they refused to have any dealings with the new ones.[6] Unlike most of the younger settlers of the ante-bellum years, many of the youthful farmers in the county during the 1960's responded like the elderly residents. They felt threatened by some of the migrants -- especially the Black Muslims.

Before setting up a farm operation on a 1500 acre tract in the county,[7] the Muslims had to deal with some hostilities. Not surprisingly, the negative opinions displayed by the offspring of the pioneer black settlers were more hostile than those expressed by most of the whites. The rationale they used most often was that the Muslims' buying power was driving them out of business.[8] Furthermore, one informant lamented that they "caused the taxes to increase four-fold."[9] Many

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[4] Vide the 1970 Census of Population, General Social and Economic Characteristics of Michigan, (issued April 1972).

[5] Interview with Mrs. Frances Lawson and Mr. William Lawson, 15 November 1973, Pokagon Township, Cass County, Michigan.

[6] "Muslims Cash Buys Up Farms," . . ., Richard M. Dorson, American Negro Folktales, . . ., p. 19.

[7] Richard Lehnert, "Muslims Build for Tomorrow," . . ., p. 7.

[8] Interview with Mr. Robert Mathews, 29 November 1973, Vandalia, Cass County, Michigan. The majority of the land owned by the Nation was purchased from the offspring of some of the pioneer black families.

[9] Interview with Mr. Steve Byrd, 29 August 1974, Lansing, Ingham County, Michigan.

of the established settlers, however, failed to realize that the presence of the Nation of Islam has helped many of the county's blacks; for example, they offered many employment opportunities on the following Muslim enterprises: the 18 acre apple orchard, the assorted vegetable gardens, the two houses for 10,000 and 12,000 laying hens, the dairy barn for the 110 cows, the 55,000 bushel grain drying and storage unit, or the three 24 by 72 feet poured concrete silos.[10]

Also their settlement in the county contributed some to the increase in the property values of all, which meant more borrowing potential for added acquisitions. Furthermore, it is the writer's opinion that if the descendants of the earlier patriarchs, who are primarily hog-raisers, would diversify their businesses they could be exposed to the new markets by the Muslims. That would revitalize the economic growth and development of the black communities in Cass.

Eventually, many of the established settlers began to tolerate their presence because all of the virtues frequently mentioned by their forefathers were practiced by members of the Nation prior to their arrival in the area. The verbal abuses which were frequently directed at the Muslims are now being replaced with laudatory expressions either like "they have a real good operation," or "they're doing good, putting people to work."[11] With the children of the older settlers, they also are helping to make Cass a historically unique county for blacks.

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[10]Richard Lehnert, "Muslims Build for Tomorrow," . . ., p. 7.

[11]Arthur Sills, "Black Muslims' Cass Farm Is Growing Concern," . . ., p. 11; Nancy Hulvershorn, "Black Pride in Cass County," The Elkhart Truth, Saturday 28 August 1971, Information obtained from Brother Cornelius X (Williams) 5 December 1973, Calvin Township, Cass County, Michigan.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER I

CHART I

BLACK POPULATION OF MICHIGAN

1810	144
1820	174
1830	273
1840	753
1850	2372
1860	6799

Excerpt taken from John Dancy's, "The Negro People in Michigan," Michigan History, Vol. 24 (1940), pp. 220-240.

CHART II

FREE BLACK PERSONS IN MICHIGAN -- 1841



The Sixth Census of the Inhabitants of the United States.

CHART III

FREE BLACK PERSONS IN MICHIGAN -- 1850



The Seventh Census of the United States.

CHART IV

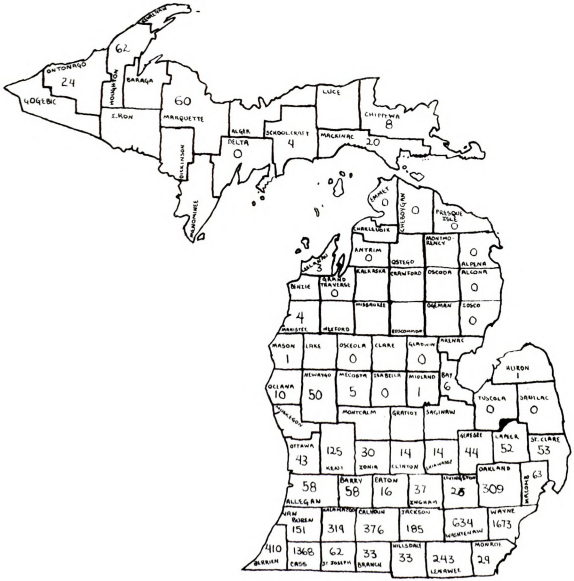
FREE BLACK PERSONS IN MICHIGAN -- 1854



Census and Statistics of Michigan -- 1854.

CHART V

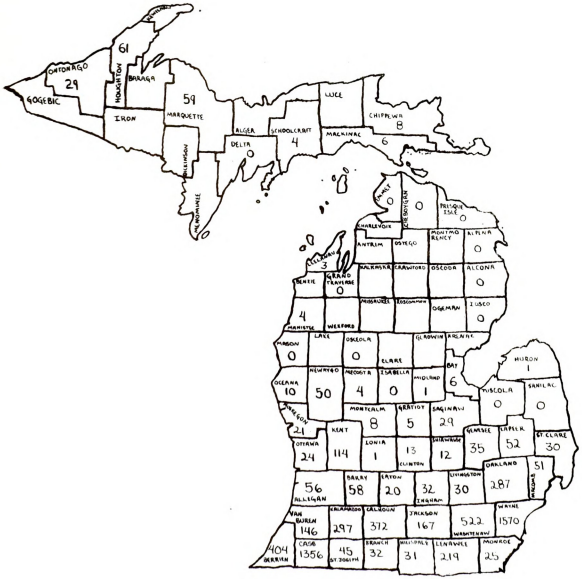
FREE BLACK PEOPLE IN MICHIGAN -- 1860



The Eighth Census of the Inhabitants of the United States.

CHART VI

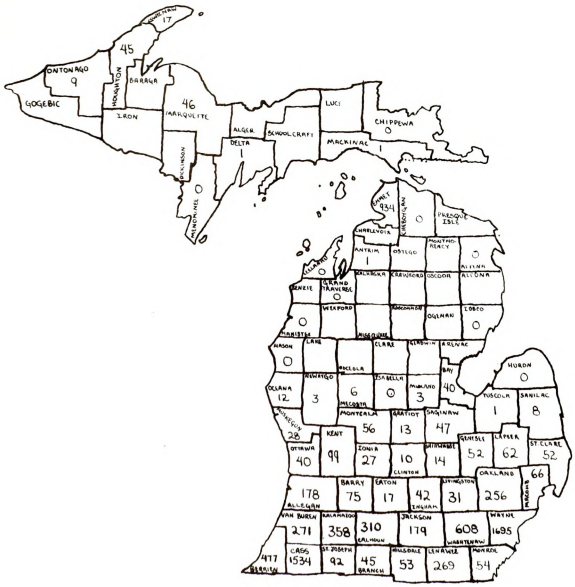
FREE BLACK PEOPLE IN MICHIGAN -- 1861



Statistics of the State of Michigan.

CHART VII

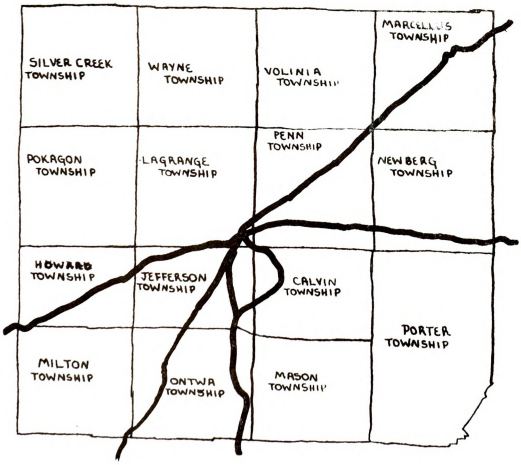
FREE BLACK PERSONS IN MICHIGAN -- 1865



Census and Statistics of the State of Michigan.

MAP I

UNDERGROUND RAILROAD ROUTES IN CASS COUNTY



Map taken from Alfred Mathew's, A History of Cass County Michigan.

Map II

UNDERGROUND RAILROAD ROUTES IN MICHIGAN

CIRCA 1800-1860



Map taken from "The Underground Railroad in Michigan" by Blanche Coggan and William H. Siebert's The Underground Railroad from Slavery to Freedom.

NAMES OF SOME OF THE RUNAWAY SLAVES

Zachariah Shugart, one of the underground operators in Calvin forwarded some of the following individuals to Dr. Thomas of Schoolcraft. However, the 1000-1500 that Thomas supposedly assisted hardly came from Friend Shugart. The names adopted by the runaways are rather peculiar, yet interesting.

11 Month 1, 1841

1.	Julias Washington	M
2.	Frances Johnson	M
3.	George Smith	B
4.	William Williams	B
5.	Peter Tone	B
6.	Samuel Strawther	M
7.	William Cole	M
8.	Thomas Somthing	M
9.	Mary Mills	B
10.	Hannah Kirkwood and three children	B
11.	Jurden Johnson	M
12.	Ellen Somthing	M
13.	Emily Strawther	M
14.	Albert Wilson	M
15.	Noah Johnson	M
16.	Obed What	M
17.	Andrew Davis	B
18.	Addison Davis	B
19.	George Harry	B

5 Month 29, 1842

1.	Willis Rix	B
2.	Selly Rix and two children	B
3.	Henry Garnes	B
4.	Harthy Garnes	B
5.	Georg What	M
6.	Harriet What	M
7.	Washington goet	M
8.	Goeh	M
9.	Goett	M
10.	John Wesley	M
11.	Lazreth Wesley	M

12 Month 11, 1842

1.	John Robertson	B
2.	Christophe Ritherson	B
3.	Charles	B
4.	Spotford	B
5.	Lafaye H	B

1 Month 28, 1842

1. Isom Buck	B
2. Match Davis	M
3. Presturn	M

4 Month 5, 1842

1. Lewis Brown	M
2. Mary Brown and two children	M
3. Charles McDunken	M

4 Month 25, 1842

1. Elias Earl	M

5 Month 5, 1842

1. James Johnson	B
2. Lydia Johnson	B
3. Majury North Star	M
4. North Star	M

6 Month 6, 1842

1. John Brown (Missippi) [sic]	B

7 Month 2, 1842

1. Abraham Washington	B

8 Month 10, 1842

1. John Smith	B
2. Arm Louis	B
3. Emeline Hall	B

9 Month 15, 1842

1. John Simpson	B
2. Henry Simpson	B

9 Month 15, 1842 (Continued)

3. General Wade Hampton	B
4. Adam	B
5. Planter Mos	B
6. James O. Bird	B
7. Charles Modlon	B
8. Daniel Modlon	B
9. Billy Modlon	B
10. Stephen Modlon	B
11. Charles Modlon	B
12. John Modlon	B

9 Month 25, 1845

1. Benjamin	B
2. Margarett Anyoung	B
3. Sarah	B
4. Sirus	B
5. Sarah	B
6. Miss White or Conkaline	M
7. William Carter	B
8. Catheren Carter	B
9. Lucinda Carter	B
10. Rozelius	B

10 Month 28, 1845

1. Abraham Lanes	B
2. Black goet	B
3. Mary An	B
4. Ann Davis	B
5. Kelly	B
6. Mary and three children	B
7. James Griffen	B

11 Month 15, 1845

1. George So	B
2. Patience So and five children	B
3. Mary So	B
4. John Lee	M
5. William Meriman	B
6. Harriet Meriman	B
7. S. Garner	B
8. B. Garner and one child	B
9. R. Stephenson	B
10. R. Starks	B
11. -- Wesley	B
12. N. Stephenson	B
13. N. Stephenson and four children	B
14. Marian	B

1846

1. Elizabeth Ange	B
2. Rachel Smith	B
3. Hannah Smith	B
4. Becca Smith	B
5. John Jonson	B
6. Something	M
7. Something	M
8. Francis Something	M
9. Something	M
10. Something	M
11. Something	M
12. Something	M
13. Two men and two women	M
14. A mother and company of four	M
15. Mother	

Information obtained from Zachariah Shugart's Account Book, Day Book, and Diary. Niles Community Library, Niles, Michigan.

CHART VIII

BLACK AND WHITE POPULATION OF TOWNSHIPS WITHIN CASS COUNTY

	White	Black
Calvin	466	158
Howard	694	72
Jefferson	882	5
LaGrange	937	11
Cassopolis	375	4
Marcellus	222	-
Mason	570	-
Milton	611	-
Newburg	388	-
Ontwa	529	-
Edwardsburg	252	-
Penn	667	31
Pokagon	994	-
Porter	1154	105
Silver Creek	488	3
Volinia	607	-
Wayne	682	-

Taken from the 7th Census of the United States 1850. J. D. B. DeBow Superintendent of the U.S. Census. Washington, D.C.: Robert Armstrong, Public Printer, 1853), p. 888.

CHART IX

BLACK AND WHITE POPULATION OF TOWNSHIPS WITHIN CASS COUNTY

(1860)

	White	Black
Calvin	795	580
Dowagiac	1149	32
Howard	1058	81
Jefferson	1065	6
LaGrange	1686	16
Marcellus	749	4
Mason	766	2
Milton	574	1
Newburg	807	54
Ontwa	879	--
Penn	1119	184
Pokagon	1248	1
Porter	1662	170
Silver Creek	1100	2
Volinia	973	20
Wayne	938	--

Compiled from the Original Returns of the 8th Census, under the Direction of the Secretary of Interior. By Joseph G. G. Kennedy (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1864, p. 238.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER II

SOIL CHART MAP FOR CASS COUNTY



GUIDE TO SOIL CHART

Red -- The principal soil types of this area are Kalamazoo, Volinia, and sandy loams* They are characterized by a reddish brown gravelly clay subsoil which may extend to a depth of 40 inches . . . The Kalamazoo soils are highly erodible since subsoil causes a high rate of run-off water during intense storms. This not good land.

Purple -- Principal soil types are Kalamazoo loam and sandy loam. The latter is not as good as clay loam in reference to crop production.

Yellow -- The principal soil types are Spinks loamy sand, Oshtemo loamy and sandy loam and small areas of Kalamazoo sandy loam. The Spinks and Oshtemo soils are droughty and of fair or low fertility. Considerable idle or abandoned land is evident throughout this area.

Light green -- The principal soil types are Spinks loamy sand and loamy fine sand and Oshtemo loamy sand. Local areas of heavier textured soils are Kalamazoo and Hillsdale, which are associated with the above soil. The latter two are the most fertile of the Cass County soils.

Brown -- The principal soils are Elmsdale, Teasdale, and Barry loams, and fine sandy loams. These soils are mainly loams and sandy loams underlain by a gravelly clay to sandy clay subsoil. This is in turn underlain by loose sand and gravel. The soils were developed under wet to semi-wet conditions. Artificial drainage is usually needed.

Guide to Soil Chart (Continued)

Orange -- The principal soils are Carlisle, Houghton, mucks, some Maumee and Gilford. Most of these soils were developed under wet conditions. Usually need artificial drainage.

Red -- Kalamazoo soils, with some Oshtemo and Coloma soils.

These soils, in general, are not as productive as other soil types found in Michigan. But they are not marginal. For example the optimal yield of corn on sandy loam soils is approximately 75 bushels per acre; whereas the optimal yield of that same crop on clay loam soils (another prominent soil type, yet not the best in Michigan) is roughly 100 bushels per acre.* The land obtained by the black settlers was the worse of mediocre soil found in the county.

Information obtained from Cass County Soil Conservation District. Cass County Land Resources Map (Cassopolis, Michigan) 20 November 1973.

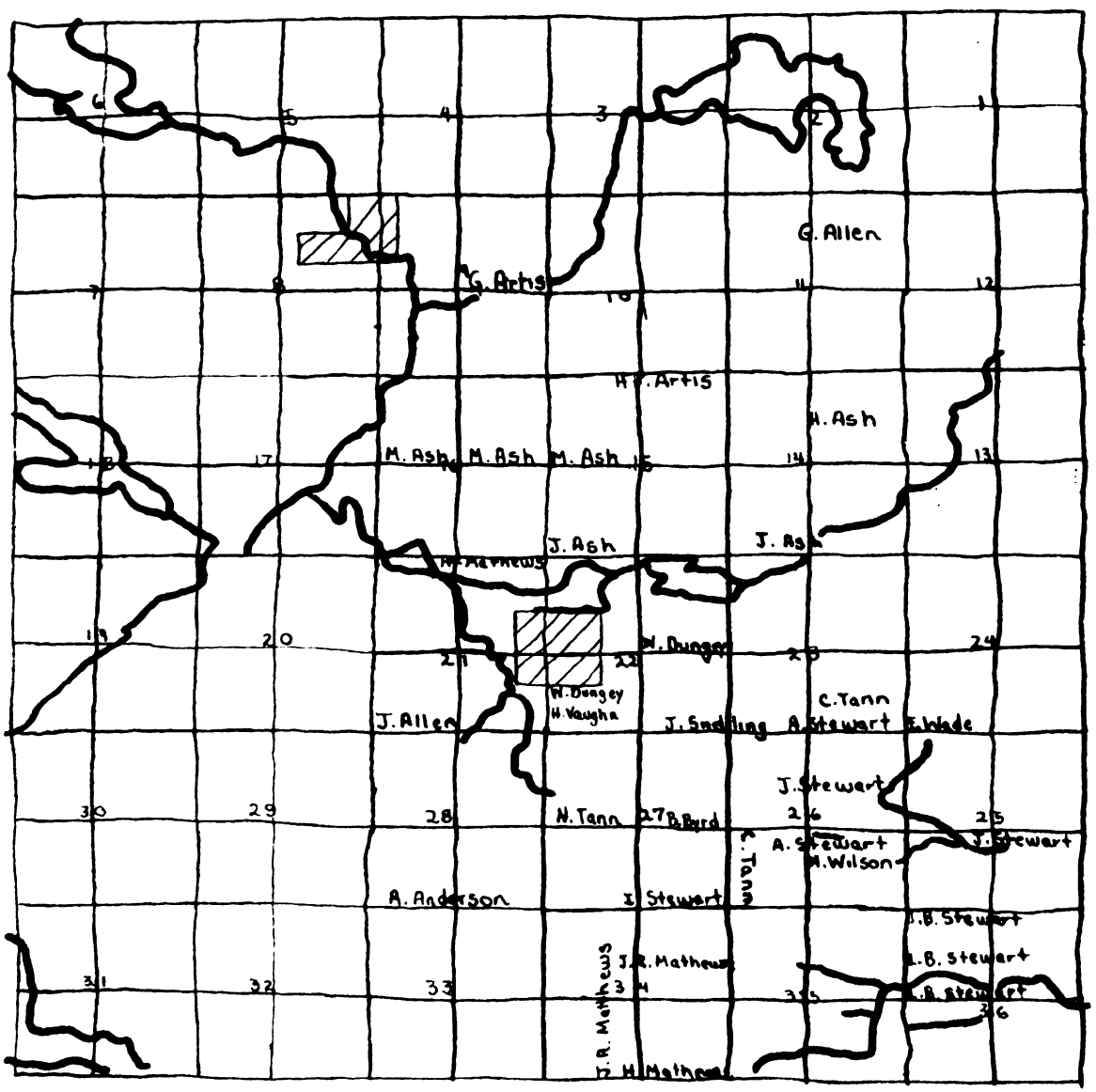
*Loams are loose soils composed of clay and sand and usually rather fertile.

**Vide Ronald Thompson, A Descriptive and Analytical View of Michigan's Limited Resource Farms, Ph.D. Dissertation, Michigan State University (1974), passim.

Map II

BLACK RESIDENT LANDOWNERS OF CALVIN TOWNSHIP -- 1867

(Random Sample)

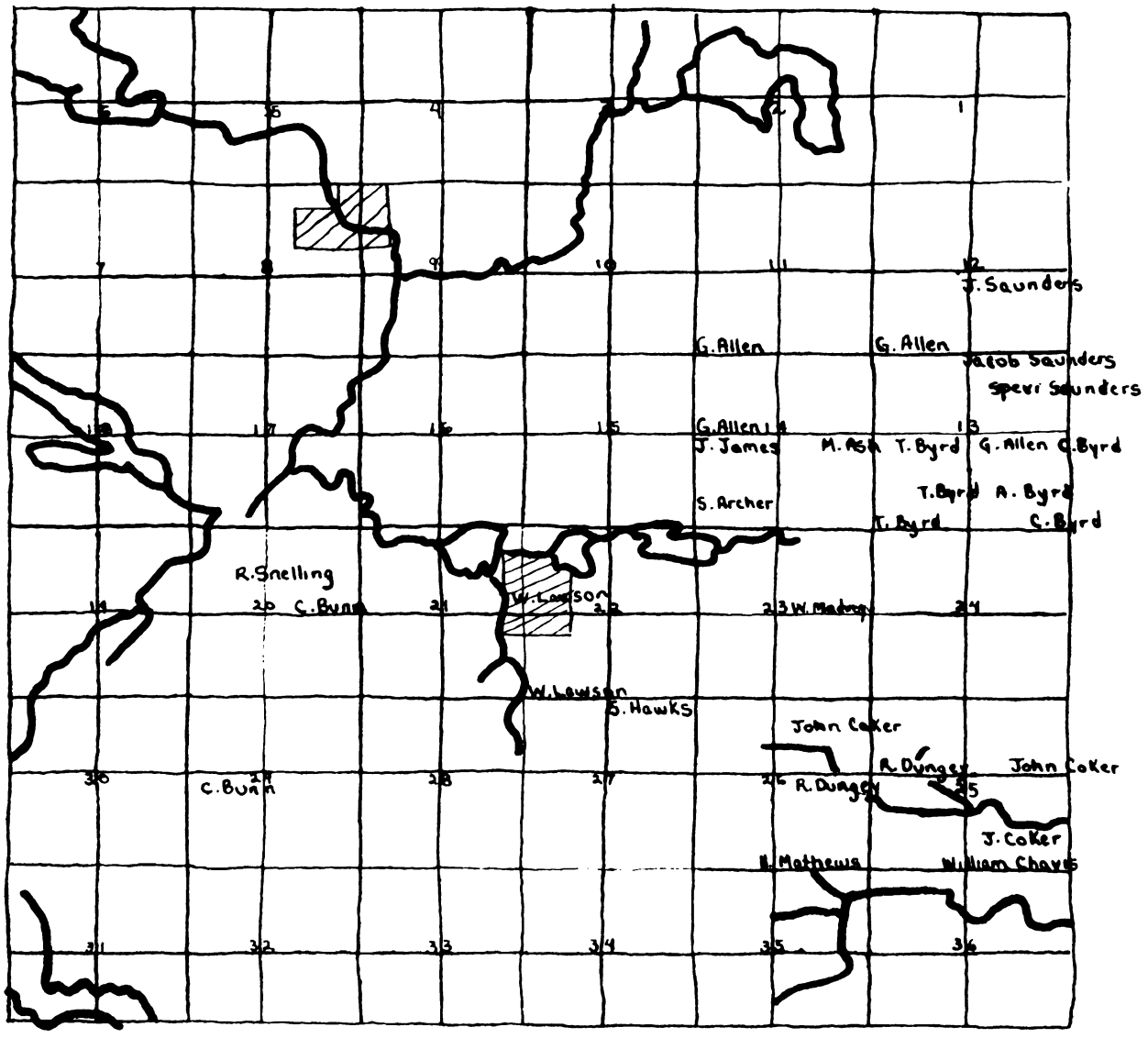


Information obtained from Highway Assessment Record for the Township of Calvin, County of Cass and State of Michigan. Ledger located in Calvin Center Meeting Hall.

Map III

BLACK NON-RESIDENT PROPERTY OWNERS IN CALVIN TOWNSHIP -- 1867

(Random Sample)



Information obtained from Highway Assessment Record for the Township of Calvin, County of Cass and State of Michigan. Ledger located in Calvin Center Meeting Hall.

AGRICULTURE PRODUCTION - 1850

Information obtained from Federal Census 1850 -- Agriculture Production -- Schedule 4

	Acres of Land		Improved	Unimproved	Cash value of farm	Value of farm implements and machinery	Horses	Value of homemade manufactures	Asses and mules	Value of animals	Slaughtered	Milch cows	Working oxen	Other cattle	Sheep	Swine	Beeswax and honey pounds of	Value of livestock	Maple sugar pounds of	Wheat bushels of	Value of orchard products in dollars	Rye bushels of	Wine gallons of	Indian corn bushels of	Value of produce from market	Garden	Butter pounds of	Oats bushels of	Cheeses pounds of	Rice pounds of	Hay tons of	Tobacco pounds of	Wool pounds of	Peas and beans pounds of	Irish potatoes bushels of	Buckwheat bushels of
Harrison Ash	15	65	15	65	600	75	2			25		1			6	6		100	200	20			250			50						15			
Turner Byrd	25	100	25	100	800	50	2			55		2		2	20	17		175		80			250			150						30			
Green Allen	22	98	22	98	800	50	2			25		1		2		10		135	500	15			500			175	60						30		

AGRICULTURE PRODUCTION - 1860

	Acres of Land			Cash value of farm	Value of farm implements and machinery	Horses	Asses and mules	Milch cows	Working oxen	Other cattle	Sheep	Swine	Value of livestock	Bushels of wheat	Bushels of rye	Bushels of Indian corn	Bushels of oats	Pounds of rice	Pounds of tobacco	Ginned cotton	Pounds of wool	Bushels of peas and beans	Bushels of Irish potatoes	Bushels of sweet potatoes	Bushels of barley	Bushels of buckwheat	Value of orchard products	Gallons of wine	Value of products in market	Garden	Pounds of butter	Pounds of cheese	Tons of hay	Bushels of clover	Bushel of grass seed	Pounds of hops	Hemp	Flax	Pounds of maple sugar	Value of home manufacture	Value of slaughtered animals	Honey	Gallons of molasses
	Improved	Unimproved																																							
1. P. Artis	70		1000											200		500							30			50			8										80		
2. William Ford	20	47	800	50	2	1			13	250	50	300										20																75		
3. John Walker	40	60	1500	50	2	1	1		7	250	130	300														20			50								100	70		
4. Green Allen	70	100	3000	55	4	3	2	12	15	500	250	400	125					40		75	50					60			100	6						300	80		
5. J. Grimes	30	30	1000	20	2	1			12	200	50	250								20																	75		
6. Benjamin Hawley	20	20	600	60	2	1	2		12	300		100								30	30					50											70		
7. John Saunders	25	65	200	50	3	1	2		15	200	80	125								5										5							250	80	30	
8. C. Byrd	80	80	5000	100	7	7	7		48	400	338	800	10							125	155		10	70		200			7							150			
9. James Mitchell	35	45	2000	100	3	1	2	16	10	400	75	300	30					70		20	60			50		100			7							30	75		
10. James Mathews	20	80	1200	25	2	1	2		8	150	20	300								70																	140		
11. Allison Snelling	70	80	1800		2	3	3	8	25	300	100	700							30	10	20	60															20	60		
12. Newton Tann	72	38	3000	150	5	2	2	3	19	30	700	130	1400						60		40	100		30		100											300	140		
13. Isaac Stewart	75	115	2500	50	2	2	7	8	13	18	600	237	500						40		70	15		80		100			12								200	140		12
14. Harrison Ash	70	70	2500	100	7	2	1	17	25	700	100	500							25		30	50		250		75			4								70	80		70

Information obtained from Federal Census 1860 -- Agriculture Production -- Schedule 4

CHART I

The following information was obtained from the Federal Census of 1850 -- Social Statistics -- Schedule 6

CRIMINALS AND PAUPERS IN CASS COUNTY

No paupers or criminals in Milton Township.

No paupers or criminals in Ontwa Township.

No paupers or criminals in Mason Township.

No paupers or criminals in Porter Township.*

No paupers or criminals in Calvin Township.*

No paupers or criminals in LaGrange Township.

No paupers or criminals in Pokagon Township.

No paupers or criminals in Howard Township.*

No paupers or criminals in Newberg Township.

No paupers or criminals in Marcellus Township.

No paupers or criminals in Volinia Township.

No paupers or criminals in Wayne Township.

No paupers or criminals in Silver Creek Township.

There were 30 native** paupers or criminals in Jefferson Township, costing that area 919 dollars for expense.

*As indicated in the Appendix to Chapter I, the majority of the county's ante-bellum blacks populated the asterisk-marked townships.

**Native refers to inhabitants of a given township, not American Indians.

CHART II

The following information was obtained from the Federal Census of 1860 -- Social Statistics -- Sechedule 6

CRIMINALS OR PAUPERS IN CASS COUNTY

No paupers or criminals in Newberg Township.*
No paupers or criminals in Porter Township.*
No paupers or criminals in Milton Township.
No paupers or criminals in Ontwa Township.
No paupers or criminals in Penn Township.*
No paupers or criminals in Pokagon Township.
No paupers or criminals in the Village of Dowagiac.*
No paupers or criminals in the Town of Pokagon.
No paupers or criminals in the Town of Howard.
No paupers or criminals in Howard Township.*
No paupers or criminals in Jefferson Township.
No paupers or criminals in the Town of Silver Creek.
No paupers or criminals in the Town of Wayne.
No paupers or criminals in Silver Creek Township.
No paupers or criminals in Wayne Township.
No paupers or criminals in the Town of Volinia.
No paupers or criminals in Marcellus Township.
No paupers or criminals in Calvin Township.*
Within one year, there were 113 native paupers in LaGrange Township, costing that area 2693 dollars; 19 native and three foreign criminals in that township.

*Indicates those areas where the majority of the county's blacks lived.

TABLE I

Occupations of Heads of Black Families in Calvin and Porter Townships -- 1850 and 1860

1850

Farmers	32
Agricultural laborers	6
Well digger	1
Spinning wheel maker	1
Preacher	1
Carpenter	3
None	1

1860

Farmers	138
Agricultural laborers	7
Cooper	2
Carpenter	2
Basketmaker	1
Turner	1
Butcher	1
Shoemaker	1
Blacksmith	1
Plaster	1
None	16

In 1850, approximately 71.5 percent of the freed slaves in Calvin and Porter were farmers; roughly 28.0 percent were agricultural laborers. In 1860, an estimated 80.4 percent of the freed blacks in the same areas were farmers; nearly 10.6 percent were agricultural laborers. Unlike the service and demeaning jobs of the cities, most blacks in ante-bellum Cass, as indicated, were associated with agricultural work which led eventually to economic self-sufficiency. Information obtained from the Federal Census for Cass County 1850 and 1860.

TABLE II

This comparative computation between black and white taxpayers with similar real and personal property indicates the fairness of white officials in Cass County and the prosperity of the black inhabitants.

	Value of each tract	Value of personal property	Total	Total Taxation	Percent
Blacks					
Kinchen Artis	160	150	310	$7.68	2.48
Green Allen	250	80	330	3.92	1.19
Harrison Ash	190	50	240	5.18	2.16
Turner Byrd	250	100	350	7.43	2.13
Crawford Byrd	310	15	325	7.22	2.22
Nathaniel Boon	80	0	80	1.95	2.44
Willis Brown	75	10	85	1.02	1.20
Solomon Saunders	200	75	275	3.28	1.19
Mary Saunders	160	40	200	4.32	2.16
Newsom Tann	160	110	270	6.59	2.44
Whites					
Jedutnan Adams	190	60	250	2.97	1.19
Phineas Greg	0	50	50	1.14	2.28
B. A. Harrison	550	80	630	6.69	1.06
A. B. Nicholson	250	112	362	8.07	2.23
Jeff. Osborn	400	0	400	8.64	2.16
George Parke	150	160	310	3.69	1.19
E. M. Reynolds	160	95	255	3.03	1.19
D. Tumbleson	175	35	210	2.50	1.19
William Grubb	215	115	330	7.42	2.29
George Redfield	2106	0	2106	54.78	2.60

Information from the Records of Cass County Tax Assessment Roll 1850 for Calvin and Porter Townships, Michigan State Historical Commission (Lansing, Michigan). Personal property could have been either furniture, farm equipment, livestock, farm buildings, or etc. The estimate is one-half the true value of the real property.

TABLE III

COMPARATIVE TAX COMPUTATIONS

	Value of Tract	Value of Property	Total	Total Taxation	Percent
Blacks					
Harrison Ash	$ 650	750	1400	$ 6.68	0.48
Green Allen	1680	250	1930	44.00	2.28
Kinchen Artis (Heirs)	750	0	750	5.81	0.77
Willis Brown	300	66	366	2.82	0.77
Turner Byrd	1050	772	1822	10.29	0.56
Crawford Byrd	1350	300	1650	34.55	2.09
Newsom Tann	850	215	1065	9.04	0.85
Solomon Saunders	200	70	270	2.28	0.84
Nathaniel Boon	60	0	60	0.40	0.67
Whites					
Phineas Gregg	200	662	862	7.47	0.87
William Grubb	1100	720	1820	8.48	0.47
Jeff Osborn	2600	280	2880	49.11	1.71
G. S. Parker	2070	660	2730	42.69	1.56
E. M. Reynolds	0	250	250	5.24	2.10

Information from the Records of Cass County Tax Assessment Roll 1860 for Calvin and Porter Townships, Michigan State Historical Commission (Lansing, Michigan).

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER III

ILLUSTRATION NUMBER I



BUCKINGHAM'S DRYGOOD STORE

OR

NEWSOME'S DRYGOOD STORE

ILLUSTRATION NUMBER II



CALVIN'S FIRST COL'D DOCTOR

ILLUSTRATION NUMBER III



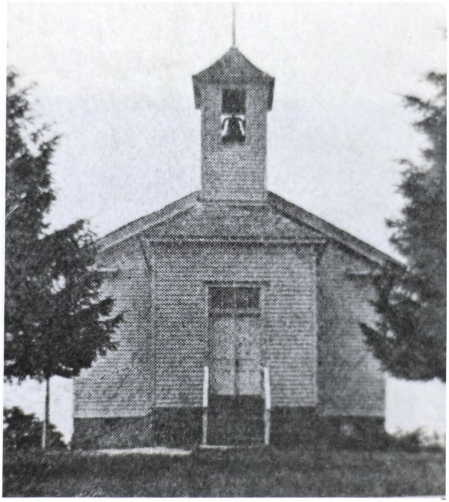
ONE OF THE MINISTERS AND FAMILY OF A CALVIN CHURCH

ILLUSTRATION NUMBER IV



CHAIN LAKE BAPTIST CHURCH

ILLUSTRATION NUMBER V



FRONT VIEW OF CHAIN LAKE BAPTIST CHURCH

ILLUSTRATION NUMBER VI



MOUNT ZION A.M.E. CHURCH

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER VI

APPENDIX

The following is a copy of freed papers, in its entirety, issued to Jack James, whose ancestors eventually settled in Calvin Township in Cass County, Michigan. In ante-bellum America this document always had to be carried by its owner, whether in the north or south.

Sate of North Carolina
Wake County (to-wit)

I, Charlotte G. Rhodes, of the County of Wake and State aforesaid, do hereby certify that I have been well acquainted with Jack James [,] a free man of colour[,] for many years. I knew him while a resident of Northhampton County in the State aforesaid ever since I can recolect [sic] and I have never heard it doubted but that he was a free man -- he is the son of Betty James a free woman of colour with whoom [sic] I have likewise been acquainted[.] She has alwais [sic] been considered a free woman. I have been acquainted with her as long as I can recolect [sic] and have never herd [sic] it doubted but that she was a free woman.

I hereby further certify that I am acquainted with three of his children (to-wit) Ervin James, Jessie James and Lang James. Given under my hand this 10th day of November, A.D. 1831.

(Signed) Charlotte G. Rhodes

State of North Carolina, Wake County

I, Benjamin S. King Clerk of the court of pleas and quarter sessions for the county of Wake aforesaid do here by certify that Charlotte G. Rhodes who signed her name to the above certificate is a lady of respectability who [sic] verasity [sic] cannot be doubted. I further certify that Jack James, the above named free man of colour, came personally before me this day and produced his two sons and one daughter with his wife (to-wit) Ervin, Jesse and Lang James. Jack James is round built about five feet five inches high [,] has a scar on his brest [sic] in the centre [sic] [,] dark mulato [sic] coloured and about fifty-seven years of age -- Earvin [sic] his son about five feet seven inches high, a little lighter than his father, has a remarkable finger on his left hand, the four [sic] finger from having been cut at the end makes it appear as if two nails were on one finger, a large and small one, he is about twenty years old. Jesse James the youngest son is a light mulatoe [sic] about five feet four inches high rather, slender built and about seventeen years of age.

Jack James' wife is nearly white, rather of the Indian appearance, slender built and about forty years old [.] She has been a resident of this county for many years [,] they are regularly married as I understand. I have never heard it doubted but they are all free persons of colour. Lang James is about the colour of her mother, rather dusky, is about fourteen years of age. This family of free persons of colour say they are about to remove somewhere to the west, and request this certificate of men. I have a personal knowledge of Jack James. I have found him to be an orderly man and I think I can say that the whole

family are [sic] respectable in their situation in life as free coloured persons and therefore think that wherever they may gow [sic] that they ought to be respected as such.

In testimony whereof I have hereto set my hand and the seal of office at Raleigh this 11th day of November, A.D. 1831.

(Signed) B. S. King, Clerk

State of Indiana

I, R. G. McClure do hereby certify that the above is a true copy of the original certificate in the hands of Ervin James's father. Given under my hand and seal this 22nd day of February A.D. 1839.

(Signed) R. G. McClure, J.P.

This is to certify that I have been acquainted with Ervin James for the term of five years and can safely say that I never new a more honest industrious and a harder working man in my life and can recommend him to every and all persons to whom his presents [sic] may come. I further certify that I have been acquainted [with] all the rest of the family except Lang and that they all ar [sic] of the same character, honest, industrious and good citizens.

As the said Ervin James is about to seek his fortune somewhere and leave this place [.] I think it [is] my duty for the respect that I have for him to given [sic] him my certificate as [a] free man of colour which he has papers for ever since I new [sic] him, and all the rest of his family. Given under my hand and seal this 22nd February A.D. 1839.

(Signed) R. G. McClure, J.P.

State of Indiana

Knox County

I [,] William R. McCord [,] Clerk of the Knox Circuit Court [,] do hereby certify that Robert G. McClure, Esq [.] [,] whose name is subscribed to the above and foregoing certificate is an acting Justice of the Peace within and for said county duly commissioned and qualified and that full faith and credit is due all his official acts as such.

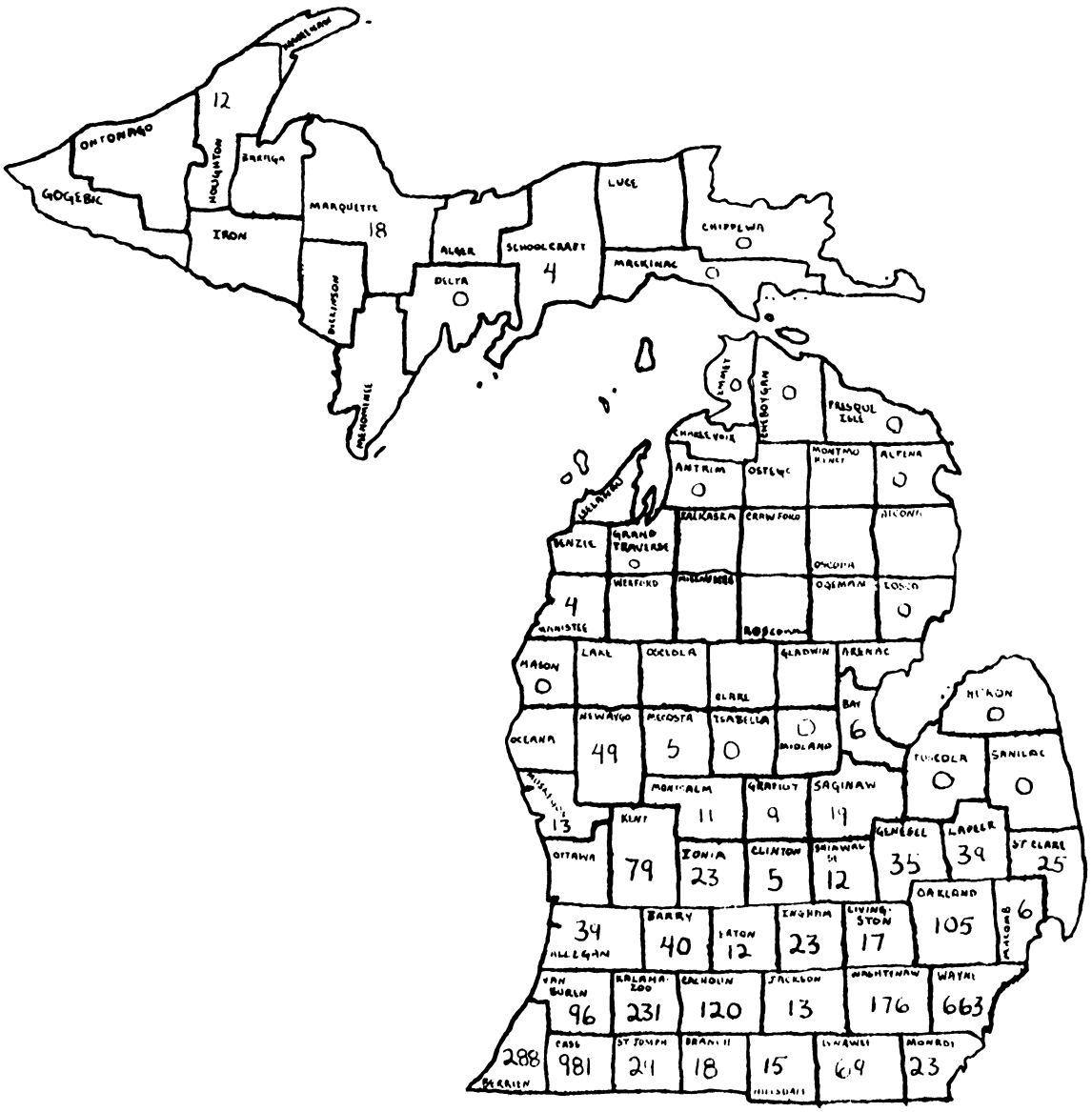
In testimony whereof I have hereunto subscribed my name an affixed the seal of said county at Vincennes this 11th day of March in the year of our Lord one thousand eight-hundred and thirty-nine.

(Signed) W. R. McCord CIK [clerk].[1]

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[1]Document obtained from Mr. Orlando James, November 29, 1973. Calvin Township, Cass County Michigan.

THE PERCENTAGE OF FREE MULATTOES IN MICHIGAN -- 1860



The Eighth Census of the Inhabitants of the United States.

FREE MULATTOES IN MICHIGAN -- 1860



The Eighth Census of the Inhabitants of the United States.

SOME MULATTO SETTLERS IN ANTE-BELLUM CALVIN



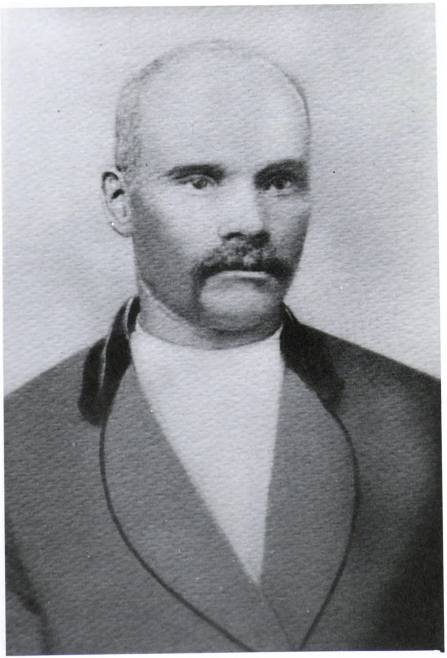
THE REVELS



MRS. WADES' AUNT



MRS. GRIFFIN, ONE OF CALVIN'S OLD SETTLERS



JAMES VAUGHN



"HOG" BILL ALLEN



MR. WADE'S MOTHER'S COUSIN AND FAMILY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Manuscripts

Allen Family [Cass County] Genealogical Material. Michigan History Collection. Bentley Library. University of Michigan. Ann Arbor, Michigan. The selection contains very useful and interesting information on the migration and settlement of the Allens in Cass County during the ante-bellum era. Valuable information on the business expertise of William Allen was also in the paper.

Arnold, E. L. An Arnold Family Record: 323 Years in America. Cass County Historical Society Papers. Cass County Library. Cassopolis, Michigan. The manuscript held no information pertaining to either black migration or settlement in the county. However, valuable data on the soil types and the variety of crops grown were provided by that source.

Birney, James. Papers. Volume 18. 1 January 1849. Marshall, Calhoun County, Michigan. William Clements Library. University of Michigan. Ann Arbor, Michigan. The papers contained pertinent facts about the abolitionist movement in Michigan, the problems encountered by ante-bellum blacks in Michigan, and the raids by slave catchers into the state's black settlements.

Bowman, Lois. Porter Township History. Cass County Historical Society Papers. Cass County Library. Cassopolis, Michigan. The manuscript held no information pertaining to either black migration or settlement in Cass. However, the paper presented some data that indicated that the troubles faced by farmers in the county cut across racial lines. It proved to be of some use in describing the plight of the nineteenth-century black farmers.

Account by Martha A. Brown on the death of her husband at the hands of a pro-slavery mob in Kansas in 1856. 2 April 1856. Michigan History Collection. Bentley Library. University of Michigan. Ann Arbor, Michigan. Although she resided in Cass, her writing dealt mainly with the murder of her husband by the mob in Kansas.

Cass County. Calvin Township Papers of Pioneers. 1805-1921. Paper of Negroes 1828-1939. Biographical Sketches of Pioneers of Calvin Township. Michigan History Collection. Bentley Library. University of Michigan. Ann Arbor, Michigan. The paper was one of the most important sources discovered. It provided extremely valuable information on the migration, procedures employed in acquiring real estate, the social history, and busy abilities of the blacks who settled in the county during the ante-bellum era.

Cass County Historical Society Papers. Cass County Library. Cassopolis, Michigan. It deals with a presentation done by Carl Ash. Not only was it useful, but Ash tried to prove to the audience that the first black settlers in the county were not fugitives but free men. It indicates the status consciousness of some of the descendants of the earlier arrivals.

Claspy Everett. Papers. Cass County Library. Cassopolis, Michigan. The collection contained some very valuable pieces of information on blacks in the region, the Underground Railroad, and Quaker activities in southwestern Michigan.

Claspy, Everett. Colored Dowagiac File. Southwestern Michigan College. Dowagiac, Michigan. The papers contained news clippings pertaining to the development, growth, and decline of the black population in Cass. Both collections were used by Claspy to compile a history of blacks in that section of Michigan.

Cook Family Collections. State Archives History Division. Department of State. Lansing, Michigan. Although the papers supplied little information on blacks in Michigan or Cass, it was pleasing to read. It could be valuable to scholars interested in the socio-economic history of whites in nineteenth-century Michigan.

Dibble Family Papers. 1814-1941. 1700 letters. Michigan History Collection. Bentley Library. University of Michigan. Ann Arbor, Michigan. The manuscript provided valuable data on the trial of the slave catchers that invaded the black community in Marshall, Michigan (Calhoun County). Although it did not deal with the blacks of Cass, the paper indicated that the reactions of the white citizens of Marshall were similar to those that surfaced among whites in Cass when they encountered a like situation.

Dunning, Glen W. Papers. Held by Mr. Frank Burmeister. Cassopolis, Michigan. Even though the collection did not deal with all of the black settlers of the county, it contained material relative to the businesses that operated in ante-bellum Cass.

East, H. Short History of Vandalia. Recorded by Miss C. Bonine from reminiscences of her father. Cass County Historical Society Papers. Cass County Library. Cassopolis, Michigan. This collection held some very pertinent data about the soil types, the price for acquiring land in the county during the nineteenth century, the reactions of whites to the black emigrants and other topics.

Fox Papers. The Underground Railway Operations Described. Cass County Historical Society Papers. Cass County Library. Cassopolis, Michigan. This collection was very useful also. It contained exact information on the number of underground railroad routes, the directions they followed, and the names of the operators of that clandestine organization in Cass. It also held data relative to the Kentuckians raid.

Fox Papers. The Ark in Michigan. Cass County Historical Society Papers. Cass County Library. Cassopolis, Michigan. This paper provided valuable information on how crops were transported to markets in Chicago. However, black farmers usually carried their goods to markets in Grand Rapids or Chicago by wagon. The reading was also essential to the study.

Goddard, M. A. The Underground Railroad. Paper presented to the Ypsilanti Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution. April 1913. Michigan History Collection. Bentley Library. University of Michigan. Ann Arbor, Michigan. Information relative to the underground railroad routes that traversed Michigan was contained in this selection. It also held some information on how ante-bellum blacks in Ypsilanti had to act -- that is, if they desired to remain in that community.

Gregg, Phineas. Papers, Justice of the Peace Docket Book, 1849-1882. Michigan History Collection. Bentley Library. University of Michigan. Ann Arbor, Michigan. The source contained some valuable information on the legal troubles encountered by a few of the black settlers in the county. Other than supplying the names and the fines imposed upon the offenders, it did not contribute that much to the study.

Gregg, William C. Paper, undated. Entitled Reminiscences of Calvin Township, Cass County, Michigan. A semi-fictional account of the Saunders Colony of Freed Slaves. Michigan History Collection. Bentley Library. University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan. Although some parts were fantasized, for example the correspondence between Sampson Saunders and Governor Steven Mason, the manuscript was one of the most important pieces uncovered. It supplied nearly all of the information about the Saunders ex-slaves. Furthermore, it also contained valuable information on the black social history, especially the black aristocracy, of the county.

History of Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church. Obtained from Mrs. Rosella Wade. Calvin Township, Cass County, Michigan. This manuscript was extremely valuable to the social history of blacks in Cass. It contained information about the building of the church, the names of its ministers, the social significance of the institution to the black settlers, and its role in the abolitionist movement.

History of Chain Lake Baptist Church. Original copy as compiled by Mr. Carl Ash, information given by Mr. Green Allen, Jr. Obtained

from Mrs. Gladys Ash. This piece was also very valuable to the study. It too contained information relative to the social history and religious development of blacks in that county.

History of Negroes in Michigan. Federal Writers Program. Michigan History Collection. Bentley Library. University of Michigan. Ann Arbor, Michigan. This source contained more valuable information about blacks in Michigan instead of Cass County. It also contained some vital material on the struggle for political recognition that the blacks waged in the state during the ante-bellum era.

James, Ervin. Freed Papers. Obtained from Mr. Orlando James. Calvin Township, Cass County, Michigan. This document was very important to my study, especially in the section that dealt with the aristocracy of the county. In fact, I regard it as one of the best contributions to the study.

Osborn, Alice. Letter. 26 January 1967. Michigan History Collection. Bentley Library. University of Michigan. Ann Arbor, Michigan. The letter dealt primarily with a description of abolitionist Charles Osborn. Its use to the study was not that great.

Osborn, Jefferson. Correspondence, 1851. Michigan History Collection. Bentley Library. University of Michigan. Ann Arbor, Michigan. The letter deals with a plea for assistance voiced by three abolitionists who got into difficulties because of their aid to the fugitives. It was very useful to the study also.

Perry, ____. Autobiographical sketch, undated, of ____ Perry, A Free Negro who escaped from Kidnappers and Settled in Cass County, Michigan. Michigan History Collection. Bentley Library. University of Michigan. Ann Arbor, Michigan. Even though the title dealt with Cass County, the narrative did not. The paper concerned itself principally with the kidnapping of an ex-slave. For the study this piece had no use.

Personal Letter Written by Ella to Aunt Sally. 7 September 1873. Cass County Historical Society Papers. Cass County Library. Cassopolis, Michigan. The correspondence illustrated that some whites in the county were not happy with the presence of all of the ex-slaves. It was filled with derogatory slangs about blacks. Its use to the project was minimum.

Quaker Records of Michigan. Birch Lake 1841-1915. Birch Lake Monthly Meeting Held at Black Creek. Cass County Library. Cassopolis, Michigan. The manuscript dealt primarily with the religious principles of Quakerdom. However, it did mention that one of the Cass Friends was responsible for organizing an anti-slavery gathering in the county. For the aforementioned reason the manuscript had some value to the project.

Records of Cass County Michigan. Michigan State University Archives and Historical Collections. Lansing, Michigan. Other than listing the names of offenders, the manuscript contributed little to the dissertation.

Shanahan, C. Justice of the Peace Docket Book. Michigan State University Archives and Historical Collections. Lansing, Michigan. Like the aforementioned source, this manuscript helped little in the research.

Shugart, Zachariah. Account Books. 25 February 1840 - 2 December 1850. Niles Community Library. Niles, Michigan. This day book was very important to my study, especially the parts that dealt with the manner in which blacks acquired land and the names of the runaways that sought freedom in Cass. Next to the James freed papers, I regard it as one of the best contributions to the study.

The Story of the Birch Lake Quakers. Calvin Township. Cass County Historical Society Papers. Cass County Library. Cassopolis, Michigan. The selection indicated that the Quakers were actively involved in the abolitionist movement. The names of the area's Friends helping fugitives to escape was mentioned. Some of them decided to abstain from using products raised by slaves.

Thomas, Ella. History of the Underground Railroad. Michigan History Collection. Bentley Library. University of Michigan. Ann Arbor, Michigan. The manuscript held some very important facts about the troubles that underground railroad operators encountered while aiding many fugitives.

Thomas, Pamela. History of Anti-Slavery. Michigan History Collection. Bentley Library. University of Michigan. Ann Arbor, Michigan. The title of the paper is very misleading for it only gives a short history of the anti-slavery movement in Michigan. Nevertheless, some sections of the manuscript proved to be quite useful in the work.

Thomas, Nathan Macy. Papers. Correspondence 1847-1849. Michigan History Collection. Bentley Library. University of Michigan. Ann Arbor, Michigan. The literature provided information relative to the Liberty Press, the number of fugitives aided and from whence they came, the names of operators throughout the state, appeals for a law that would protect fugitive settlers in the state, denunciations of the slave catchers who invaded Michigan's black communities and the techniques employed in hiding, feeding and moving runaways. In one of his diaries, Thomas used a writing style that was impossible to decipher. It was a combination of short hand and some form of speed writing. Nevertheless, it was extremely valuable in completing the task.

Thornton Biography. Cass County Historical Society Papers. Cass County Library. Cassopolis, Michigan. Even though the selection did not concern itself with blacks in the county, it provided valuable material on surviving in the county. It implied that since wild foods were abundant, a man who did not supply his family with food could not make it as a farmer.

The Underground Railroad in Northern Indiana. Compiled by Helen Hibberd Windle. South Bend, Indiana. 1939. Cass County Historical Society Papers. Cass County Library. Cassopolis, Michigan. The source contained some very useful information about the underground railroad routes that crossed southern Michigan and northern Indiana. It also held some pertinent data about the Ketuckians raid into Cass.

Weissert, Charles Adam. Notes on Cassopolis, Michigan. Michigan History Collection. Bentley Library. University of Michigan. Ann Arbor, Michigan. The manuscript proved to be extremely useful to the research. It provided facts on the underground railroad routes in the county, the history of some black families that resided in Cass, and the names of the whites that rendered valuable assistance to the new emigres.

Letter from Mr. G. B. Wilson. Elberon, Iowa. 27 February 1969. Niles Community Library. Niles, Michigan. The correspondence proved to be very useful because it explained what happened to Zacharia Shugart after his brush with the law in the late 1840's.

Wilson, Rosanna. Biographical Sketch of William Allen of Cass County. Undated. Michigan History Collection. Bentley Library. University of Michigan. Ann Arbor, Michigan. This selection was one of the most valuable sources uncovered. The life of Allen illustrated how some blacks became prosperous farmers in the county. Furthermore, it demonstrates how economically independent some of those emigres were.

Legal Documents

Acts of the Legislature of the State of Michigan. Lansing, Michigan: Edited by Munger and Pattison, Printers to the state, 1849. The document illustrated the disdain that many of the state's citizens had for the institution of slavery. It also contained some expressions that were opposed to the migration of ex-slaves to Michigan. In some places it was useful to the project.

Census and Statistics of the State of Michigan. Lansing, Michigan: Edited by George W. Peck, Printer to the state, 1854. This material was very useful in giving the distribution of the black population through Cass County.

Documents Accompanying the Journal of the Senate of the State of Michigan. Lansing, Michigan: Edited by Hosmer and Fitch, Printers to the state, n.d. The most valuable sections of the manuscript were the petitions from abolitionists and Quakers throughout Michigan demanding justice and equality for the region's black residents.

Federal Census. The sixth census of the inhabitants of the United States. 1841. The returns were very helpful because it showed the black population of Cass County and Michigan.

Federal Census. The Seventh Census of the Inhabitants of the United States. 1850. The returns were very helpful for it illustrated the growth of the black population in comparison to the white population in Michigan and Cass County.

Federal Census. The Eighth Census of the Inhabitants of the United States. 1860. The returns further illustrated the growth of the black population in Cass. All three census returns were extremely valuable to the study because they helped to identify the blacks of that county.

Federal Census. Schedule 4. Agriculture Production. 1850. The document was very useful because it mentioned the names of people and the agricultural products they raised. It illustrated how independent many of the blacks of the area were.

Federal Census. Schedule 4. Agriculture Production. 1860. The returns were extremely valuable because it illustrated the land owned by black residents. It also showed the amount of food raised by each individual.

Federal Census. Schedule 6. Social Statistics. 1850. The schedule illustrated the number of paupers and criminals in the county. Because race was not given for those in the poor state, the returns had little value for the dissertation.

Federal Census. Schedule 6. Social Statistics. 1850. Filmed by the National Archives and Records Service. 1973. Even though the schedule was more specific than the above, it too failed to mention the race of those in trouble. However, the number and denominations of the churches throughout the county were given.

Journal of the Constitutional Convention of the State of Michigan. Lansing, Michigan: Edited by R. W. Ingals, State Printer, 1850. Michigan State University Rare Books Room. Lansing, Michigan. The most useful portions of the cited work were the petitions, especially those that sought to prohibit the continuous migration of blacks to the region.

Journal of the Constitutional Convention of the State of Michigan. Printed by order of the Convention, under the supervision of John Swegles, Jr., Principal Secretary of the Convention. Lansing, Michigan: Edited by R. W. Ingals, State Printer, 1850. The most valuable sections of the document were the petition that sought to halt the emigration of ex-slaves to the state.

Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Michigan. Lansing, Michigan: Edited by George W. Peck, Printer to the State, 20 January 1853. The most pertinent excerpts for the study were those that suggested that African colonization of the ex-slaves would solve all the problems that faced white Michiganites.

Journal of the Legislative Council of the Territory of Michigan, being the second session of the third council begun and held at the city of Detroit. Monroe, Michigan [?]: Printed by Edward D. Ellis, 7 September 1829. The document was useful in many sections, especially a bill drawn-up by the committee on the Judiciary which sought relief for blacks and mulattoes.

Local Court Rules 43rd Judicial Circuit of the State of Michigan. Cass County Circuit Court. Cassopolis, Michigan. The pamphlet was useful to the study because it mentioned the times when the county court held its sessions.

Michigan Constitutional Convention of 1850. Detroit, Michigan: Edited by F. W. Stevens, of the Detroit Bar, reprinted from Detroit, Saturday Night, n.d. The work was also very important because it listed the names of the representatives from the ante-bellum Michigan cities.

Michigan Census and Statistics. 1854. The census returns were valuable to the study because it supplied the exact number of blacks in the county.

Michigan Census and Statistics. 1861. The returns illustrated the growth of Cass's black population.

Michigan Census and Statistics. 1865. Once again the returns illustrated the growth of the countys black population.

Number 155. Calendar C-Law. Criminal Files Cass County. 1858. The People versus Albert Saunders. Office of the County Clerk, Cassopolis, Michigan.

Number 160. Calendar C-Law. Criminal Files Cass County. 1858. The People versus Stephen McCulla. Office of the County Clerk. Cassopolis, Michigan.

Number 193. Calendar D-Law. Criminal Files Cass County. 1859. The People versus Samuel Lucas, Howard Lucas, and Harry Lucas. Office of the County Clerk. Cassopolis, Michigan.

Number 214. Calendar D-Law. Criminal Files Cass County. 1860. The People versus William Garrett, Edward Smith, George Davis. Office of the County Clerk. Cassopolis, Michigan.

Number 224. Calendar D-Law. Criminal Files Cass County. 1860. The People versus Albert Saunders. Office of the County Clerk. Cassopolis, Michigan.

Number 225. Calendar D-Law. Criminal Files Cass County. 1860. The People versus Albert Saunders. Office of the County Clerk. Cassopolis, Michigan.

Number 226. Calendar D-Law. Criminal Files Cass County. 1860. The People versus Albert Saunders. The testimony of Sarah Howell. Office of the County Clerk. Cassopolis, Michigan.

Number 246. Caldendar D-Law. Criminal Files Cass County. 1862. The People versus John Dungie. Office of the County Clerk. Cassopolis, Michigan. All of the hearings on the court cases were valuable to the research project. They all indicated that the blacks of the county who were involved in judicial procedures were accorded many privileges that usually were denied ex-slaves in ante-bellum America. Furthermore, they suggested that all of the black residents of Cass did not abide by the codes of behaviors developed by the older ex-slaves and white settlers in the county.

Records of Cass County. General Account Book, 1841-1870. Volume 36 of 36. Michigan History Commission. State Archives History Division, Department of State. Lansing, Michigan. The source dealt with the apportionment of monies to the township schools of Cass County. Its use was little.

Records of Cass County, Justice Docket, 1852-1882. Volume 34 of 36. Michigan History Commission. State Archives History Division, Department of State. Lansing, Michigan. The source supplied raw data on the number of scholars in Cass County. Parts of it were useful to the study.

Record of Deeds. Liber 26. Cass County Register of Deeds Office. George Redfield and wife to William Lawson. 1863. Cassopolis, Michigan.

Record of Deeds. Liber 26. Cass County Register of Deeds Office. George Redfield and wife to Henry J. Mathews. 1863. Cassopolis, Michigan.

Record of Deeds. Liber 26. Cass County Register of Deeds Office. Elbert Wade to Green Allen. 1863. Cassopolis, Michigan.

Record of Deeds. Liber 28. Cass County Register of Deeds Office. Hardy Wade and wife to Trustees of Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church of Calvin. 1864. Cassopolis, Michigan.

Record of Deeds. Liber 28. Cass County Register of Deeds Office. Hardy Wade to Elbert Wade. n.d. Cassopolis, Michigan.

Record of Deeds. Liber L. Cass County Register of Deeds Office. Jesse Williams and Larkin Williams and wives to Daniel Saunders and others. 1849. Cassopolis, Michigan.

Record of Deeds. Liber L. Cass County Register of Deeds Office. Eber Root and wife to Margaret Saunders and Eli Saunders and her son. 1848. Cassopolis, Michigan.

Record of Deeds. Liber L. Cass County Register of Deeds Office. Josiah Williams and wife to James Saunders. 1849. Cassopolis, Michigan.

Record of Deeds. Liber L. Cass County Register of Deeds Office. Josiah Williams and wife to Peter Saunders. 1850. Cassopolis, Michigan.

Record of Deeds. Liber L. Cass County Register of Deeds Office. Larkin Williams and Jesse Williams and wives to Mary Saunders. 1849. Cassopolis, Michigan.

Record of Deeds. Liber L. Cass County Register of Deeds Office. Larkin Williams and Jesse Williams and wives to Cynthia Radford and Jacob Radford. 1848. Cassopolis, Michigan.

Record of Deed. Held by Mr. Orlando James. George Beach and his wife Sophia Imley to Irvin James. n.d. Calvin Township, Cass County, Michigan. All of the transactions were extremely valuable to the outcome of the dissertation. They all indicated the willingness of the county's whites to sell land to the black emigrants. They also showed that many of the ex-slaves sold to other blakcs.

Records of the State of Michigan. Tract Book of Cass County. Roll number 3. Michigan State Library. 1956. Lansing, Michigan. The document proved to be of little use. It only provided some information pertaining to the real estate holders in Calvin and Porter Townships.

Record of the State of Michigan. Tract Book of Cass County. Roll number 3. Michigan State Library. 1956. Lansing, Michigan. The source mentioned and described the acreage held by George Redfield of Cass County. The majority of that land was located in Calvin and Porter Townships. It also listed the amount of real estate owned by Imlay and Beach in the county. It contributed some vital information in the project.

Records of the State of Michigan. Tract Books of Cass, Charlevoix, Cheboygan, Delta and Emmett Counties. Roll number 3. Michigan State Library. Lansing, Michigan. The source mentioned the names of the black land holders and the amount of land they held. Its use to the research project was small.

Record of Volunteer's Relief Fund. 1862-1865. Volume 35 of 36 Michigan History Commission. State Archives History Division, Department of State. Lansing, Michigan. The document mentioned that 36 blacks fought in the Civil War. The exact number that enlisted is questionable. The source also contributed some useful information to the project.

Reports of the Cases Argued and Decided in the Circuit Court of the United States, for the 7th Circuit. Vol. V. Edited by John McLean. Cincinnati: H. W. Derby and Company, 1855. Sections of the report provided very valuable information about the second Kentucky Raid into Cass County. However, most of it was concerned with the legal outcome of that raid.

Report on the Proceedings and Debates in the Convention to Revise the Constitution of the State of Michigan. Lansing, Michigan: Edited by R. W. Inglas, State Printer, 1850. Sections of the manuscript were extremely significant to the work. For example the opinions voiced by senators and representatives on the black issue.

The South Bend Fugitive Slave Case Involving the Right to a Writ of Habeas Corpus. New York: For sale at the Anti-Slavery Office, Microcard, 1851. The whole work was very valuable to the study.

It also dealt with the second raid by Kentucky slaveholders into Cass County. In many places, however, it appeared to repeat the same ideas and phrases that were mentioned in the above work.

Genealogical Materials

Historical Record of the Lawson Family. Information supplied by Mrs. Frances Lawson. Pokagon Township, Cass County, Michigan. 15 November 1973. The manuscript provided valuable data about the history of the Lawson family. The story of how they acquired land and held elected township offices was also essential.

Hitchcocks New and Complete Analysis of the Holy Bible. New York: Press of Wynkoop and Hallenbeck, 113 Fulton Street, n.d. Biblical verses did not contribute any significant information to the finished product. However, the history of the Allen family in the fore part of the scripture proved to be significant to the project.

Books

Corrothers, James D. Inspite of the Handicap, An Autobiography. New York: George H. Doran Company, 1916. The work was written by a former resident of Cass County. Only the first chapter of the book was useful. It supplied pertinent data on the early history of blacks in the county. Information relative to the aristocracy that developed there was also included in the account.

Leonard, Daisy Anderson. From Slavery to Affluence: Memories of Robert Anderson, Ex-Slave. Steamboat Springs, Colorado: Printed by the Steamboat Pilot, 1927. Although the study did not deal with blacks in Cass, it described the plight of a freed slave in ante-bellum America. Coincidentally, he also lived in a rural community, but the acquisition of land in that region was extremely difficult when compared to the ex-slave settlers in Cass.

Reminiscences of Levi Coffin. Cincinnati, Ohio: Western Tract Society, 1876. Although it principally dealt with the author's activities in the underground railroad, the book provided valuable facts on the operations of that clandestine system in Michigan. It also recognized and praised the involvement of Cass operators in aiding runaways. Pertinent material on the black settlements in county was also provided.

State of Michigan Gazetter and Business Directory for 1856-1857. Detroit: H. Huntington Lee and Company and James Sutherland, 1856. The account provided significant and useful data on the price of prime praire farm land in 1850 Michigan.

Pamphlets, Reports and Papers

An Audit of the Scenic Historical and Recreational Facilities of Cass County and Dowagiac, Michigan: A Factual History of the Dowagiac Region and Cass County, Michigan. Compiled by George R. Fox. Sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce of Dowagiac. Under direction of the State Board of Control for Vocational Education (Michigan). 1941. Although the facts accumulated were not original, the study was extremely valuable in cross checking some of the information supplied by the elderly residents who were interviewed.

Cole, Richard. Paper entitled. "A Legal Study of Whites and Blacks in the Michigan Territory." 1970. Michigan History Collections. Bentley Library. University of Michigan. Ann Arbor, Michigan. The paper provided valuable information on how blacks were treated in Michigan when they encountered legal difficulties. It is the contention of the writer that blacks faced very few examples of de jure discrimination in the courts.

Most Worshipful Prince Hall Grand Lodge Office and Accepted Masons Celebrating the First Masonic Pilgrimage to the Birthplace of Free Masonry Among Negroes in Michigan at Niles. 13 January 1859 First Lodge. Harrison Lodge No. 6 (10 July 1960). Niles and Chain Lake, Michigan. Souvenir Program. n.d. Niles Community Library. Niles, Michigan. The brochure provided useful data on the early black history of Cass County and that organization. Much of the facts accumulated were obtained from the work by H. S. Rogers.

Report of the Cass County Land Use Committee. Compiled by G. Elwood Bonine (Chairman) and G. S. McIntyre. Cassopolis, Michigan. 8 April 1940. The report delivered essential data on the total acreage in Cass County, the principal crops grown, the animals raised and the major and minor markets that received Cass's agricultural products. The report was very useful to the thesis.

Newspapers

"Impressive History Is Waiting Along Boy Scout Freedom Trail." Bill Gardiner. Adrian Daily Telegram. Adrian, Michigan. 21 September 1960. p. 13. The news account described the hiding places used by fugitive slaves heading for Canada.

"Fleeing Slaves Used Underground Route." Dr. Philip Mason. Ann Arbor News. Ann Arbor, Michigan 31 January 1961. The article stated that the most important termini of the underground railroad traversed Michigan. Thousands of fugitives crossed the region into Canada. It also indicated that the route that ran through Ann Arbor was equally important.

"Doctoral Student Compiling Data on Area, State History of Negro." Liz Elling. Ann Arbor News. Ann Arbor, Michigan. 4 August 1968. Michigan History Collection. Bentley Library. Ann Arbor, Michigan. The cited work provided essential data on the general reactions of whites to the presence of blacks in Michigan.

"Cass Markers Recall Stirring Underground Railroad Day." Duane De Loach. Benton Harbor News Palladium. Benton Harbor, Michigan. 1 January 1937. The selection from that county newspaper described the locations of the underground routes in Cass. Some of the homes of the leading operators were highlighted.

"The Underground Railroad in Berrien County." Rose R. Burket. Benton Harbor News Palladium. Benton Harbor, Michigan. n.d. p. 1. The news clipping indicated that parts of the route crossed northern Berrien County. Its use to the study was minimum.

"West India Emancipation Celebration." ____. Cass County Republican. Dowagiac, Cass County, Michigan. 22 and 29 July 1858. p. 3. Burton Collection at the Detroit Public Library. Detroit, Michigan. The excerpt provided important information on the reasons for that celebration.

"Colored Population of Cass County." _____. Cass County Republican. Dowagiac, Cass County, Michigan. 3 February 1859. p. 3 Burton Collection at the Detroit Public Library. Detroit, Michigan. The story provided essential data on the number of blacks in the county and the amount of acres they held.

____. Cassopolis Vigilant. Cassopolis, Michigan. 16 May 1872. p. 3. The news report commented on the Quaker population of Calvin and their good citizenship.

____. Cassopolis Vigilant. Cassopolis, Michigan. 13 June 1872, p. 2. The reading further illustrated the growth of the Quaker population throughout the county.

"The Calvin Outrage." Cassopolis Vigilant. Cassopolis, Michigan. 16 May 1872. p. 2. The illustration gave essential information on how some whites rallied to the defense of ex-slaves. After being provoked the blacks attacked some white citizens who referred to them as bucks.

"The Calvin Outrage." Cassopolis Vigilant. Cassopolis, Michigan. 21 November 1872. p. 2. The article recorded useful data on how the above fracas was solved. Desirous of being good citizens and perhaps some prodding by the older black residents, the black fighters surrendered to the law enforcement agents.

____. Cassopolis Vigilant. Cassopolis, Michigan. January 1877. p. 1. The writing described some of the businesses in Cass County.

"The Old 'Uns." Cassopolis Vigilant. Cassopolis, Michigan. 21 January 1877. p. 5. The clipping described the county when the first white settlers arrived in the 1830's.

"Obituaries." Cassopolis Vigilant. Cassopolis, Michigan. 29 April 1880. p. 5. It eulogized the dying of one of the pioneer blacks in the county. Also a description of the deceased was provided.

"Queer Old Pioneer." Cassopolis Vigilant. Cassopolis, Michigan. 12 May 1892. The article had to major value to the study. However, a description of the rustic life in the county was provided.

____. Cassopolis Vigilant. Cassopolis, Michigan. 19 May 1892. The news account gave a description of the saw mill and the number of men employed by its black owner -- Mr. Bunn.

"Marmaduke Ash Is Dead." Cassopolis Vigilant. Cassopolis, Michigan. n.d. Held in the vertical files of the Cass County Library. Cassopolis, Michigan. The article eulogized the passing of another pioneer black in the county. Included in the account was a partial biographical of the deceased, Marmaduke Ash.

"A Republic in Africa." Democratic Expounder. Marshall, Calhun [sic] County, Michigan. 1 January 1847. p. 1. The excerpt was useful to the study. However a vivid account of black existence in Liberia was elaborated upon. The desire to deport ex-slaves to that African country was very prominent.

"Kidnapping," Democratic Expounder. Marshall, Calhoun County, Michigan. 19 February 1847, p. 2. The selection illustrated one of the hazards of being an ex-slave in ante-bellum America. Kidnappers frequently made appearances in areas with a high black population density. In the case described, Detroit was the area visited.

"Abduction in Cass County," Democratic Expounder. Marshall, Calhoun County, Michigan. 3 September 1847. Michigan History Collection. Bentley Library. Ann Arbor, Michigan. The cited example provided a descriptive account of the first raid by Kentuckians into Cass County. Its use to the study was extremely significant.

"Underground Railroad." Democratic Expounder. Marshall, Calhoun County, Michigan. 8 February 1855. The directions that it followed and functionings of that system were elaborated upon in the article. The significance of the excerpt was valuable because it provided a descripton of the white settlers' reactions to the arriving blacks.

"Practical Abolitionism." Democratic Expounder. Marshall, Calhoun County, Michigan. 24 May 1855. p. 2. The selection provided the general white abolitionist response to blacks. For example, it contended that most of those reformers were fond of ex-slaves at a distance only.

____. Detroit Daily Advertiser. Detroit, Michigan. Burton Collection at the Detroit Public Library, Detroit, Michigan. The selection provided an account on black life in that city.

____. Detroit Democratic Free Press. Detroit, Michigan. Burton Collection at the Detroit Public Library. Detroit, Michigan. The excerpt presented valuable information on the hardships encountered by blacks in the city of Detroit.

"Abduction in Cass County." Democratic Free Press. Detroit, Michigan. Burton Collection at the Detroit Public Library. Detroit, Michigan. The cited example provided a description of the first raid on Cass County by Kentucky slaveholders. However, this article provided new facts on that affair.

"Historic Underground Railway Depot Destroyed." Detroit Free Press Detroit, Michigan. 20 September 1931. p. 4. The selection described the piece of history being destroyed because of progress. The article had little use to the study.

"Bank Now Stands on Site Where Escaped Slaves Hid." Detroit Free Press. Detroit, Michigan. 28 March 1937. The excerpt explained how a site, presently occupied by a bank, played a vital cog in the underground railroad in Detroit.

"Kern's Site Once Underground Railroad Center." Detroit Free Press. Detroit, Michigan. 29 January 1961. p. 3, section A. The article described the functioning of the underground railroad depot in that city. It was valuable to the study also.

"Corners of Black History." Detroit Free Press. Detroit, Michigan. n.d. Material supplied by Mr. Orlando James. The article provided valuable data on the nativity of some of the black settlers in Cass County. Information was also supplied on how the ex-slaves gained real estate.

"Historic Calvin." Detroit Journal. Detroit, Michigan. 6 January 1896 Detroit, Michigan. Detroit Public Library. The news clipping gave useful information on the Kentucky slave raid of the 1840's. Data pertaining to the reactions of southerners to the unsuccessful raid was also provided.

"Village Born in 1848 Grows to Thriving City." Dowagiac Daily News. Dowagiac, Michigan. 13 October 1948. p. 1. Essential facts on the early growth and development of Dowagiac were given.

"Early Life Reduced to Bare Essentials." Dowagiac Daily News. Dowagiac, Michigan. 13 October 1948. p. 3. Significant information on the economic survival of the early arrivals to the county was provided.

"Looking Back in Dowagiac -- Cass County Quakers." Dowagiac Daily News. Dowagiac, Michigan. 16 July 1960. Extremely useful facts on the Quaker involvement in the underground railroad were given. The rationale for their actions was also given.

"Looking Back in Dowagiac -- First Fugitive Slaves." Dowagiac Daily News. Dowagiac, Michigan. 23 July 1960. The article described the accidental settlement of runaways in Cass County. White

Friends and sympathizers helped the fugitives to decide on that county.

"Looking Back in Dowagiac -- The Kentucky Raid." Dowagiac Daily News. Dowagiac, Michigan. 30 July 1960. The cited article gave a description of the Kentucky slave raid, its effect upon the white and black population of the county, and the outcome of the trial and raid. The facts and opinions provided valuable material to the study.

"Kentucky Raid Raised Quakers Ire." Dowagiac Daily News. Dowagiac, Michigan. 27 November 1971. The selection gave valuable information on how the Quakers responded to the slave raiders from Kentucky.

"Black Pride in Cass County." Elkhart Truth. Elkhart, Indiana. 28 August 1971. The selection provided significant information on how the Muslims acquired real estate in the county and what that possession meant to members of that sect.

____. Farmington Enterprise. Nathan H. Power. Farmington, Michigan. 30 May 1924. The article supplied valuable material on the operations of that system in that portion of Michigan.

"A Settlement of Colored Persons." Indiana True Democrat. Centerville (Wayne County), Indiana. 13 March 1850. Michigan History Collection. Bentley Library. University of Michigan. Ann Arbor, Michigan. The selection provided a vivid description of the black settlement in Cass County. However, unlike the other illustrations, the writer's opinions of the settlements were not too favorable. Since it was a pro-slavery press, the account merely informed slaveholders on the location of their runaway property.

"Pipestone Township Played Important Part in the Underground Railway." Journal Era. Berrien Springs, Michigan. 12 September 1959. p. 6. The clipping provided significant facts on the operation of that system in that community.

"Black Muslims Linked to Cass Land." Arthur Sills. Kalamazoo Gazette. Kalamazoo, Michigan. 2 June 1968. The news account provided valuable information on the reactions of both whites and pioneer blacks to the arrival of the Muslins in the county. The strongest display of emotions was evinced by the blacks.

"Black Muslims' Cass Farm Is Growing Concern." Arthur Sills. Kalamazoo Gazette. Kalamazoo, Michigan. Sunday 22 February 1970. p. 11. The article illustrated how the Muslims became very productive farmers despite the continuous harassment they faced from all of the residents in the county.

"Slaves Made Way Through Cass County-Underground Railway Flourished at One Time." Beatrice Brown. Kalamazoo Gazette. Kalamazoo, Michigan. n.d. The excerpt mentioned the names of the operators

of the underground railroad in Cass. It also supplied data on why that area became a vital junction of that system.

____. Lansing Republican. Lansing, Michigan. 15 May 1855. p. 4. The excerpt provided a valuable description of Michigan land in the 1830's and 1850's.

____. Lansing Republican. Lansing, Michigan. 14 April 1857. p. 3. The article contained a useful illustration on the economic life of blacks in ante-bellum New Orleans.

"Kidnapping." Lansing Republican. Lansing, Michigan. 9 June 1857. p. 4. The clipping provided an extremely valuable account of an ex-slave from Cass who was kidnapped by slaveholders. The letter that he forwarded to his wife was extremely touching.

____. Lansing Republican. Lansing, Michigan. 29 September 1857. p. 2. The news provided an excerpt from the Coldwater Sentinel that indicated the paranoia of white Michiganites to the presence of blacks in ante-bellum Michigan.

"Letter from the Pontiac Female Who Married the Negro." Lansing Republican. Lansing, Michigan. 24 May 1859. p. 2. The account illustrated the white fear of mongrelization if too many blacks were allowed to come into the region.

"Free Negroes on Railroad." Lansing Republican. Lansing, Michigan. Tuesday 1 November 1859. p. 2. The selection indicated the miserable plight of the ex-slave in ante-bellum Michigan.

"Village of Scio Was Stop on Underground Railroad." The Lansing State Journal. Lansing, Michigan. 28 April 1955. p. 17. The cited article described the Quaker involvement in the underground railroad in that county.

"The Cross White Slavery Case." The Marshall Rotary Fountain, Five Star Final. Marshall, Michigan. 9 December 1966. pp. 1, 10, 11, 19. The article highlighted a raid into that county by gentlemen from Kentucky. It also included a description of the court case and the penalization of whites that aided the fugitives.

"Practical Preaching." National Democrat. Cassopolis, Michigan. Saturday 24 March 1855. p. 4. The article provided an excellent example of the type of preaching often heard in the black churches of the county.

____. National Democrat. Cassopolis, Michigan. Saturday 28 April 1855. p. 2. The selection provided a useful description of the types of crops grown in the townships of the county.

"The Almighty Dollar." National Democrat. Cassopolis, Michigan. Saturday 12 May 1855. p. 4. The selection had no use to the study at all.

"Practical Abolitionism." National Democrat. Cassopolis, Michigan. Saturday 12 May 1855. p. 4. The excerpt illustrated the relationship that existed between those reformers and blacks.

"Manual Labor School." National Democrat. Cassopolis, Michigan. Saturday 15 March 1856. p. 2. The news clipping mentioned the hope of Reverend M. T. Newsom to find a school of higher learning in Cass County.

____. National Democrat. Cassopolis, Michigan. Saturday 15 March 1856. p. 1. The very sarcastic work suggested that all of the blacks and abolitionists in the county should go to Kansas and fight. That is, if they wanted to strike a blow for black freedom and equality.

"Quite a Coinscidence [sic]." National Democrat. Cassopolis, Michigan 29 March 1856. p. 2. The account provided information on a trial of a black resident in the county.

"Good Breeding." National Democrat. Cassopolis, Michigan. Saturday 19 April 1856. p. 2. The excerpt provided important factual data on the involvement of blacks of that county in other reforms. Temperance is the example mentioned in the cited work.

____. National Democrat. Cassopolis, Michigan. Saturday 10 May 1856. p. 2. The account supplied pertinent data about a lecture delivered by a traveling ex-slave in the county.

____. National Democrat. Cassopolis, Michigan. Saturday 17 May 1856. p. 2. The article provided valuable information on how some blacks became involved in protest movements that would improve their political standing in the community and America.

____. National Democrat. Cassopolis, Michigan. Saturday 17 May 1856. p. 2. The article provided a very sarcastic description of the Republicans, abolitionists, and blacks in the county.

"By Their Fruits Ye Shall Know Them." National Democrat. Cassopolis, Michigan. 21 June 1856. p. 2. The article gave a description of a counter-celebration of the Independence Day festivities. It illustrated how blacks were appalled by the idea of celebrating the birth of a free nation when a large percentage of those born in America were certainly not free.

____. National Democrat. Cassopolis, Michigan. Saturday 5 July 1856. p. 2. The article gave more information on the counter-festivities that were held in the county.

"A Question Settled." National Democrat. Cassopolis, Michigan. Saturday 12 July 1856. p. 2. The writer of the article was appalled by the idea of having so many black voters in that ante-bellum county.

"Bleeding Calvin." National Democrat. Cassopolis, Michigan. Saturday 21 February 1857. p. 2. The selection illustrated how barbarous the blacks of Cass were for they were usually "cutting and carving themselves up." The article was useful for it illustrated how the writer responded to the human weaknesses of some of the county's ex-slave settlers.

"Cass County versus the Rest of Michigan." National Democrat. Cassopolis, Michigan. 9 January 1858. p. 2. The article displayed the sarcasm of the writer when quadruplets were born to a black mother in the county.

"A Protest from Calvin." National Democrat. Cassopolis, Michigan. n.d. Article held by the Cass County Historical Society. Cass County Library. Cassopolis, Michigan. The selection had no use for the study. Nevertheless, the stereotypical thoughts of some whites, which were evinced in that article, were useful.

"Family Tracers Says Slaves Used Tunnels." Linda Rosenbaum. Niles Daily Star. 15 July 1972. Niles, Michigan. After discovering a tunnel, many thought that it was used for hiding runaways.

"Demolition Crews Find Underground Railroad Tunnel?" Pat Gallagher. Niles Daily Star. 22 December 1970. Niles, Michigan. Like the aforementioned, many suspected that the unearthed tunnel was used for transporting fugitives to freedom. Both articles provided some insight into the functionings of that clandestine system.

____. Niles Republican. Niles, Michigan. Thursday 17 September 1840. p. 4. The selection provided some information on how land was acquired in ante-bellum America.

____. Niles Republican. Niles, Michigan. Saturday 12 April 1845. p. 2. The excerpt was an attack on the editor of the Cass Advocate who believed that taxation without representation was a severe blow to the greatness of America.

"A Gang of Thieves." Niles Republican. Niles, Michigan. Saturday 8 June 1850. p. 2. The selection indicated the pathological negrophobia that infected the editor of that paper. A theft occurred in the area, so he naturally assumed that the black offender was a native of one of the black settlements in Cass County.

"Too Bad." Niles Republican. Niles, Michigan. Saturday 8 June 1850. p. 2. The article once again illustrated the sickness of that editor. He was elated when a black elected offical from one of the black settlements fled with approximately $4000. The excerpt was valuable to the thesis.

____. Niles Republican. Niles, Michigan. 24 May 1851. p. 2. The excerpt was another attack upon the abolitionist of Cass who allowed ex-slaves to settle in that region.

____. Niles Republican. Niles, Michigan. 27 March 1852. p. 2. The selection indicated the editors desire to rid America of its unwanted burden -- ex-slaves. He suggested that they be sent to Liberia.

____. Niles Republican. Niles, Michigan. Saturday 3 July 1852. p. 2. After realizing that they were not going to Africa, the writer mentioned a code of behavior for blacks in the region. For that reason, it contributed immensely to the study.

"Colored Population in Canada." Niles Republican. Niles, Michigan. Saturday 16 July 1853. p. 2. The tone of the article was to convince blacks and whites that Canada was a better place for them. Its use to the subject at hand was minimal.

____. Niles Republican. Niles, Michigan. Saturday 8 November 1856. p. 2. The excerpt indicated the clear disdain that the editor had for the black voting population of Cass County. It provided estimates on the number of blacks that took advantage of that opportunity.

"Shall Negroes be Made Citizens!" Niles Republican. Niles, Michigan. Saturday 25 April 1857. The paper showed the status of antebellum blacks in America. Its value to the study was small.

____. Niles Republican. Niles, Michigan. Saturday 10 September 1859. The article provided a case of discrimination when the proprietor of a hotel in Niles became offensive to some black boarders from Cass County. His actions proved to be detrimental.

"Cassopolis Michigan Boasts of Its Role in the Underground Railroad." Beatrice Brown. Pittsburgh Courier. Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Saturday 2 July 1949. p. 6. The clipping applauded the active involvement of the Quakers in the underground railroad. Cass became historically significant because of that system. It also contributed much needed information to the study's success.

"Is That So!" Clara Waldron. Tecumseh Herald. Tecumseh, Michigan. n.d. The selection highlighted the underground railroad activities in that part of Michigan.

"Muslim Cash Buys Up Farms." Information obtained from Cornelius X of Calvin Township. 5 December 1973. The excerpt provided essential information on how blacks and whites reacted to the presence of the newcomers.

Secondary Sources

Books

African Repository and Colonial Journal. Volume XX-XXIII, no. 3. Washington, D.C.: Published by the American Colonization Society, March 1847. Even though it was concerned with getting rid of all of the freed slaves in America, a few excerpts from the account were valuable to the study. Especially those selections that dealt with branches of the society in Michigan.

African Repository. Volume XXVII. Washington, D.C.: Published by the American Colonization Society, 1851. The only selection from the work which contributed to the manuscript was the donation made by a citizen from Cass County to the American Colonization Society.

Afrian Repository. Volume XXX. Washington, D.C." Published by the American Colonization Society, 1854. The account did not have any information on the black settlers of Cass or the reactions of whites to their presence. However, some excerpts indicated that rural whites reacted with great hostility to the arrival of black emigrants. Such displays of hatred rarely appeared in Cass.

Afro-Americans: Selected Documents. Edited by John Bracy, August Meier, Elliot Rudwick. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Incorporated, 1972. Some of the documents clearly displayed the plight of freed blacks in ante-bellum America. For that reason, it had some value to the project.

An Autobiography of the Reverend Josiah Henson. Edited by John Lobb. London, Ontario: Schuyler, Smith and Company 1881. The work provided no significant data for the dissertation.

Berwanger, E. H. The Frontier Against Slavery. Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1967. This source was very valuable for it supplied information relative to the displays of hostility that whites evinced upon the arrival of blacks. The account also provided significant leads to other data.

Blacks in the Abolitionist Movement. Edited by John Bracy, August Meier, Elliot Rudwick. Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, July 1970. The source was another indicator of the plight of freed blacks in ante-bellum America. Its use was minimum.

Brackett, J. R. The Negro in Maryland. Baltimore: N. Murray, Publication Agent, John Hopkins University, 1889. This account provided valuable information on the life of freed slaves in the ante-bellum south.

Claspy, Everett. The Negro in Southwestern Michigan. Ann Arbor: Braun-Brumfield, 1967. The work was valuable to the project because it supplied data on the migration and settlement of blacks in the county, especially the first few pages. It also provided useful leads. However, the account was poorly written.

Danforth, M. E. A Quaker Pioneer: Laura Haviland Superintendent of the Underground Railroad. New York: Exposition Press, 1961. The study illustrated Haviland's involvement in the operation of aiding slaves to escape. It also presented valuable data on the troubles faced by the conductors of that system. Nevertheless, the work proved to be of little significance to the dissertation.

Delany, Martin R. The Condition, Elevation, Emigration, and Destiny of the Colored People of the United States. New York: Arno Press and the New York Times, 1969. The work dealt with the plight of freed blacks in a hostile American environment. It provided no significant information for the project.

Delany, Martin R. and Campbell, Robert. A Search for a Place: Black Separatism and Africa, 1860. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1971. The work shed vital information on the plight of emancipated slaves in ante-bellum America. Other than that it supplied little information on Cass County.

Dorson, Richard M. American Negro Folktales. New York: Fawcett World Library, 1956. The manuscript provided some extremely valuable data on the black social aristocracy that developed in the county. It also contained some material about the underground railroad.

Early Cass County: A Brief History for Use by Teachers. Compiled by Olive Dickeson, et. al. Niles, Michigan: Niles area committee resources workshop. Although the research on the project was not original, it did supply some valuable material on the blacks of the county. According to that source a black minister started a church in one of the county's townships that held a small black population.

Franklin, John Hope. From Slavery to Freedom. New York: Vintage Books, 1969. The work is a general history of blacks in America. However, it did supply some useful material about the plight of blacks in ante-bellum America. The author did mention the settlement of ex-slaves in that county.

Franklin, John Hope. The Free Negro in North Carolina, 1790-1860. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1971. This account provided valuable insights into the life of freed slaves in the ante-bellum south. It also provided much needed information on the success of the manumitted that settled in the rural regions of that county. For that reason the study was very significant.

Frazier, E. Franklin. The Free Negro Family: A Study of Family Origins Before the Civil War. Nashville, Tennessee: Fisk University Press, 1932. The treatise provided essential information on the black family. It was also useful in explaining the caste system that evolved in the county.

Frazier, E. Franklin. The Negro Church in America. New York: Schocken Books, 1964. The literature contained valuable data about the role of the church in the ex-slave communities. It had some value in understanding the operations of the black churches in Cass County.

Frazier, E. Franklin. The Negro in the United States, 15th printing. New York: MacMillan Company, 1971. The reading provided useful data on the number of freed blacks in the region and the difficulties they encountered in America. Like John Hope Franklin, the author mentioned the large number of ex-slaves concentrated in Cass County. Although it was not intended to deal with Cass, some valuable information was obtained from that source.

Free Blacks in America 1800-1860. Edited by John Bracy, August Meier, Elliot Rudwick. Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Company, July 1970. Although the manuscript did not deal with Cass, it supplied essential information about the status of blacks in ante-bellum America.

Glover, L. H. A Twentieth Century History of Cass County. Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1906. The majority of the facts uncovered in the study were taken from an earlier study. However, some valuable information about the plight of the black settlers in the county was gleaned from that account.

Graff, G. P. The People of Michigan. Lansing: Department of Education Bureau of Library Services, 1970. The work dealt with the ethnic backgrounds of the people that inhabited the state. Vital information about the black settlements in Micnigan, especially Cass County, could be gathered from that source. However, it is hardly original.

Hesslink, George K. Black Neighbors: Negroes in a Northern Rural Community. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1968. The account was extremely useful. Not only did it supply valuable facts about the black community, but it also provided essential leads. Since the study was on twentieth-century black-white relations many parts of it was useless for my study. The chapters on the aristocracy of color in the county and the section on the early history of blacks in Cass were the most useful.

Larrie, Reginald. Corners of Black History. New York: Vantage Press, 1971. Selections from the work provided valuable information about the status of ante-bellum blacks in Michigan.

Litwack, Leon F. North of Slavery. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961. This account provided valuable information relative to the status of free blacks in ante-bellum America.

Mathews, A. History of Cass County Michigan. Chicago: Waterman, Watkins and Company, 1882. The reading provided valuable information relative to the migration of blacks to that county, the problems they encountered, and the acquisition of property by that group. However, the research was not original.

Michigan Manual of Freedmen's Progress. Compiled by F. H. Warren, Secretary of Freedmen's Progress Commission. Detroit: ____, 1915. The book provided valuable data on the achievements of blacks in Michigan and Cass County. It was one of the best secondary sources read.

Minutes of the Proceedings of the National Negro Conventions 1830-1864. Edited by Howard H. Bell. New York: Arno Press and New York Times, 1969. Although it did not deal with the plight of blacks in Michigan or Cass County, valuable information on the difficulties encountered by ante-bellum ex-slaves could be obtained from the source. Even more importantly, it provided valuable insights into the black conventions.

Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Henry Bibb, An American Slave Written by Himself with an Introduction by Lucius B. Matlack. The selection is contained in Puttin' It On Ole Massa. Edited by Gilbert Osofsky. New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1969. The narrative provided some information about the treatment dealt out to free blacks in ante-bellum Michigan and America.

Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, An American Slave, Written by Himself. New York: Signet Books, Published by the New American Library, 1968. The narrative did not provide any additional information about Cass County. However, valuable data on the plight of freed men in ante-bellum America was obtained from the source.

Narrative of Sojourner Truth. Battle Creek, Michigan: The authoress, 1878. The story dealt more with the hardships that the valiant lady encountered in the south. Very little dealt with problems about blacks in Michigan.

Negroes in Michigan During the Civil War. Edited by Sidney Glazer. Lansing, Michigan: Published by the Michigan Civil War Centennial Observance Commission, 1966. The reading provided valuable data on the blacks in ante-bellum Michigan. Information about their protests against injustices was also included. Useful material on black Michiganites in the Civil War was also in the account.

The Negro Population in the United States 1790-1915. New York: Arno Press and the New York Times, 1968. The source provided necessary data about the number and distribution of freed slaves in ante-bellum America.

Olmsted, Frederick L. A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States. New York: Dix and Edwards, 1856. The narrative had little use for the project.

Olmsted, Frederick L. The Cotton Kingdom, Volume I. New York: Published by Mason Brothers, 1861. In one section, the source provided useful material on the fear that whites had for freed slaves.

Pease, Jane and Pease, William. Black Utopia: Negro Communal Experiments in America. Madison: The State History Society of Wisconsin, 1963. The study provided valuable material and leads on the development of black utopian communities throughout America. Very little of it dealt with Cass County, but it was very useful.

Pettigrew, Thomas F. Racially Separate or Together? New York: Mc Graw Hill Book Company, 1971. The account dealt principally with black-white relations in twentiety-century America. Its use to the research was small.

Portrait and Biographical Record of Berrien and Cass Counties Michigan. Chicago: Biographical Publishing Company, 1893. The work was extremely useful for it supplied information on prominent whites and abolitionists in Cass County.

Quillin, Frank V. The Color Line in Ohio. Ann Arbor: George Wahr, 1913. Even though it dealt with Ohio, one part of the work had some significance to the project. For example, the Michigan law that enabled mulattoes to vote was patterned after an Ohio ordinance.

Reuter, Edward B. The Mulatto In the United States. Boston: Richard G. Badger, The Gorham Press, 1918. The reading provided valuable information about the color consciousness of most freed blacks.

Russell, John H. The Free Negro in Virginia, 1619-1865. New York: Dover Publications Incorporated, 1969. The account provided valuable data on the plight of ex-slaves in the south.

Rogers, H. S. History of Cass County, from 1825 to 1875. Cassopolis, Michigan: W. H. Mansfield, Vigilant Book and Job Print, 1875. The work was the original study on the county. Consequently, many of his ideas were stolen by others that wrote county histories. Without doubt, it provided extremely valuable information about blacks in the county. Useful information about the underground railroad and its operators was obtained from the account also.

Schoetzow, Mae R. A Brief History of Cass County. Marcellus, Michigan: Published by The Marcellus News, 1935. This account was not original. It appeared that the authoress simply duplicated the work by Rogers. It did contain some new material on the blacks of Cass in the Civil War. For that reason, it had some value to the research project.

Siebert, W. H. The Underground Railroad from Slavery to Freedom. New York: Russell and Russell, 1898. The account illustrated the routes that cut across Michigan. For that reason it was extremely valuable to the study.

Ullman, Victor. Look to the North Star: A Life of William King. Boston: Beacon Press, 1969. The account was primarily concerned with the existence of ex-slaves in Canada. It contributed nothing to the study on Cass.

Walker, David. Walker's Appeal in Four Articles. New York: Arno Press and the New York Times, 1969. The work provided information on the tragic life of the freed blacks in racially hostile ante-bellum America.

Washington, Booker T. The Story of the Negro: The Rise of the Race from Slavery, Volume 1. New York: Negro University Press, 1969. The account provided extremely useful material on the Saunders ex-slaves. The white reaction to the blacks of Cass, the acquisitions of real estate by the ex-slaves, and biographical sketch of William Allen, Samuel Hawkes, and Cornelius Lawson.

Welch, Lois W. A Diamond Sparkles. Davenport, Iowa: Bowden Brothers Incorporated, 1970. The treatise contained some valuable information about the black settlers of Cass County, especially in the appendices.

Williams, George Washington. History of the Negro Race in America from 1619 to 1880. Volume II. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1883. In some places the study dealt with the plight of ex-slaves in ante-bellum America. For that reason it had some value to the research project.

A Woman's Life Work: Labors and Experiences of Laura S. Haviland. Chicago: C. V. Waite and Company Publishers, 1887. This autobiography illustrates Haviland's involvement in the Michigan Underground Railroad. It also described the problems she encountered with slave holders and white citizens of Michigan. For the latter reason it served an important role in the research project.

Woodford, Frank B. Father Abraham's Children: Michigan Episodes in the Civil War. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1961. The account provided a vivid picture of the economic life of Michigan. For that reason excerpts from it was useful in the dissertation.

Woodson, Carter G. A Century of Negro Migration. Washington, D.C.: The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, 1918. The study provided valuable data on the reasons for migration used by ex-slaves. The author also mentioned the reasons why Cass County had a large concentration of blacks.

Woodson, Carter G. Free Negro Owners of Slaves in the United States. Washington, D.C.: The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, 1924. The account held vital information on the peculiarities of the free black families in the slave south. Its use to the study was small.

Articles

Abzug, Robert H. "The Black Family During Reconstruction." In Key Issues in the Afro-American Experience, Volume II. Edited by D. M. Fox, N. I. Huggins, M. Kilson. New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1971. pp. 26-42. The account provided valuable information about the black family and the material possessions they cherish most.

"America's Oldest Negro Community: Gouldtown, New Jersey," Ebony Magazine, Volume VII, no. 4 (February 1952), pp. 42-46. The selection provided some valuable data about predominantly black settlements. It was very useful to the projects' outcome.

Aptheker, Herbert. "Maroons Within the Present Limits of the United States." Journal of Negro History, Volume XXIV (April 1939) pp. 167-184. The article made available useful data on one of the ways by which slaves became free.

Aptheker, Herbert. "The Quakers and Negro Slavery." Journal of Negro History, Volume XXV (January 1940). pp. 331-362. The work was useful for it supplied valuable information on Quaker-black relations.

Aptheker, Herbert. "Slave Resistance in the United States." In Key Issues in the Afro-American Experience, Volume I. Edited by D. M. Fox, N. I. Huggins, M. Kilson. New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1971. pp. 161-174. The reading material contained no information vital to the thesis.

Barnes, Charles E. "Battle Creek as a Station on the Underground Railroad." Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, Volume XXXVIII. pp. 279-285. The cited work provided information on one of the Michigan Underground Railroad Routes. It also gave essential facts on Erastus Hussey of that city.

Bell, Howard H. "Negro Nationalism: A Factor in Emigration Projects, 1858-1861." Journal of Negro History, Volume XLVII, no. 1. (January 1962), pp. 19-35. The article had no value to the dissertation. Thoughts of leaving Cass County seldom ocurred among the black settlers of that region.

Bennett, Lerone. "The Birth of Jim Crow." Ebony Magazine, Volume XVII, no. 10 (August 1962) pp. 104-113. The selection provided some valuable materials on the plight of ex-slaves in the ante-bellum era.

Bennett, Lerone. "Generation of Crisis." Ebony Magazine, Volume XVIII, no. 7 (May 1962) pp. 81-88. The article dealt with the blacks' agitation for reforms in the ante-bellum era.

Bennett, Lerone. "The Making of Black America, Part V." Ebony Magazine, Volume XXVI, no. 1 (November 1970) pp. 57-67. The reading material provided information on the plight of freed slaves in ante-bellum America.

Brewer, William M. "Poor Whites and Negroes in the South since the Civil War." Journal of Negro History. Volume XV, no. 1 (January 1930) pp. 26-37. The piece presented information on the economic competition that developed among the two groups. It provided no valuable information to the project.

Brigham, R. I. "Negro Education in Ante-Bellum Missouri." Journal of Negro History, Volume XXX, no. 4 (October 1945) pp. 405-420. The selection described the plight of the ex-slaves in ante-bellum America.

Bittle, William and Geis, Gilbert. "Alfred Charles Sam and an African Return: A Case Study in Negro Despair." in Black Brotherhood. Edited by Okon Edet Vya. Lexington, Massachusetts: D. C. Heath and Company, 1971. The presentation provided useful information on how ex-slaves from a predominantly black community got along with whites in the surrounding neighborhoods.

Broderick, Francis L. "The Gnawing Dilemma: Separatism and Integration, 1865-1925." In Key Issues in the Afro-American Experience, Volume II. Edited by D. M. Fox, N. I. Huggins, M. Kilson. New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1971. pp. 93-106. The selection gave some interesting material on the race philosophy of many blacks. For that reason, it contributed some to the study.

Brooks, Carolyn. "For Our Father." Ebony Magazine, Volume XXVII, no. 10 (August 1972) p. 46. The poem provided some beautiful thoughts about black dreams of finding a peaceful asylum.

Brown, Ada A. "Autobiographical Notes by E. Lakin Brown." Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections, Volume XXX. p. 45. The account provided a useful and vivid description of Michigan in the early 1800's.

Brunn, Stanley D. and Wheeler, James O. "Negro Migration into Rural Southwestern Michigan." Geographical Review, Volume L (1968) pp. 214-230. The selection presented some valuable and useful information on the black settlements of Cass County, The Quakers, the Underground Railroad Routes, and the Kentucky slave raid.

Brunn, Stanley D. and Wheeler, James O. "An Agricultural Ghetto: Negroes in Cass County, Michigan, 1845-1868." Geographical Review, Volume LIX (July 1969) pp. 317-329. The article supplied pertinent data on the black land acquisitions, the movement of fugitives to and through the county, the purchases of land by the Nation of Islam, and the lost property by blacks in the county.

Butterfield, Roger. "The Search for a Black Past." Life Magazine, Volume LXV, no. 1 (22 November 1968) p. 91. The report presented information on the black struggle for equality in ante-bellum America.

Cadbury, H. J. "Another Early Quaker Anti-Slavery Document." Journal of Negro History, Volume XXVII, no. 2 (April 1942) pp. 210-215. The article illustrated the continuous involvement of Friends in aiding runaways to freedom.

Cheek, William F. "John Mercer Langston: Black Protest Leader and Abolitionist." Civil War History, Volume XVI, no. 2 (June 1970) pp. 101-120. The study discussed the plight of blacks in ante-bellum America and their attempts to improve their social and political positions in the county.

Coggan, Blanche B. "The Underground Railroad and Black-White Co-operation." Michigan Challenge, Volume IX, no. 9 (June 1968) pp. 12-13, 50-51. The article provided valuable information on the development of that clandestine system as early as the eighteenth century.

Coggan, Blanche B. "The Underground Railroad in Michigan." Negro History Bulletin, Volumes XXVII-XXVIII (October 1963) pp. 122-126. The reading gave pertinent material relating to the underground railroads that traversed Michigan. Data indicating where the routes merged in Cass was also given.

Coller, Ross. "It Takes a Little While to Turn About a Great Ship of State." Michigan Challenge, Volume IX, no. 9 (June 1968). pp. 16-17, 54. The selection mentioned the connection between Quakers and blacks. For that reason, parts of the article were helpful.

Craven, Avery O. "Poor Whites and Negroes in the Ante-Bellum South." Journal of Negro History, Volume XV, no. 1 (January 1930) pp. 14-25. The cited work illustrated the hostilities that arose between the two groups. The selection had minimum use for the study.

Dancy, John C. "The Negro People in Michigan." Michigan History Magazine, Volume XXIV-XXV (1940-1941). pp. 220-240. The work supplied pertinent material on the migration of blacks to Michigan. It also provided numbers and the problems faced by the new emigres.

David, C. W. A. "The Fugitive Slave Law of 1739 and Its Antecedent." Journal of Negro History, Volume IX, no. 1 (January 1924) pp. 18-25. The selection illustrated the plight of free blacks, especially the runaways, in the ante-bellum period.

Document. "18th Century Petition of South Carolina Negroes." Journal of Negro History, Volume XXXI, no. 1 (January 1946) pp. 98-99. The paper illustrated a procedure used by freed blacks in the ante-bellum years to gain political recognition. It served no useful purpose for the thesis.

Documents. "Transplanting Free Negroes to Ohio from 1815 to 1858." Journal of Negro History, Volume I, no. 3 (July 1916) pp. 302-313. The source illustrated how masters supplied land for the slaves they emancipated. The excerpt was crucial in understanding the settlement of the Saunder's ex-slaves in Cass.

Drake, St. Clair. "The Social and Economic Status of the Negro in the United States." in America's Black Past. Edited by Eric Foner. New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1970. pp. 501-520. The excerpt provided pertinent and necessary information about the economic existence of blacks in ante-bellum America. The data was essential in comparing the economic life of urban and rural blacks.

Dubois, W. E. B. "The Great Strike." in America's Black Past. Edited by Eric Foner. New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1970. pp. 181-206. The work supplied no valuable information to the study.

Fields, Harold B. "Free Negroes in Cass County Before the Civil War." Michigan History, Volume XLIV (1960) pp. 375-384. The work provided data on the first arrivals in the county, the establishment of residents in the area, the coming of black emigres, the problems they encountered in all aspects, the underground railroad, fugitives, and Quaker operators. It also provided useful sources to check.

Fischer, R. A. "Racial Segregation in Ante-Bellum New Orleans." American Historical Review, Volume LXXIV (February 1969) pp. 926-937. The article illustrated the color consciousness of some of the free blacks in the ante-bellum years.

Fitchett, Horace E. "The Origin and Growth of the Free Negro Population of Charleston, South Carolina." Journal of Negro History, Volume XXVI, no. 4 (1941) pp. 421-437. The work provided significant data on the class and color consciousness of the freed blacks in the ante-bellum years.

Fitchett, E. Horace. "Traditions of the Free Negro in Charleston, South Carolina." Journal of Negro History, Volume XXV, no. 2 (April 1940). pp. 138-152. The paper illustrated the class consciousness of freed men in the ante-bellum year. For that reason, the article was significant to the research on Cass.

Franklin, John Hope. "The Enslavement of Free Negroes in North Carolina." Journal of Negro History, Volume XXIX, no. 4 (October 1944) pp. 401-428. The work illustrated the miserable status of the free blacks in the ante-bellum era.

Franklin, John Hope. "The Free Negro in the Economic Life of Ante-Bellum North Carolina, Parts I and II." Journal of Negro History, Volume XIX, nos. 3 and 4 (July and October 1942) pp. 239-259 and pp. 359-375. Both selections were very useful in understanding the economic growth and development of the ex-slaves in rural environments.

Franklin, John Hope. "James Boon, Free Negro Artisan." Journal of Negro History, Volume XXX, no. 2 (April 1945) pp. 150-180. The source illustrated the class consciousness and other peculiarities of the free blacks in ante-bellum America. The study was useful because it provided an understanding of the psychee of some ex-slaves.

Franklin, John Hope. "Rebels, Runaways and Heroes: The Bitter Years of Slavery." Life, Volume LXV, no. 1 (22 November 1968) p. 92. The selection illustrated the continuous fight for equality that the freed blacks waged in the nineteenth century.

Franklin, John Hope. "Slaves Virtually Free in Ante-Bellum North Carolina." Journal of Negro History, Volume XXVIII (July 1943) pp. 284-310. Once again the plight of the ex-slaves was demonstrated in ante-bellum America.

Frazier, E. Franklin. "The Negro Middle Class and Desegregation." Social Problems, Volume IV, no. 4 (April 1957) pp. 291-301. The cited work was very valuable for it showed some striking similarities with the elites of ante-bellum Cass.

Frazier, E. Franklin. "The Negro Slave Family." Journal of Negro History, Volume XV, no. 2 (April 1930) pp. 198-259. The article illustrated some of the peculiarities of the black family which were manifested in that county.

Frederickson, George M. "The Development of American Racism." in Key Issues in the Afro-American Experience, Volume I. Edited by D. M. Fox, N. I. Huggins, M. Kilson. New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1971. The selection illustrated the racism that plagued ante-bellum America. That was detrimental to the freed blacks in that period.

Fuller, G. N. "The Underground Railroad in Michigan." Michigan Centennial History, Volume I. pp. 352-361. The reading material provided valuable information pertaining to the routes that traversed the county and the importance of Cass County to that system. The names of the operators were also mentioned.

Fuller, George N. "Settlement of Southern Michigan, 1805-1837." Michigan History Magazine, Volume XIX (1935) pp. 190-214. The selection provided useful data on the settlement of the county in the late 1820's.

Furlong, Robert J. "Know Your Michigan." Plaid and Khaki. (April 1955) p. 8. The article supplied important material on the location of the underground railroad routes in the county. The data presented was not original.

Gibb, Harley Lawrence. "Slaves in Old Detroit." Michigan History Magazine, Volume XVIII (1934) pp. 143-146. The work supplied information that indicated that slavery existed in Michigan contrary to the Northwest Ordinance. Its significance to the study was small.

Greene, Lorenzo J. "The New England Negro as Seen in Advertisements for Runaway Slaves." Journal of Negro History, Volume XXIX, no. 2 (April 1944) pp. 125-146. The cited work illustrated the significance that many blacks placed on color. It too was important for the research project.

Gutman, Herbert G. "Blacks and the Labor Movement: A Case Study." in America's Black Past. Edited by Eric Foner. New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1970. Even though it did not deal with Cass County or Michigan, the article provided some valuable information on the way whites dealt with blacks pursuing jobs.

Hartgrove, W. B. "The Story of Maria Louise Moore and Fannie M. Richards." Journal of Negro History, Volume I, no. 1 (January 1916) pp. 23-33. The source illustrated the story of two freed blacks who settled in ante-bellum Detroit. It provided a clear indication of the treatment dealt out to ex-slaves in that Michigan community.

Haynes, George E. "The Movement of Negroes from the County to the City." Southern Workman. The selection mentioned factors that motivated blacks to migrate to developing urban sites.

Hill, Mozell C. "The All-Negro Communities of Oklahoma: The Natural History of a Social Movement." Journal of Negro History, Volume XXXI, no. 3 (July 1946) pp. 254-268. The work provided valuable information on the difficulties encountered by blacks in such communities.

Hirsch, Leo H. "New York and Negro from 1783 to 1865, Part II." Journal of Negro History, Volume XVI, no. 4 (October 1931) pp. 415-454. The work illustrated the plight of the freed blacks in ante-bellum America.

Houston, G. D. "John Woolman's Efforts in Behalf of Freedom." Journal of Negro History, Volume II, no. 2 (April 1917) pp. 126-139. The selection illustrated the Quaker involvement in improving the social position of the slaves throughout America. The presence of the county's large Quaker community attracted me to the article.

Humphrey, Caroline R. "Laura Smith Haviland." Michigan History Magazine, Volume V, nos. 1 and 2 (January and April 1921) pp. 173-186. The reading selection highlighted Haviland's conversion to abolitionism. The significance of the account to Cass County was small.

Imes, William Lloyd. "The Legal Status of Free Negroes and Slaves in Tennessee." Journal of Negro History, Volume IV, no. 3 (July 1919) pp. 254-272. The study illustrated the plight of blacks in the slave south.

Jackson, Luther P. "The Early Strivings of the Negro in Virginia." Journal of Negro History, Volume XXV, no. 1 (January 1940) pp. 25-35. The selection indicated the economic development of free blacks in the slave south. It had little use for the study.

Jackson, Luther P. "Manumission in Certain Virginia Cities." Journal of Negro History, Volume XV, no. 3 (July 1930) pp. 278-314. The article mentioned some of the ways by which slaves became freed men. Without emancipation, the study on free blacks in Cass would not have been possible.

Jackson, Luther P. "Religious Instruction of Negroes, 1830 to 1860, with special references to South Carolina." Journal of Negro History, Volume XV, no. 1 (January 1930) pp. 72-114. The study had no value to the project on Cass County.

Jackson, Marguerite Berry. "Finding a Home." Michigan Challenge, Volume VIII, no. 9 (June 1969) pp. 34-38. The article illustrated the movement of freed slaves to a supposed asylum. For that reason many chose Michigan.

Johnston, James Hugo. "Documentary Evidence of the Relations of Negroes and Indians." Journal of Negro History, Volume XIV, no. 1 (January 1929) pp. 21-43. Since a sizeable number of Indians still inhabited Cass County, the aforementioned was read. Nevertheless, its significance to the study was minimal.

Katzman, David M. "Early Settlers in Michigan." Michigan Challenge, Volume VIII, no. 9 (June 1968) pp. 10-11. This article was extremely valuable for it supplied pertinent data relative to the black settlers of Michigan and Cass County.

Katzman, David M. "Rural Blacks in Michigan." Michigan Challenge, Volume IX, no. 9 (June 1969) pp. 30-32. The work dealt with the location of blacks in certain rural areas. It also included reasons for their settlement in such areas. The reading material was very important for Cass was one of the regions discussed.

Klein, Herbert S. "Patterns of Settlement of the Afro-American Population in the New World." In Key Issues in the Afro-American Experience, Volume I. Edited by Daniel M. Fox, Nathan I. Huggins, Martin Kilson. New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1971. The article had no importance to the study.

Landon, F. "Agriculture Among the Free Negro Refugees." Journal of Negro History, Volume XXI, no. 3 (July 1936) pp. 304-312. The study illustrated that freed slaves in a rural locale were much better off than those who decided to inhabit urban areas.

Landon, Fred. "The Anti-Slavery Society of Canada." Journal of Negro History, Volume IV, no. 1 (January 1919) pp. 33-40. The study illustrated that ante-bellum Canada was not a true haven for all blacks, because the ugly head of bigotry made its appearance there also.

Landon, Fred. "The Fugitive Slave Law and the Detroit River Frontier." The Detroit Historical Society Bulletin (November 1950) pp. 5-9. The selection indicated that the fugitive slave law had a disastrous effect upon the black communities that bordered Canada. As a result the ex-slave population of certain Canadian towns increased.

Lehnert, R. "Muslims Build for Tomorrow." Michigan Farmer. (4 September 1971). The selection dealt with the growth and economic development of the Nation of Islam in the county. The article was very important to the study because it indicated how the pioneer black families reacted to the new arrivals.

Lett, H. A. "Migration Difficulties in Michigan." Southern Workman, Volume LVI (May 1927) pp. 231-236. The work illustrated the troubles that blacks encountered after settling in Michigan. It was extremely valuable to the research project.

Lett, Harold A. "Negro Welfare in Michigan." Southern Workman, Volume LV (May 1926) pp. 206-208. The article mentioned how the developing urban-industrial complexes of the nineteenth century attracted blacks to the cities of Michigan. The selection had some use to the research project.

Lindsay, Arnett G. "The Economic Condition of the Negroes of New York Prior to 1861." Journal of Negro History, Volume VI, no. 2. pp. 190-199. The article stated that the ante-bellum blacks of that city were compelled to pursue the meanest vocations if they wished to survive. The same contentions could not be posited about those who settled in Cass County.

Litwack, Leon F. "The Emancipation of the Negro Abolitionist." In America's Black Past. Edited by Eric Foner. New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1970. pp. 162-180. It illustrated the miserable plight of the ex-slaves in ante-bellum America. Even the black abolitionists were treated with disdain.

Matison, Samuel Eliot. "Manumission by Purchase." Journal of Negro History, Volume XXXIII, no. 2 (January 1940) pp. 146-167. The reading material mentioned some of the techniques employed by slaves to purchase their freedom. It was significant in understanding the status of the free slaves.

McCoy, Shelby T. "Negroes and Mulattoes in Eighteenth-Century France." Journal of Negro History, Volume XXX, no. 3 (July 1945) pp. 276-292. The cited work illustrated how some slave master-fathers provided for the education of their half-breed offspring. The study contributed some to the research project.

Mehlinger, Louis R. "The Attitude of the Free Negro Toward African Colonization." Journal of Negro History, Volume I, no. 3 (July 1916) pp. 276-301. The selection merely indicated the plight of the ex-slave in ante-bellum America. It also mentioned how the "American Dream" became an "American nightmare" for ex-slaves. Its use to the project was minimal.

Meier, A. and Rudwick, E. "The Role of Blacks in the Abolitionist Movement." in From Plantation to the Ghetto. Edited by Gilbert Osofsky. New York: Hill and Wang, 1970. p. 113. Once again the plight of the freed blacks in ante-bellum America was highlighted. The status of the black abolitionist was that of second class reformer. The value of the material to the dissertation was small also.

Miller, George J. "Some Influences in the Settlement of Michigan and in the Distribution of Its Population." Bulletin of the American Geographical Society, Volume XLV, no. 5. (1913) passim. The article explains how the people from that area reached Michigan. It had little use for the project.

Moss, Simeon F. "The Persistence of Slavery and Involuntary Servitude in a Free State." Journal of Negro History, Volume XXXV, no. 3 (July 1950) pp. 289-314. The article illustrated the miserable plight of the ex-slave in ante-bellum America.

Muir, Andrew Forest. "The Free Negro in Fort Bend County, Texas." Journal of Negro History, Volume XXXIII, no. 1 (January 1948) pp. 79-85. The selection illustrated the deplorable state of the freed blacks in the ante-bellum south.

Nelson, Alice Dunbar. "People of Color in Louisana." Journal of Negro History, Volume II, no. 1 (January 1917) pp. 51-79. The cited work illustrated how significant color was to the freed blacks of that ante-bellum community.

Pease, William H. and Pease, Jane H. "Organized Negro Communities: A North American Experiment." Journal of Negro History, Volume XLVII, no. 1 (January 1962) pp. 19-35. The article was very useful because it supplied valuable information on the difficulties encountered by black settlers in such areas. Cass County was not included in that study.

Perlman, D. "Organizations of the Free Negro in New York City 1800-1861." Journal of Negro History, Volume LVI, no. 3 (July 1971). pp. 181-197. The study had no use to the project. It did, however, illustrate the plight of the freed blacks in America.

Ragland, John Marshall. "The Negro in Detroit." Southern Workman, Volume LII (November 1923). pp. 533-540. The article mentioned the cultural development of black Detroit, the problems the ex-slaves encountered in that city, and the riots that started in the city. Its use was important, especially in the early sections of the project.

Rammel, Kamp J. "The Providence Negro Community, 1820-1842." Rhode Island History, Volume VII (January 1948) pp. 20-33. The cited work illustrated that wherever the free blacks lived in ante-bellum America, the majority population perceived them as a threat.

Reid, Ira De A. "Negro Immigration to the United States." Social Forces, Volume XVI (1937-1938) pp. 411-417. The article had no use to the study, but it illustrated how whites reacted to the large migration of blacks into an area.

Reid, Ira De A. "Philanthropy and Minorities." Phylon, Volume V, no. 3, pp. 266-271. The article illustrated how blacks were usually dependent upon white largesse. For that reason it was valuable to the study.

Riddell, William Renwick. "A Negro Slave in Detroit when Detroit was Canadian." Michigan History Magazine, Volume XVIII (1934) pp. 48-53. The article demonstrated that the institution of slavery existed in Michigan regardless of the Northwest Ordinance.

Riddell, William R. "The Slave in Upper Canada." Journal of Negro History, Volume IV, no. 4 (October 1919) pp. 372-395. The selection illustrated that slavery existed in Canada prior to the time that many fugitives began to perceive that area as a refuge from slavery.

"Roberts Settlement." Ebony Magazine, Volume VII, no. 12 (November 1951) pp. 40-44. The article illustrated some striking similarities between that settlement and those located in Cass County.

Russell, John H. "Colored Free Men as Slave Owners in Virginia." Journal of Negro History, Volume I, no. 3 (July 1916) pp. 233-242. The work mentioned some of the peculiarities of the freed blacks in ante-bellum southern communities.

Scruggs, Otley M. "The Economic and Racial Components of Jim Crow." in Key Issues in the Afro-American Experience, Volume II. Edited by D. M. Fox, N. I. Huggins, M. Kilson. New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich Incorporated, 1971. The selection illustrated how the ex-slaves were relegated to least rewarding and low paying occupations because of their race. The article was valuable to the study.

Savage, William Sherman. "The Negro in the Westward Movement." Journal of Negro History, Volume XXV, no. 4 (January 1940) pp. 531-539. The selection mentioned some of the factors which motivated blacks to migrate west. However, their enemy -- racism -- was also present in that section of the county.

Shugg, Roger Wallace. "Negro Voting in the Ante-Bellum South." Journal of Negro History, Volume XXI, no. 4 (October 1936) pp. 357-364. The article illustrated that contrary to most opinions the slaveholding aristocracy permitted some blacks to vote in elections. Consequently, they were solicited by white politicians eager to defeat their opponents.

Simpkins, P. L. "North Carolina Quakers and Blacks: Education and Membership." Negro History Bulletin, Volume XXXV, no. 7 (November 1973) pp. 160-162. Because Friends were present in the county, I thought that it was necessary to read the above selection. It provided some valuable material on the Quaker-freed black relationship.

Spear, Allan. "The Origins of the Urban Ghetto, 1870-1915." In Key Issues in the Afro-American Experience, Volume II. Edited by D. M. Fox, N. I. Huggins, M. Kilson. New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Jovanovich, 1971. The article illustrated how early ante-bellum black were placed in the poor sections of town. The work provided some valuable information to the study.

Stevens, Harold J. "The Influence of New England in Michigan." Michigan History Magazine, Volume XIX (1935) pp. 322-353. The selection mentioned the origins of the new white settlers and it associated radicalness with those from New York and conservatism with those from the New England States. However, most of the arrivals had anti-slavery sentiments.

Stocking, William. "New England Men in Michigan History." Michigan History Magazine, Volume V, nos. 1 and 2 (January and April 1921) pp. 123-140. The work mentioned how the Erie Canal was used to bring New Englanders and New Yorkers to the region. Their presence explains the appearance of place names that were common in the East.

Sydnor, Charles S. "The Free Negro in Mississippi before the Civil War." American Historical Review, Vol. XXXII (July 1927) pp. 769-788. The study illustrated the miserable plight of the ex-slaves in the ante-bellum south. It also showed the ratio of mulatto to dark pigmented freed men.

Washington, Booker T. "Two Centuries Under Freedom." Out Look Magazine, Volume LXXIII (January-April 1903) pp. 293-305. Based primarily upon interviews with the older established family heads, this article provided extremely valuable data on the social history of blacks in the region, the economic history of that group, and their cultural development in the region.

Wesley, Charles H. "Lincoln's Plan for Colonizing the Emancipated Negroes." Journal of Negro History, Volume IV, no. 1 (January 1919) pp. 7-22. The selection mentioned that even the "Great Emancipator" was involved in the conspiracy against the freed blacks in ante-bellum America.



Wesley, Charles H. "The Negro in the Organization of Abolition." Phylon, Third Quarter (1941) pp. 223-235. The work illustrated the sad plight of the ex-slave in the larger community and that reform society.

Wesley, Charles H. "The Negroes Struggle for Freedom in Its Birth Place." Journal of Negro History, Volume XXX, no. 1 (January 1945) pp. 62-81. The article illustrated the continuous fight for equality that ex-slaves had to wage in America.

Williamson, J. R. "Black Self-Assertion Before and After Emanicipation." In Key Issues in the Afro-American Experience, Volume I. Edited by D. M. Fox, N. I. Huggins, M. Kilson. New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, 1971. The cited work demonstrated that the black's struggle for equality continued after the Civil War. It also indicated the miserable plight of the free blacks in America.

Winks, Robin W. "The Canadian: A Historical Assessment, Part II." Journal of Negro History, Volume LIV, no. 16 (January 1969) pp. 1-18. The study mentioned that the majority of the blacks in Canada were originally from the upper south. Also, it stated that Canada was not free of discrimination.

Woodson, Carter G. "Anthony Benezet." Journal of Negro History, Volume II, no. 1 (January 1917) pp. 37-50. The selection gave a partial biographical account of that Quaker and his involvement in aiding the down-trodden. Its use to the dissertation was minimal.

Woodson, Carter G. "The Negro of Cincinnati Prior to the Civil War." Journal of Negro History, Volume I, no. 1 (January 1916) pp. 1-22. The selection illustrated the plight of the ex-slaves in the so-called free northern states.

Woodson, Carter G. "The Negro Washerwoman, a Vanishing Figure." Journal of Negro History, Volume XV, no. 3 (July 1930) pp. 269-277. The article described the poor economic position of the ante-bellum black male. Consequently, the burden was placed on the black female.

Work, Monroe N. "The Negro Migration." Southern Workman, Volume LIII (May 1924) pp. 202-212. The work illustrated some of the problems encountered by emigrant blacks. It provided some useful data to the thesis.

Wright, Richard. "The Economic Condition of Negroes in the North: Negro Governments in the North." Southern Workman, Volume XXXVII (1908) pp. 486-498. The study provided valuable information about the economic, social and political growth of the blacks of Cass County. Descriptions of the black schools and churches were also given.

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Unpublished Masters and Ph.D. Theses

Berlin, Ira. Slaves Who Were Free: The Free Negro in the Upper South, 1776-1861. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1970. The study highlighted the plight of the ante-bellum freed black in America.

Emmer, Dorothy. The Civil and Political Status of the Negro in Michigan and the Northwest before 1870. Thesis for the Masters Degree, Wayne State University, 1935. The project presented a socio-political history of blacks in Michigan. It provided valuable insights into how whites reacted to the presence of blacks in the territory.

Green, Allan W. C. The Image of the Negro in the Pre-Civil War North 1787-1857. Ph.D. Dissertation, Claremont Graduate School, 1968. The study further proved the theme expressed by Leon F. Litwack that the north was certainly not a free land for the ex-slaves. It also discussed why and how negative images materialized about blacks of that era.

Katzman, David M. Before the Ghetto: Black Detroit in the Nineteenth Century. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Michigan, 1969. The treatise contributed valuable information on how white Detroiters reacted to the presence of ex-bondmen in that community. It also supplied some information on the early black settlements of Cass.

Kneip, Therese Agnes. Slavery in Early Detroit. Thesis for the Masters Degree, University of Detroit, 1938. The research presented information which indicated that the institution existed in the region despite the Northwest Ordinance. It also provided some data relative to the treatment dealt out to blacks by whites.

Knuth, C. P. E. Early Immigration and Current Residential Patterns of Negroes in Southwestern Michigan. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Michigan, 1969. The account provided very important data on the migration and settlement of blacks in that county. It was one of the most important works for the study.

Renkiewicz, Frank Anthony. The Polish Settlement of St. Joseph County, Indiana: 1855-1935. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Notre Dame, 1967. The study provided some valuable insights into how ethnic enclaves existed among the majority population. There were some similarities between the Polish and black settlers.

Thomas, N. G. The Second Coming in the Third New England (The Millenial Impulse in Michigan 1830-1860). Ph.D. Dissertation, Michigan State University, 1967. The book explained how the state became a hot bed of abolitionism.

Woodson, June Baber. A Century with the Negroes of Detroit 1830-1930. Thesis for the Masters Degree, Wayne State University, 1949. The paper supplied some necessary information which was pertinent to the study. In it the plight of the ante-bellum black residents of Detroit was illustrated.

INTERVIEWS

One of the major sources of data for the present research was intensive interviews with former and present residents of the county. Twenty-six individuals served in this capacity. Principally, genealogical materials, documents, pictures, and information relative to the black-white situation were provided by that group. Sixteen of the informants were octogenarians and direct descendants of the early black arrivals. Since the interviews were recent dealing with events of the nineteenth-century, cross checking of some of the information supplied was necessary. On a few occasions, however, that task was impossible because writers of the sources did not deal with the topics that the informants responded to. Nevertheless, they assured me that the material presented was as historically correct as possible.

The following is a copy of the questionnaire:

1. Why did your ante-bellum ancestors migrate to Cass County?
2. Why did they choose a rural area?
3. Do you have any historical relics, e.g., pictures?
4. How helpful were the Quakers in the area?
5. How did non-Quakers react to their presence in the area?
6. Why were they located primarily in Calvin and Porter Townships?

7. How did the pre-Civil War blacks react to the Fugitive Slave Law?
8. Was there any interracial marriages in the county?
9. Why were there no blacks in the northern townships of Marcellus, Volinia, Wayne, and Silver Creek?
10. What made Cass County different from the other ante-bellum black communities?
11. How active was the underground railroad in that region?
12. Were there any black Quakers in the county?
13. How helpful were the Quakers in the religious development of the county's blacks?
14. Why was there a need for two A.M.E. Churches?
15. What roles, other than religious, did the churches play in the underground railroad?
16. How difficult was obtaining land in the area?
17. How did the pioneer blacks respond to the Indians living in the area?
18. How did the offspring of the early black arrivals differ from their parents?
19. Did a black aristocracy develop in the county?
20. How did the off-spring of the founding black fathers respond to the arrival of the Nation of Islam?
21. Were there any black schools in the area?
22. How did the white citizens of Niles respond to the presence of large numbers of blacks in Cass county?

23. Were the black citizens treated fairly?

24. Who and why was land sold to the black settlers?

25. Were they granted any special privileges?

26. Do you have any information to volunteer?

Informants

Frederick Allen. 9 December 1973. Vandalia, Cass County, Michigan.

Emaline Anderson. 29 November 1973. Vandalia, Cass County, Michigan.

Gladys Ash. 29 November 1973. Calvin Township, Cass County, Michigan.

Marguerite Berry. 16 October 1973. Lansing, Ingham County, Michigan.

Elwood Bonine. 17 December 1973. Lansing, Ingham County, Michigan.

Frank Burmeister. 27 November 1973. Cassopolis, Cass County, Michigan.

Clyde Byrd. 19 November 1973. Lansing, Ingham County, Michigan.

Steve Byrd. 31 August 1974. Lansing, Ingham County, Michigan.

Clarence Haines. 16 November 1973. Calvin Township, Cass County, Michigan.

Guylor Haines. 1 December 1973. Calvin Township, Cass County, Michigan.

Hazel Hawks. 3 December 1973. Calvin Township, Cass County, Michigan.

Orlando James. 29 November 1973. Calvin Township, Cass County, Michigan.

Frances Lawson. 15 November 1973. Pokagon Township, Cass County, Michigan.

William Lawson. 15 November 1973. Pokagon Township, Cass County, Michigan.

Robert Mathews. 29 November 1973. Vandalia, Cass County, Michigan.

Bertha Newsom. 20 November 1973. Calvin Township, Cass County, Michigan.

Granville Nicholson. 24 January 1972. Lansing, Ingham County, Michigan

Tally Richards. 20 October 1973. Cassopolis, Cass County, Michigan.

Frederick Sackrider, Extension Officer for County Agricultural Agency Representing Cass. 13 September 1973. East Lansing, Ingham County, Michigan.

Edna Saunders. 3 December 1973. Calvin Township, Cass County, Michigan

Bessie Synder. 26 November 1973. Calvin Center, Cass County, Michigan.

Delbert Vaughn. 28 November 1973. Calvin Township, Cass County, Michigan.

Rosella Wade. 23 November 1973. Calvin Township, Cass County, Michigan.

Cornelius X (Williams). 5 December 1973. Calvin Township, Cass County, Michigan.

All of the informants supplied extremely valuable information about their ancestors. Without doubt, their contributions were very valuable to the dissertation.

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