GERMANTOWN CRIER

An old bridge on Cresheim Creek. . .
Inside, more old-time views of
Wissahickon bridges. . .

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BACKGROUND AND CIRCUMSTANCES of the GERMANTOWN PROTEST AGAINST SLAVERY, 1688

Part II

by Martha Crary Halpern

Immediate Causes of the Protest

What precisely prompted the four Germantown Friends — Gerrit Hendricks, Francis Daniel Pastorius, Abraham and Dirck op den Graff — to write their eloquent protest against slavery is not clear. It was written five years after their arrival in Pennsylvania and four years after the documented arrival of the ship *Isabella*, which carried 150 slaves to Pennsylvania. There were relatively few slaves in Pennsylvania, and those few were distributed among slave-holding households in small numbers, and it seems unlikely that news of the Jamaican slave revolts of 1686-1687 aroused fears of similar occurrences in Pennsylvania.

It is clear, however, that during these years discontent with the government of Pennsylvania became intensified. Political control was in the hands of the proprietor and his aristocratic circle of wealthy Quaker merchants. The Assembly, made up of representatives of the people, had little power to act. Opposition to this situation grew until, within nearly twenty years after the founding of the colony, control of the government had shifted from the proprietor to the people.

With Penn's departure for England in 1684, the discontent of the people of Pennsylvania intensified. Penn, fearing the growing strength of the Assembly, insisted that his Council should be largely increased in number, and that its members should be chosen by him rather than by the people. About the same time, the Assembly demanded the right to confer with its constituents on grievances and proposed legislation, and to originate legislation. The Assembly refused to act on laws proposed by Penn and the Council, and in 1685 impeached Nicholas More, Chief Judge of the Supreme Court. In 1686 the Assembly notified Council that it would henceforth exercise its right of amendment, and again refused to act on laws sent by Council. This year also saw the entry into politics of David Lloyd, a Welshman and a commoner, who would later serve in the Assembly and become the leader of the democratic or anti-proprietary party. He was probably also responsible for the vigorous protests against the slave trade made by Chester Monthly meeting between 1711 and 1731.[65] In 1687 the Assembly continued in its defiance of an unresponsive Council, and finally voted to disregard Council and take more authority over its own proceedings. Francis Daniel Pastorius was a delegate to this Assembly of 1687.

Penn, preoccupied with the political turmoil surrounding James II at home in England, offered no effective solutions to the colony's problems, reported to him by his agents. He merely urged the colonial leaders to shun factional disputes and preserve the proprietary interests.[66]

It seems likely that the four Germantown Friends who wrote the protest early in 1688 may have seen this issue as part of a larger political struggle over the rights and freedoms of the citizens of Pennsylvania. Slave-trading and slave-holding were practiced by Penn's select circle and by the opposing Quaker oligarchy. The ownership of slaves by Quakers especially must have seemed particularly inconsistent to the little group of German Friends, whose motives for settling in the new land were idealistic and spiritual.

The protest is dated "ye 18 of the 2 month 1688," that is, April 18, 1688. Before 1752, British Americans used the Julian, or Old Style, calendar, in which the year is started on March 25. Quakers referred to months by their number rather than by their "heathern" names. Thus, until 1752, the first month was March and the 12th month was February.

There has been much speculation as to which of the four actually wrote the protest. The reference to fear of Turks — "that they [persons at sea] should be taken and sold for slaves into Turkey" — has been construed in favor of Pastorius as the author, since he was the only one of the four who had experience of pursuit at sea by a Turkish ship.[67] Indeed, he did mention such an escape "from the Cruel Enslaving Turks, once supposed to be at our heels."[68] But others, Captain John Smith and William Penn, for example, also allude to Turks as slavers,[69] and the term may have been generally applied to any such predators. The handwriting of the document has been thought to resemble that of Pastorius, but no conclusion has been reached.[70]

It has also been suggested that Derick op den Graeff might have been influential in the writing of the document. It was he who accompanied it to the Quarterly Meeting, and his is the only name mentioned in connection with its presentation to the Yearly Meeting.[71] His signature precedes Pastorius' but both are preceded by Gerhard Hendricks, of whom little is known. It can also be speculated that Abraham op den Graeff took a leading role. He afterwards supported George Keith, and the Keithian Quakers issued a similar statement against slavery in 1693.

The protest opens with an explanation of the reasons "why we are against the traffic of men Body." The first reason reflects the concept of the Quakers: "Is there any that would be done or handled at this manner? viz., to be sold or made a slave for all the time of his life?" A more explicit statement of the Golden Rule appears further on: "There is a saying, that we shall doe to all men, licke as

will be done ourselves: making no difference of what generation, descent or Color they are."

The protest continues with a rebuke of Quakers involved in the slave trade. "Now what is this better done as Turcks doe? yea, rather is it worse for them, w'ch say they are Christians: for we hear that ye most part of such Negers are brought heither against their will & consent; and that many of them are stollen . . . And those who steal or robb men, and those who buy or purchase them, are they not all alike?. . . Oh! doe consider well this things, you who doe it: if you would be done at this manner? and if it is done according Christianity?" The writers of the protest regarded the practice of slavery as additionally unChristian, as it led to sin. "And we, who know that men must not commit adultery, some doe commit adultery in others, separating wifes from their husbands and giving them to others; and some sell the children of those poor Creatures to other men." It was incomprehensible to the German Quakers how this practice could be condoned by Christians. A further suggestion is offered: "And we who profess that it is not lawful to steal, must lickewise avoid to purchase such things as are stollen, but rather help to stop this robbing and stealing if possible; and such men ought to be delivered out of ye hands of ye Robbers & sett free. . ."

The idealistic expectations of the German Friends in their new home are revealed in the statement: "Here is liberty of Consience. . ."; but their disillusionment follows: ". . .here ought to be lickewise liberty of ye body. . . . In Europe there are many oppressed for Conscience sacke; and here there are those oppressed w'ch are of a black Colour." And oppression in the New World is worse than in Europe: "You surpass Holland and Germany in this thing."

This oppression in Pennsylvania "mackes an ill report in all those Countries of Europe, where they hear off, that ye Quackers doe here handel men licke they handel there ye Cattel, And for that reason some have no mind or inclination to come hither, and who shall maintaine this your cause or plaid for it? Truely we cannot do so. . . Then is Pennsilvania to have a good report, instead it hath now a bad one for this sacke in other Countries. Especially whereas ye Europeans are desirous to know in what manner ye Quackers doe rule in their Province. . . ." This statement offers a possible explanation for the writing of the protest; that someone in Europe had inquired about the practice of slavery in the Quaker colony of Pennsylvania.

It seems apparent that word of problems in the new colony had spread to Europe. Concerned for the good reputation of the Pennsylvania colony abroad, William Penn had published a series of letters in 1687, entitled *A Letter from Doctor More, with Passages out of several Letters from Persons of good Credit Relating to the State and Improvement of the Province of Pennsilvania Published to prevent false Reports.*[72] Penn's preface observes:

> Divers false Reports going about Town and Country, to the Injury of the Province of Pennsilvania, I was prevailed with by some concerned in that Province, and others that desire the truth of things, to Publish such of the last Letters as made mention of the State of the Country; to serve for answer to the Idle and Unjust Stories that the Malice of some invent, and the Credulity of others prepare them to receive against it; which is all the part I take in this present publication.

The letters included in this pamphlet are from Penn's inner circle. Dr. Nicholas More, Robert Turner, merchant, and James Claypoole, merchant, were members of the Free Society of Traders. David Lloyd and Thomas Home were political appointees. The two remaining letters came one from Penn's steward and the other from his gardener. All the letters describe in detail the abundance and fine quality of Pennsylvania's crops and produce. No mention is made of slavery.

Near the end of the protest occurs a reference to the possibility of slaves joining together and fighting for their freedom. This may have been a reaction to news of the slave revolts in Jamaica. These riots, however, had occurred two years earlier in 1685-1686. The question follows, "Or have these Negers not as much right to fight for their freedom as you have to keep them slaves?"

The Germantown Friends ask for an explanation from the Quaker establishment regarding the practice of keeping slaves: "Now consider well this thing, if it is good or bad? and in case you find it to be good to handel these blacks at that manner, we desire & require you hereby lovingly, that you may informe us here in, which at this time was never done, viz. that Christians have such a liberty to do so, to end we shall be satisfied in this point, & satisfie lickewise our good friends & acquaintences in our natif Country, to whom it is a terror or fairfull thing that men should be handeld so in Pennsylvania."

The protest is signed Gerhard Hendricks, Derick op den Graeff, Francis Daniel Pastorius and Abraham op den Graeff.

Written beneath the Protest on the original document are two minutes. The first minute states: "At our monthly meeting at Dublin. . . we having inspected ye matter above mentioned & considered of it, we finde it so weighty that we think it not Expedient for us to meddle with it here, but do Rather comit it to ye consideration of ye Quarterly meeting; ye tennor of it being nearly Related to ye truth. . . . signed Jo: Hart." [73]

Accordingly the protest was then taken to the Quarterly Meeting at Philadelphia. The Friends appointed to attend this Meeting from Germantown were "Deric Updigrave" and Carl Shervere.[74] The minutes of this meeting report "There being sent to Dublin Meeting from the friends of JarmanTown concerning the buying and keeping of Negroes. They Communicating the same to their Quarterly Meeting, This Meeting having Considered thereof thought fitt to refer it to the Yearly Meeting as being a thing of too great a Weight for ye m to Determine. [75]

The second minute written on the document reads, "This, above mentioned was read in our quarterly meeting at Philadelphia... and was from thence recommended to the Yearly Meeting and the above said Derick and the other two mentioned therein to present the same to ye Abovesaid meetting it being a thing of too great A weight for this meeting to determine. Signed. . . Anthony Morris." This minute was corrected in the minutes of the Friends Yearly Meeting with an asterisk: "There were three others signed it." [76]

The next Quarterly Meeting was attended by "Garet Hendrick."[77] No representatives from Germantown officially attended the Quarterly Meeting for the remainder of that year.[78]

The minutes of the Yearly Meeting held at Burlington state:

> A Paper being here presented by some German Friends Concerning the Lawfulness & Unlawfulness of Buying & keeping of Negroes. It was adjudged not to proper for this Meeting to give a Positive Judgement in the Case. It having so General a Relation to many Other Parts & therefore at present they Forbear It — Agreed that an Epistle be sent from this Meeting to that of London & its left to George Keith [and others] to draw up the same & sign it in behalf of the Meeting."

This is followed by a copy of the protest in full including the minutes from the Monthly and Quarterly meetings.[79] It is clear that the Quakers were not ready to make a stand on this issue.

The Germans, however, were positive in their position on slavery. "But to bring men hither, or to robb and sell them against their will, we stand against." And again, ". . .Therefore we contradict & are against this traffick of menbody."

Pastorius' attitude toward slavery is also demonstrated in an undated poem (English translation):

> If in Christ's doctrine we abide,
> Then God is surely on our side,
> But if we Christ's precepts transgress,
> Negroes by slavery oppress
> And white ones grieve by usury,
> Two evils which to Heaven cry,
> We've neither God nor Christ His Son,
> But straightway travel hellwards on.[80]

The Germans themselves did not generally hold slaves. Pastorius says in his description of Pennsylvania

> In order to support these present inhabitants [of Germantown] as well as others who are arriving, the fields must be cultivated and the land cleared. Let one turn, however, in whichever direction he will. . . & all is overgrown with forest, so that I often wished for a few dozen stout Tyrolese who would have felled the thick oak trees, which we have been obliged to do little by little for ourselves. . . In the meantime we use the savages for work, hiring them by the day. . .[81]

In 1714 John Hepburn makes the observation that when the Negro-master argues with the Christian that the Quakers too are owners of slaves, the "Christian's Answer" is:

> There is a good Body of People without the Bonds of your Instance and that is the German Quakers who live in Germantown near Philadelphia. Who (to their renowned Practise be it spoken) have above all other sects in America kept their Hands clean from that vile Oppression and enriching Sin of making Slaves of their fellow Creatures, the Negroes, as I was credibly informed by one of themselves.[82]

During the years 1735-1750, Salzburgers from Ebenezer fought against the introduction of slavery into the newly founded colony of Georgia.[83]

Christopher Sauer, the German printer, almost always refused to accept advertisements for runaway slaves in his German-language newspaper at a time when Benjamin Franklin regularly printed them in the *Pennsylvania Gazette.*[84]

In *An Account of the Manners of the German Inhabitants of Pennsylvania* written by Benjamin Rush in 1789, the statement is made:

> The Germans seldom hire men to work upon their farms. The feebleness of that authority which masters possess over hired servants, is such that their wages are seldom procured from their labour, except in harvest, when they work in the presence of their masters. The wives and daughters of the German farmers frequently forsake, for a while, their dairy and spinning-wheel, and join their husbands and brothers in the labour of cutting down, collecting and bringing home the fruits of their fields and orchards. The work of the gardens is generally done by the women of the family.[85]

These German farmers were merely continuing their traditional European peasant lifestyle.

These contemporary observations can be supported by statistical evidence. According to the first American census of 1790, the number of slaves owned by Germans was 3,079 as compared with 258,684 owned by people of English and Welsh origin, 27,570 owned by people of Irish origin. The average number of slaves per slaveholding family was 3.5, 6.8, 6.3 and 6.8 respectively. The number of white persons in German, English, Scottish and Irish families was almost the same, that is, 5.7, 5.7, 5.6 and 5.5. The number of slaves owned per hundred of all families was 77 for English and Welsh families, 101 for Scottish, 105 for Irish and 13 for German families. The comment of the census about the Germans is:

> It is significant that the smallest proportion is shown by the Germans who even at the early period were obviously opposed to slave ownership. Had the proportion of slaves for the entire white population of the United States in 1790 been the same as it was for the German element the aggregate number of slaves at the First Census would have been but 52,520 instead of approximately 700,000. [86]

This aversion of the Germans to the practice of slavery has also been borne out by more recent studies of the subject. In one study, an analysis was made of 521 slaveholders; this list being extracted from the tax assessors' reports of 1767.[87] The surnames in this list indicate that slaveholding by Germans was minimal to a remarkable degree. The German element included not only Quakers, but German Lutherans and German Calvinists as well. For although German Lutherans rank just behind the Anglicans as the largest religious group in the city, and combined with German Calvinists, accounted for 23% of the burials in Philadelphia between 1765 and 1769 (a five-year period bracketing the tax assessment of 1767), only 17 of the 521, or 3.3%, of the slaveholders can be identified as German. This abstinence from slaveholding can only partly be explained in economic terms, for while it is true that the Philadelphia Germans were concentrated in the lower half of the wealth structure, thus putting the ownership of a slave beyond the means of many, a sizable number of Germans enjoyed a modest affluence. [88]

Data from wills and probate inventories provide additional evidence for an aversion to slavery by the Germans. Less than 5% of all identified German Lutherans

and Reformed decedents in Philadelphia owned slaves at their deaths in the 1760's and 1770's. This low percentage might have resulted because few Germans had sufficient wealth to consider buying a black, but even only two of 29 (6.9%) inventoried German decedents who ranked in the wealthiest thirty per cent owned slaves in the 1760's and 1770's. It is likely that most Germans who required additional labor simply preferred servants of their own nationality. In the early 1760's, when German indentured servants became extremely scarce, some Germans evidently turned to black slaves. Christopher Sauer wrote in 1761 that "it is with utmost regret that we learn that the Germans are engaged in the barbarous slave traffic because they are able no longer to have German servants." The number who purchased slaves at that time appears to have been relatively small, however. The decline in slave ownership that occurred in Philadelphia after 1720 resulted at least in part because increasing numbers of Quakers and Presbyterians freed their blacks before they died, or because they decided not to buy slaves in the first place. The percentage of inventoried decedents who owned slaves also decreased because most Germans, who comprised an increasing proportion of the city's population after the 1730's, shunned the use of slaves.[89]

It has been suggested that the German immigrants were too anti-Negro to buy slaves.[90] This does not seem likely. Strong egalitarian statements regarding blacks were made in the Protest of 1688: "Nor tho they are black, we cannot conceive there is more liberty to have them slaves, as it is to have other white ones."

The attitude of the Germans toward slavery may have been the result of their own experiences both in Europe and in the New World. Serfdom, or the condition of servitude, was practiced in Germany longer than in any other European country. This condition required the rendering of services to a lord's land and was transferred with it from one lord to another.[91] This condition was not unlike slavery itself. Germany during the 17th and 18th centuries consisted of hundreds of practically independent principalities, whose rulers continued to impoverish their subjects, already impoverished by war, through heavy taxation levied to support an extravagant court based on the example of Louis XVI of France. Many of these princes added religious persecution to their already tyrannical rule.[92] Discrimination did not end when the Germans arrived in Pennsylvania. Pastorius, in his work *The Cheats and the Projectors* written in 1713, recalls the attitude of Philadelphians toward the Germans: "Some of the Germantown People then (around 1700) visiting this their great country man (Daniel Falkner) and inquiring for letters (in Philadelphia) were looked upon as slaves. . ."

No privileges of citizenship were granted to the Germans at the time of the settlement of Germantown in 1683. It was not until 1691 that a charter of incorporation was grated to the Germantown community. This charter empowered the village to hold a court, and a market, to admit citizens, to impose fines and to make ordinances. Daniel Pastorius served as bailiff, Derick op den Graeff, his brother Herman, and one other served as burgesses. Abraham op den Graeff and others were committeemen.[94] At this time many Germans from Germantown declared their allegiance to King William and Queen Mary and fidelity to the Proprietor of the province of Pennsylvania.[95] The importance the Germans placed on the democratic process in government is exemplified by the instance of Paul Wulff who in 1694 was elected Clerk, declined for no good reason, and was fined 3 pounds by the General Court.[96] Under the new charter, Derick op den Graeff served as bailiff in the years 1693 and 1694. Abraham was a burgess in 1692. Abraham also served as a member of the Assembly for the years 1689, 1690, and 1692.[97]

By 1705-1706 many Germans began to feel insecure about their own civil rights in Pennsylvania. At this time a petition was laid before the Provincial Council asking for the naturalization of those Germans and others, who had promised fealty in 1691, and about a hundred others by special Act of Assembly and the sanction of the English Crown.[98] The petition was a request of about 150 high and low Germans that they no longer be considered as foreigners, and that they may have the undoubted right to hold land as the natural born subjects of England and also that they be capable of electing and being elected to public office. As some of the petitioners were "Menninists," they asked for the same provision made for those called Quakers regarding the taking of oaths.[99] In 1709 a bill was passed naturalizing the Germans and enabling them to hold land and property in Pennsylvania. Pastorius's name heads the list. Derick and Herman op den Graeff were dead, and Abraham had moved away. The name of Gerhard Hendricks is also absent from this list.[100]

It is clear that the signers of the protest against slavery as well as the German community as a whole had their own problems with oppression, prejudice and assimilation in the new colony of Pennsylvania. They could easily sympathize with others held in bondage.

The Keithian Controversy

According to the minutes of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, George Keith was among those appointed to carry the protest to the London Meeting. George Keith, a Scottish Quaker, had accompanied George Fox and William Penn on their missionary expedition through Holland and Germany in 1677. In 1685 he arrived in West Jersey and in 1688 he settled in Philadelphia. His theological disagreements with the Quaker leaders in Philadelphia led to an extremely bitter controversy ending in the formation of a separatist party, the "Christian Quakers," or "Keithians." Beginning in late 1691, this controversy convulsed the colonies of West Jersey and Pennsylvania for over a decade.

First presented to the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting, in 1690, Keith's "Gospel Order and Discipline Improved" — known only from a brief description in the minutes of the Meeting — would have reduced the power of the ministers and created a more representative system of deacons and elders. All members would be expected to participate in monthly meetings.[101]

By 1691, tensions had begun to rise in Philadelphia over Thomas Lloyd's aggressive pursuit of absolute political control. Lloyd, a Welsh Quaker, had served as president

of the Provincial Council in Penn's absence, and also a deputy governor. At first the leader of the proprietary interests, Lloyd had reacted against Penn and his agents. He had also established himself and his supporters firmly in control of the Yearly Meeting.[102] Keith saw this new Quaker establishment as worldly and corrupted by political power and prosperity. He also challenged them on such theological issues as the physical resurrection of Christ and the sufficiency of the Inner Light for salvation.

By 1692 Keith's supporters, calling themselves "Christian Quakers," had begun to meet separately.[103] Among them was Abraham op den Graeff, who also served as a representative to the Assembly.[104] In June, the Yearly Meeting issued a "Judgement. . . against George Keith and his Friends," which provoked an "Appeal" by Keith. Abraham and Herman op den Graeff both signed Keith's "Appeal."[105]

Their brother Derick, however, opposed Keith. In 1692, Kerick had succeeded Pastorius as bailiff and, as magistrate in right of his position as bailiff, and attended the Meeting at which great "Tumult and Disorder" had arisen over the Judgement against Keith. ". . . In their Rage there were some, that did violently catch at the Paper to have it torn away; who had so little of Religion in them, that we had no assurance, but they could Fight as well as Snatch and Rail. This was the Meeting where G[eorge] K[eith] himself called a Magistrate (viz. Dereck op de Grave) Impudent Rascal. . ."[106]

Pastorius also remained loyal to the Quaker establishment. Although he opposed Keith, he does not seem to have been involved in any of the controversy. The position of Gerhard Hendricks is not known.

By the fall of 1692, a paper sent to Philadelphia Monthly Meeting and signed by George Keith, Abraham op den Graeff, among others, was rejected by Philadelphia: ". . .We cannot own them as a monthly meeting of the people called Quakers, nor. . . Compound with them in any such manner."[107] William Bradford, the printer, had supported Keith and published many of his works, but shortly after the Yearly Meeting of 1692, Bradford was arrested for printing books without a license.[108] With the pro-Keith press silenced, the Quaker majority continued activities against his supporters, emphasizing political rather than theological aspects of the schism. Keith complained that "all sober People did resent their Proceedings very ill, and as proceeding from a cruel Spirit of Persecution."[109]) These activities ceased in 1693, however, after William Penn's powers of government were temporarily suspended, owing to suspicions of his treasonable support of James II. A new governor was appointed, eclipsing the power of Thomas Lloyd and his party.[110]

William Bradford continued to issue pamphlets in support of Keith from New York, the most important of which was a tract against slavery. This was a searing indictment of slavery from the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting of Keithian Quakers. Grounding their argument upon the principle that all men experienced the Light, the scriptural prohibition of man-stealing, and Christ's demand for compassion for all in misery, they demanded that Friends clear themselves from this evil by restoring freedom to their slaves.[111] Also during this year, Cotton Mather of New England showed interest in the condition and welfare of Negro slaves and prepared a set of "Rules for the Society of Negroes."[112]

The Keithian tract is titled "An Exhortation & Caution to Friends Concerning Buying or Keeping of Negroes." It begins:

> Negroes, Blacks and Tawnies are a real part of Mankind, for whom Christ hath shed his precious Blood, and are capable of Salvation, as well as White Men;. . . and that all such who are sincere Christians and true Believers in Christ Jesus. . . who came not to destroy men's Lives, but to save them, nor to bring any part of Mankind into outward Bondage, Slavery or Misery. . . Therefore we judge it necessary that all faithful Friends should discover themselves to be true Christians by having. . . Compassion towards all in Misery, and that suffer Oppression and severe Usage, so far as in them is possible to ease and relieve them, and set them free of their hard Bondage. . . And for this cause it is, as we judge, that in some places in Europe Negroes cannot be bought and sold for Money, or detained to be Slaves, because it suits not with Mercy, Love & Clemency that is essential to Christianity. . . And to buy Souls and Bodies of men for Moeny, to enslave them and their Posterity to the end of the World, we judge is a great hinderance to the spreading of the Gospel, and is occasion of much War, Violence, Cruelty and Opression, and Theft & Roberty of the highest Nature; for commonly the Negroes tht are sold to white men, are either stollen away or robbed from their Kindred, and to buy such is the way to continue these evil Practices of Man-stealing, and transgresseth that Golden Rule and Law, To do to others what we would have others do to us. Therefore, in true Christian Love, we earnestly recommend it to all our Friends and Brethren, Not to buy any Negroes, unless it were on purpose to set them free, and that such who have bought any, and have them at present, after some reasonable time of moderate Service. . . they may set them at liberty.
>
> *Some Reasons and Causes of our being against keeping of Negroes for Term of Life.* First, because it is contrary to the Principles and Practice of the Christian Quakers to buy Prize or stollen Goods, which we bore a faithful Testimony against in our Native Country; and therefore it is our Duty to come forth in a Testimony against stollen Slaves, it being a far greater Crime under Moses's Law than the stealing of Goods. . . neither should such as have them keep them and their posterity in perpetual Bondage and Slavery, as is usually done, to the great scandal of the Christian Professional. . . Fourthly. . . But what greater Oppression can there be inflicted upon our Fellow Creatures, than is inflicted on the poor Negroes! they being brought from their own Country against their Wills, some of them being stollen, others taken for payment of Debt. . . and others taken Captive in War, and sold to Merchants, who bring them to American Plantations, and sell them for Bond Slaves to them that will give most for them; the Husband from the Wife, and the Children from the Parents; and many that buy them to exceedingly afflict them and oppress them . . the remainder of their time being spent in their Masters service; which doubtless is far worse than is practised by the Turks and Moors upon their Slaves. Which tends to the great Reproach of the Christian Profession; therefore it will be beter for all such as fall short of the Practice of those Infidels, to refuse the name of a Christian, that those Heathen and Infidels may not be provoked to blaspheme against the blessed Name of Christ, by reason of the unparallel'd Cruelty of these cruel and hard hearted pretended Christians. . . Fifthly, Becuase Slaves and Souls of Men are some of the Merchandize of Babylon by which the Merchants of the Earth are made Rich. . .[113]

Many statements in this tract echo passages in the Germantown Protest of 1688, such as references to some places in Europe where slaves are not bought, the separation of blacks from their families, husband from wife and children from parents, the Golden Rule, the

recommendation that true Christians not buy slaves as stolen goods, and the statement that those who do are no better than Turks, heathens and infidels. Although the writer of the 1693 tract is not known, it is possible that Abraham op den Graeff may have been involved. He had signed the Germantown protest, and was a supporter of Keith. It is also possible that the tract was written by George Keith himself. As Keith was appointed one of the group to carry the Germantown protest to London, it can be safely assumed that he was familiar with its contents and might well have been influenced by it. Whoever its author the ideological relationship between the two documents is clearn.

In 1693, the Philadelphia Quarterly Meeting wrote to their "brethren in England" lamenting "the false Aspersions and Defamations, that has been spread abroad in many Countries, by the said G.K. and his Adherents." Among the signers was Derick op den Graeff.[114] In 1694, the London Yearly Meeting disowned Keith, who had returned to England and attacked the English Quaker hierarchy. In 1700 he joined the Church of England and was ordained by the Bishop of London, and in 1702 he returned to America as an Anglican missionary. Some of his adherents became Anglicans; others rejoined the Society of Friends, and a third group formed the nucleus of the first Baptist church in Pennsylvania and New Jersey.[115]

The Keithian schism extended to Germantown, dividing those who had signed the protest of 1688. Herman and Abraham Op den Graeff, and Abraham's wife are listed in "An Account of Such as Have Formerly Frequented Friends Meeting and Have Since Followed George Keith or Others." A note under the names of the Keithians from Germantown states "None of which persons as we know of after their outgoing went to the English Church but some goe to the Baptists and others keep no Religious Society."[116]

James Logan, Secretary to William Penn, wrote in 1725, "George Keith, the Grand Apollyon of this Country's Peace, gave the first fatal Blow. Hence the Minds of Numbers were tainted and soured, not only one against another, but against the Proprietary himself, who could not but condemn the Proceedings of that turbulent conceited Man. . ."[117]

A contrary view is expressed in a letter written by an unknown German who arrived in Philadelphia in 1694:

> The religion most generally professed in this province is that of the Quakers. . . Having in their collective body been active long time in holding up to the kings and nations of Europe the signal of contrition, they now must themselves, passively, confirm the truth of this signal on account of the pride and foolish arrogant ignorance of their members. . . This has here in America begun to manifest itself among them. For a learned and godly man, George Keith by name, who for 19 years has been a preacher among them. . . commenced two years ago to lay bare their worst errors and to expose their teachers' pride and their ignorance of the Word of God. Hence the eyes of many have been opened to see that they have erred against God's Writ and they have publically seceded. This has produced such a shattering among them, that one piece of their meeting-customs lies splintered here, another there; there is sighing on account of the vanity and folly of their teachers, some of whom have gone so far, as to consider the inward light, such as the heathens have, sufficient for salvation. . . These and other absurdities have gained ground among them because of their ignorance of Scripture, which many of them, puffed up with their fantastic light, have ceased to hold in honor. I say this particularly of their ministers. . .[118]

Pastorius, on the other hand, had an intense dislike for George Keith. In a series of poems addressed to the daughters of his "good friend Thomas Lloyd," written in tribute to their father after his death in 1713, Pastorius makes several references to George Keith, one of which follows:

> Good Lord! what Injuries have your said Genitor,
> Of Villans, whilst he was Lieutenant-Governor!
> It seem'd to me, he would his Master Equalize,
> Especially George Keith, well nigh devour'd by Lice.[119]

Again in 1715, Pastorius writes:

> Plain-hearted he has been, profound & Orthodox,
> Opposed by Geo. Keith's dull lowing of an Ox.[120]

In 1697 in a pamphlet entitled "Advice for all Professors," directed against Henry Bernhard Koster and other supporters of Keith, Pastorius makes specific complaints:

I. Of some swelling words of these vain Braggards.
II. Of the unreasonableness of their Challenge.
III. Of their abusing and traducing W.P. in particular.
IV. Of their Slandering and misrepresenting the People called Quakers in general; &
V. Of their selfguiltiness of what they charge us withal (that is, denial of the divinity of Christ)[121]

Although apparently not active in the controversy with Keith, Pastorius was clearly interested in the slavery question. On page 278 of his *Beehive* can be found John Hepburn's 1715 "Essay on Negro Slavery." The list of books in his library included many works by George Keith, including "An Exhortation concerning Buying. . . of Negroes," and also George Fox's "Family Order of Whites, Blacks & Indians."[122]

Pastorius remained loyal to his good friend William Penn, even through Penn's trial in England. He also remained a loyal Quaker, as evidenced by many references in minutes of the Monthly and Quarterly Meetings of Abington and Philadelphia. He died between December, 1719, the date of his will, and January, 1720 when the will was proven, the inventory of his effects being filed January 21, 1720. The place of burial is not known.[123]

Mention of the op den Graeff brothers occurs in the records of the Court at Germantown. In 1696, Herman and Abraham were cited for insufficient fences; in 1701 Herman served on a jury. Brought to court for several offenses in 1703, Abraham "did mightily abuse the Bailiff in open court. . . with many injurious words. . . He was fined, and remained in sheriff's custody until the fine was satisfied. In 1704, Abraham, as defendant in a dispute over a payment, was found not guilty but still obliged to pay. Again in 1704, Abraham brought action against another for slandering him "that no honest man would be in his company;" he lost the case, and on finding that he had to pay the court charges, "he went away." He and his wife sold their brick house in Germantown and soon afterwards moved to Perkiomen, where he died in 1731. Derick op den Graeff died about 1697, leaving a widow, but probably

no children. Herman, in 1701, moved to Kent County, now part of Delaware, and died in 1704.[124]

Nothing is known of Gerhard Hendricks.

The Protest and Abolitionism

Eight years after the Germantown protest — and five years after the Keithian Quaker pamphlet — the Yearly Meeting, perhaps responding to criticism and pressure, issued the following statement:

> Friends are advised not to encourage the bringing in any more negroes; and that such as have negroes be careful of them, bring them to meetings, have meetings with them in their families, and restrain them from loose and lewd living. . .[125]

In 1700 William Penn introduced similar advice to the Monthly Meeting of Philadelphia.[126] Quakers were expressing concern for proper treatment of their slaves, and for their moral condition, but not for their liberty.

On a representation from the Quarterly Meeting of Chester, possibly introduced by David Lloyd, son of Thomas Lloyd and by this time leader of the antiproprietary party, the Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia in 1711 again repeated and reenforced the advice issued in 1696. It further directed all merchants to write to their correspondents and discourage their sending any more negroes. Also in 1711 an act was passed to prevent the importation of negroes and Indians into the province. The following year a bill was passed by the Assembly, in a further attempt to discourage the importation of slaves, laying an enormous duty on each slave brought into the province. These acts, however, were repealed by the Council and England.

In 1712 a petition was presented to the Assembly by William Southeby, a former resident of Maryland and a Roman Catholic, asking for the total abolition of slavery in Pennsylvania. The petition was not granted. In the same year, the Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia sent a letter to London asking for advice regarding the situation of slavery in Pennsylvania. They were primarily concerned with the increase in the slave trade by those "over whom they had no Gospel authority." In agreement with the opinion "that the multiplying of negroes might be of dangerous consequence," laws were passed imposing additional duties on imported slaves and for better regulating slaves already existing in the province. Such laws were passed in Pennsylvania in 1715, 1717, 1721, 1726 and 1729.[127]

Several other individuals had taken up the cause. Ralph Sandiford (1693-1733), an Englishman from Barbados who became a Quaker upon his arrival in Philadelphia, published in 1729 his *Mystery of Iniquity*, an impassioned protest against slavery. Although threatened with severe penalties if he circulated his work, he distributed it wherever he felt it would be of use. He aroused such antagonism that he was forced to leave the city.

His work was carried forward by Benjamin Lay (1677-1759), also an Englishman from Barbados who came to Philadelphia in 1731. He too aroused much hostility by his violence of expression and eccentric efforts to create pity for the slaves. He gave his whole life to the cause, but owing to his too radical methods, his influence was limited.[128] According to the minutes of Quaker meetings in Philadelphia from 1730-1750, members who continued to purchase and own slaves were on the decrease.

In 1754 the Yearly Meeting of Pennsylvania printed and circulated a letter of advice to its members, reminding them of its stand on the subject of buying slaves, the unchristian nature of the slave trade and the responsibility of the masters to guard the morals of their slaves. When in 1755 it was found that some members continued to buy slaves, the Yearly Meeting made a rule of discipline that such persons were to be disowned by the Society.[129] In 1758 it was agreed that Friends should be advised to manumit or release their slaves. Not until 1776 was it enacted that all Friends who refused to free their slaves should be disowned by the Society.

During this time, John Woolman (1720-1772), an eminent Quaker born in New Jersey, exercised a great influence on the issue of slavery. Much of his life was devoted to travel from one colony to another trying to persuade men of the wickedness of slavery. In 1754 and 1762 he published *Some Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes.*

Another influential opponent of slavery was Anthony Benezet (1713-1784), a French Huguenot who joined the Society of Friends. Arriving in Philadelphia in 1731, he developed a concern for the education of black children — he taught school in Germantown from 1739 to 1742. He became a zealous advocate of the "oppressed Africans." His work and Woolman's met with approval, while Southeby, Sandiford and Lay were treated as fanatics.

At last, on March 1, 1780, almost one hundred years after the Germantown protest, a bill was passed entitled "An Act for the Gradual Abolition of Slavery." This act provided that thereafter no child born in Pennsylvania should be a slave; but that such children, if born of a slave mother, should be servants until they were 28 years of age. All present slaves should be registered by their masters before the end of the year, and those not then registered should be set free.[130] The Pennsylvania Consitution of 1790 declared all men to be born equally free and independent, with an inherent right to enjoy and defend life and liberty.[131]

Slavery and abolitionism continued thorny issues. The American Revolution in the 1770's had raised the question of the inalienable rights not only of the colonist but of the slave as well. Slaveholding embarrassed patriotic claims of American rights and liberties. The Great Awakening of the early 19th century spurred reform movements based on religious principles. During the 1820's and 1830's abolitionist fervor increased, and many pamphlets appeared.

Among these was Edward Bettle's "Notices of Negro Slavery as Connected with Pennsylvania," read before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in 1826. This traces the history of slavery from its origins to the end of the 18th century. Bettle mentions the Germans who settled in Pennsylvania, "and to this body of humble, unpretending, and almost unnoticed philanthropists belongs the honor

of having been the *first association* who ever remonstrated against negro slavery." He adds, "We have used many endeavors to obtain a copy of this highly interesting document [the 1688 protest]; but are sorry to believe that neither the original nor the copy is in existence."[132]

In 1844 Nathan Kite accidentally discovered the protest among papers belonging to the Soceity of Friends in Philadelphia, and caused it to be printed in *The Friend* (volume 17, pp. 125-126).

By this time, the Abolitionist movement was intensifying in its conflict with the economic interests of the southern states. The Emancipation Proclamation, signed in 1863 during the Civil War, was confirmed by the Thirteenth Amendment in 1865, abolishing slavery. The Fourteenth Amendment of 1868 guaranteed civil rights for all citizens of the United States, and the Fifteenth Amendment guaranteed the right to vote. After almost 200 years, the issue of slavery was legally resolved.

In 1880 a facsimile of the Germantown protest was made, "by one of the processes of photographing called artotyping, whereby a perfect fac-simile of the paper has been produced — the exact size and color, in ink, so that the copy will prove permanent."[133] In 1919 a photographic copy was presented to the Site and Relic Society of Germantown, now the Germantown Historical Society.[134]

It seems clear that the original protest remained in the archives of the Philadelphia Meeting at Arch Street. A footnote (p. 12) in Thomas Drake's *Quakers and Slavery in America*, published in 1950, located the document in the Records of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Orthodox), Volume N24. But in 1982, when Mark Frazier Lloyd, Director of the Germantown Society, made a search, it was found missing. In 1874 the records of the Arch Street Meeting were divided between the Quaker historical libraries at Swarthmore and Haverford. It is thought that in this subdivision the document was somehow misfiled and its location is, as of this writing, still unknown.

It is to be hoped that the original of this document will soon be found. The Germantown protest constitutes an important first step in the understanding and development of the concept that all men are created equal, and that all the peoples of America have the right, as our Germantown residents asserted in 1688, to liberty of body as well as of conscience.

Notes

[65] Eshleman, H, Frank. "The Struggle and Rise of Popular Power in Pennsylvania's First Two Decades (1682-1701)," *PMHB* 34:141-142, 1910.

[66] Dunn & Dunn, *op.cit.*, vol III:153-154.

[67] Turner, Beatrice Pastorius, "William Penn and Pastorius," *PMHB* 57:86, 1933.

[68] Learned, *op.cit.*, p.198, quoting the preamble to Pastorius' poems addressed to the daughters of Thomas Lloyd, after their father's death.

[69] Jordan, Winthrop D. *White over Black; American Attitudes toward the Negro, 1550-1812*, Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1968; p.54, referring to John Smith. Proud, Robert. *History of Pennsylvania*, Philadelphia, Z. Poulson, 1797-98, pp.308-309, quoting a letter from William Penn to James Harrison.

[70] *Ibid.*, p.260.

[71] Pennypacker, Samuel W. "Abraham and Derick op den Graeff," *The Penn Monthly*, p.684, September 1875. Also Philadelphia Quarerly Meeting Minutes, 1682-1711; 4th [day] 4 mo. 1688 (p.31). Swarthmore Friends Historical Library.

[72] *PMHB* 4:445, 1880.

[73] The exact location of the Dublin Meeting is discussed in *PMHB* 6:270-371, 1882.

[74] Minutes, Philadelphia Quarterly Meeting, 4th 4 mo. 1688, p.31.

[75] *Ibid.*

[76] Friends Yearly Meeting, Philadelphia. Minutes, p. 20. Swarthmore Friends Historical Library. See also R. W. K., "The Anti-Slavery Protest of 1688," *Bulletin of Friends' Historical Association* 21:28-30, 1932.

[77] Philadelphia Quarterly Meeting Minutes, p.32.

[78] *Ibid.* pp. 33 and 35.

[79] Friends Yearly Meeting, Philadelphia. Minutes, p.18-20.

[80] Pennypacker, *Settlement*, p.62. The original German version is also given here.

[81] Myers, *op.cit.*, Chapter XVII "Concerning the Vocation of our Germans in This Place," *Circumstantial Geographical Description of Pennsilvania*, by Francis Daniel Pastorius, 1700.

[82] Binder-Johnson, Hildegard. "The Germantown Protest of 1688 against Negro Slavery," *PMHB* 65:153-154, 1941; citing John Hepburn, *The American Defense, 1715, p.18.*

[83] Ibid. p.145.

[84] *Nash, Slaves and Slaveowners, op.cit.*, p.225.

[85] Rush, Benjamin, "An Account of the Manners of the German Inhabitants of Pennsylvania," Pennsylvania German Society, *Proceedings and Addresses* 19:66-67,

[86] Binder-Jonson, *op.cit.*:155-156, citing *A Century of Population Growth, from the First Census of the United States to the Twelfth 1790-1900*, (Washington, 1909), pp.123-124.

[87] Nash, *Slaves and Slaveowners, op. cit., p.255.*

[88] *Ibid., pp.254-255.*

[89] Soderlund, *Conscience, op. cit.*, pp.307-308.

[90] Nash, *Slaves and Slaveowners, op. cit.*, p.255, footnote 68.

[91] *Random House Dictionary.*

[92] Faust, Albert Bernhardt, *The German Element in the United States* (New York, 1927), pp.53-56.

[93] Quoted in Pennypacker, *The Settlement*, (1899) pp.74-76.

[94] Pennypacker, *Settlement,. . . (PMHB) op.cit.*, p.32.

[95] Learned, *op. cit.*, p.170.

[96] *Ibid.* p.164.

[97] Pennypacker, *Settlement*, (1899) pp.683-684.

[98] Learned, Insea, *op.cit.* p.170.

[99] *Pennsylvania, Colonial Records*, II:250-251.

[100] *Ibid.*, II:514-515.

[101] Frost, J. William. *The Keithian Controversy in Early Pennsylvania*, Norwood, Pa., 1980; pp. iv-v.

[102] Nash, Gary B. *Quakers and Politics, Pennsylvania 1681-1726*, Princeton Univ. Press, 1968; p.148.

[103] Frost, *op. cit.*, pp. x-xiv.

[104] *Pennsylvania Archives*, Eighth Series, 1:118.

[105] Front, *op.cit.*, pp.103-126. Document 7: "The Judgement Given Forth by Twenty-Eight Quakers against George Keith, and his Friends, With Answers to the said

Judgement, declaring those Twenty-Eight Quakers to be No Christians," (London, 1693).

[106] *Ibid.*, pp.263-264. Document 17: Samuel Jennings, "The State of the case Briefly but Impartially given betwixt the people called Quakers in Pensilvania, & c in America, who remain in Unity; and George Keith," (London, 1694, pp. 40-41).

[107] *Ibid.*, 134. Document 9: "Extracts from Philadelphia Monthly Meeting Minutes."

[108] *Ibid. pp. xv-xvi.*

[1109] Nash, *Quakers and Politics, op. cit.*, p.160, footnote 56: George Keith, *England's Spirit of Persecution Transmitted to Pennsylvania* New York, 1693, p.4).

[110] Nash, *Quakers and Politics, op.cit.*, p.158; also Frost, *op.cit.*, p. xvii.

[111] Front, *op.cit.*, p. xvii.

[112] "The First Printed Protest against Slavery in American," *PMHB* 13:265, 1889.

[113] *Ibid.*, 265-270.

[114] Frost, *op.cit.*, pp.300-303. Document 17: Samuel Jennings: "To our Dear Friends and Brethren in England. . ." pp.77-80.

[115] Frost, *op. cit.*, p. xix.

[116] *Ibid.*, p.371. Document 19: "An Account of Such as Have Formerly Frequented Friends Meetings and Have Since Followed George Keith or Others."

[117] Logan, James. "The Antidote. . ." (Philadelphia, 1725, pp.463-487, *PMHB* 38:486, 1914.

[118] Seidensticker, Oswald. "The Hermits of the Wissahickon," *PMHB* 11:439-440, 1887.

[119] Learned, *op.cit.*, pp.200, 224.

[120] *Ibid.*, p.203.

[121] *Ibid.*, p.229.

[122] *Ibid.*, pp.241, 274.

[123] *Ibid.*, pp.221-223

[124] Pennypacker, *op.cit.*, pp.690-691.

[125] Michener, *op.cit.*, p.335 (1696 Yearly Meeting)

[126] *Ibid.*, (1700 Yearly Meeting). Also, Bettle, Edward, "Notices of Negro Slavery as Connected with Pennsylvania," Read before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 9th mo, 7th, 1826 (*Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, I:383-384). Also, Turner, Edward Raymond, *The Negro in Pennsylvania: Slavery — Servitude — Freedom, 1639-1861*, Washington, 1911.

[127] Bettle, *op.cit.*, pp.386-390.

[128] Turner, *op.cit.*, p.71; also Bettle, *op.cit.*, pp.391-392.

[129] Bettle, *op.cit.*, pp.392-395.

[130] Turner, *op.cit.*, p.78, and Bettle, *op.cit.*, pp.405-411.

[131] Turner, *op.cit.*, pp.381-382.

[133] *The Friend*, 53:189-190, 1880.

[134] Germantown Historical Society, Archives of the Site and Relic Society. Letter, March 1, 1919, signed Eleanor A. Temple, Acting Secretary.

Keyser's Notes for Volume II:

A Belated Book-Review

In 1907, Naaman H. Keyser published *History of Old Germantown*, Volume I (Germantown, Horace F. McCann; p.) with the apparent expectation of shortly following it with Volume II. Volume I consists of a number of essays, written by various authors, and a survey of historic structures on — and sometimes off — Germantown Avenue, from Negley's (or Nagley's) Hill as far as Chelten Avenue. Keyser's survey includes the "old" house numbers (i.e., before citywide renumbering in 1894 on the "decimal" plan of 100 numbers per block), and the "new," notes on early owners of the properties, recollections of aged inhabitants, and Keyser's own acquaintance with the occupants. Volume I is one of the half-dozen printed textbooks of Germantown history. While not infallible, it is an invaluable storehouse of local lore.

On Keyser's death in 1922, much of his antiquarian and family material came to this Society, including two or three typewritten drafts of Volume II. Over the years, Volume II was cannibalized into various other scrapbooks, and otherwise distributed according to topic. The remainder — some 160 pages more or less — were stuffed into a carton with unrelated material. We owe their discovery to the unflagging curiosity of James M. Duffin.

Considerable effort has gone into sorting, assembling, and photocopying the carbon flimsies onto acid-free paper, and compiling a computer index. The result is repetitious, confusing, and thoroughly exasperating — until the reader stumbles over a long-sought fact or an anachronistic anecdote:

> It was customary for the Volunteer Firemen from Philadelphia to come to the town "Maying." They would arrive after midnight, get breakfast at the upper end of town, and parade home again, . . . with their apparatus decorated with lilacs, which they were accustomed to gather. . . without. . . asking for them. Burgess Harvey. . . notified the constables. . . to be on the alert and arrest any caught stealing the flowers. . . Mr. Harvey, desiring to know whether his officers were attending to duty, went into his own garden after midnight, when he was promptly seized by the officers, shaken rather roughly, and pushed towards the lockup. After. . . he made known his identity, . . . they apologized for their rudeness. He commended them for their vigilance, . . . blissfully unconscious. . . that he had been the victim of a. . . practical joke — they having recognized him from the first.

Volume II ends at Carpenter Lane, with a notice of "Phil-Ellena," George W. Carpenter's palatial residence. As far as we know, Keyser had not assembled the illustrations for Volume II — he notes somewhere that the cost of illustration would have been "prohibitive." However, most of the structures mentioned are represented in the photograph and sketch collections of the Society Archives.

We hope that researchers will make use of this newly rediscovered reference tool.

- L.M.H.