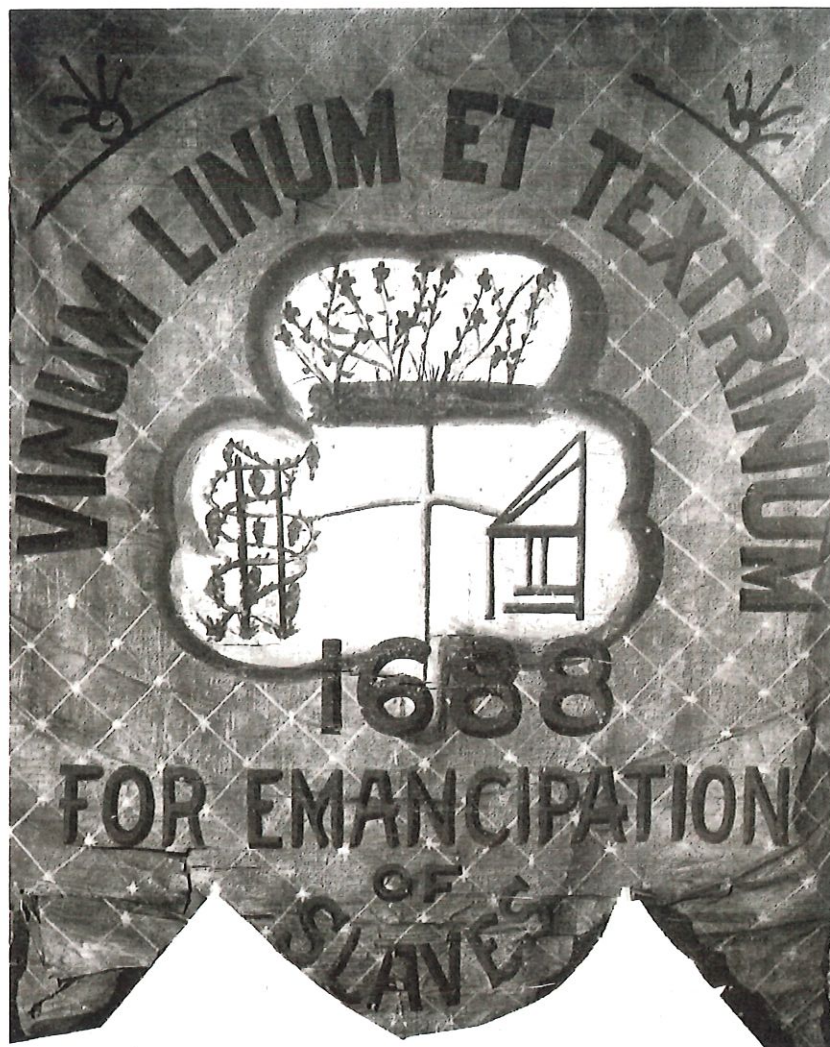


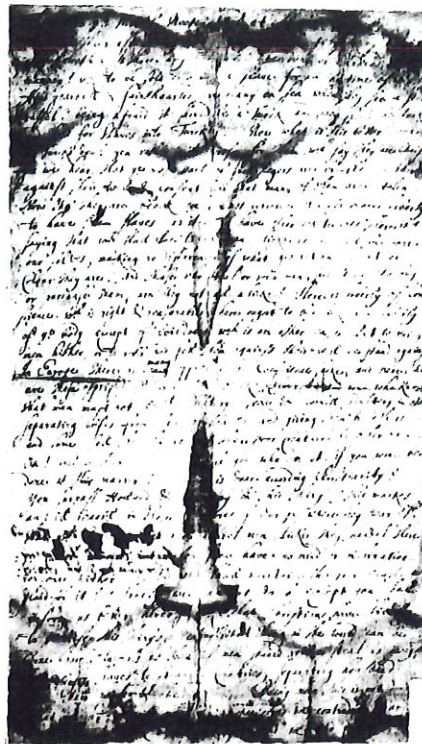
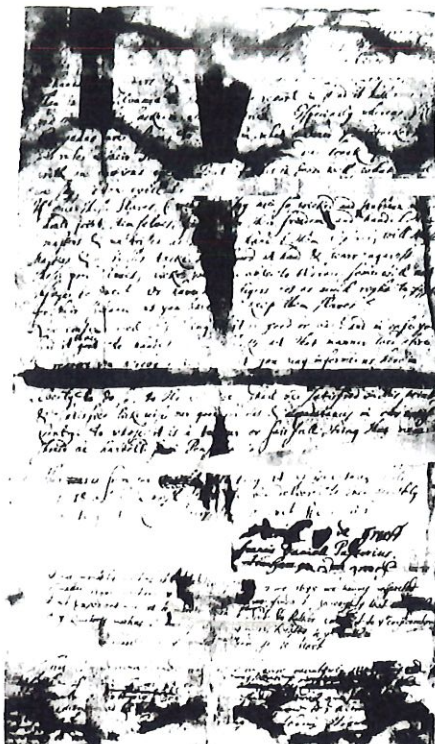
# GERMANTOWN *CRIER*



*German Day festivities on October 6, 1888 celebrated the bicentennial of the 1688 Germantown Protest Against Slavery. A parade through Philadelphia featured this large painted banner displaying the symbols of Germantown. Courtesy of the German Society of Pennsylvania.*



# FACSIMILE AND TEXT OF THE PROTEST AGAINST SLAVERY, 1688



Sadly, the original document signed in 1688 has been missing for many years. This photographic facsimile was created in 1880 shortly after the original protest had been rediscovered. Damage suffered by the original before it was photographed partially obscures the text. The four signatures can be found two-thirds of the way down on the right-hand side.

This is to ye Monthly Meeting held at Rigert Worrells. These are the reasons why we are against the traffic of men Body as followeth: 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? How fearfull & fainthearted are many on sea when they see a strange vassel being afraid it should be a Turck, and they should be tacken and sold for slaves in Turkey. Now what is this better done as Turcks doe? Yea rather is it worse for them, wch 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. Now tho they are black, we cannot conceive there is more liberty to have them slaves, as it is to have other white ones. There is a saying, that we shall doe to all men, licke as we will be done our selves; macking no difference of what generation, descent or Col-

our they are. And those who steal or robb men, and those who buy or purchase them, are they not all alike? Here is liberty of Conscience, wch is right & reasonable; here ought to be lickewise liberty of ye body, except of evildoers, wch is an other case. But to bring men hither, or to robb and sell them against their will, we stand against. In Europe there are many oppressed for Conscience sake; and here there are those oppressed wch are of a black Colour. And we who know that men must not comitt adultery, some doe comitt adultery in others, separating wives from their housbands and giving them to others; and some sell the children of those poor Creatures to other men. 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? You surpass Holland and Germany in this thing. This 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? Truly we can not do so, except you shall inform us better hereoff, viz: that christians have liberty to practise this things. Pray! What thing in the world can be done worse towards us, then if men should robb or steal us away, & sell us for slaves to strange Countries, separating housband from their wives & children. Being now this is not done at that manner, we will be done at, therefore we contradict & are against this traffick of menbody. And we who profess that it is not lawfull to steal, must likewise 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 as well as in Europe. 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; & most of them doe loock upon us with an envious eye. But if this is done well, what shall we say is done evill?

If once these slaves, (wch they say are so wicked and stubborn men:) should joint themselves, fight for their freedom and handel their masters & mastrisses as they did handel them before; will these Masters & mastrisses tacke the sword at hand & warr against these poor slaves, licke we are able to belive, some will not refuse to doe? Or have these Negers not as much right to fight for their freedom, as you have to keep them 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 never was done, viz. that Christians have such a liberty to do so, to the end we shall be satisfied in this point, & satisfie likewise our good friends & acquaintances in our natif Country, to whose it is a terrour or fairfull thing that men should be handeld so in Pensilvania.

This is from our Meeting at Germantown held ye 18. of the 2. month 1688. to be delivred to the Monthly Meeting at Richard Warrel's.

gerret hendericks  
derick op de graeff  
Francis Daniell Pastorius  
Abraham op Den graef

At our monthly meeting at Dublin, ye 30 — 2 mo —: 1688 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.

On behalf of ye monthly meeting.  
Signed P Jo: Hart

This above mentioned was read in our quarterly meeting at Philadelphia, the 4 of ye 4th mo 88 and was from thence recommended to the Yearly Meeting and the abovesaid Derick and the other two mentioned therein to present the same to ye Abovesaid meeting it being a thing of too great A weight for this meeting to determine.

Signed by order of ye meeting  
Anthony Morris





# BACKGROUND AND CIRCUMSTANCES of the GERMANTOWN PROTEST AGAINST SLAVERY, 1688 Part I

by Martha Crary Halpern

Excerpted by Lisabeth M. Holloway from research conducted by Mrs. Halpern  
for the Society's Antislavery Exhibit.

## The First Blacks and Early Slavery in Pennsylvania.

Blacks were present in the area of the Delaware Valley from the very beginning of settlement. Samuel Hazard, in his *Annals of Pennsylvania*, notes that in 1639 a convict was condemned to serve the Dutch West India Company, along with the Blacks, to be sent by the first ship from Manhattan to the South River.<sup>1</sup> At this time the Delaware Valley formed the southern portion of the colony of New Netherlands, founded by the Company and administered from New York.<sup>2</sup>

In 1655 a trader sought the Council's permission to depart from Manhattan in his sloop, with some negroes for Virginia.<sup>3</sup> In 1661 is mentioned an offer by the English to trade tobacco for negroes and other commodities<sup>4</sup>; and negroes are mentioned again in 1662 and 1668.<sup>5</sup> In 1678 "liberty of trade" was granted with the "neighboring colony of Maryland for supplying us with negroes, servants and utensils, without which we cannot subsist."<sup>6</sup> It seems clear that the Dutch were actively engaged in the trading of slaves during this early period of settlement in the Delaware Valley.<sup>7</sup>

Slave ownership in the Delaware Valley is mentioned in 1644, when a bought slave served Governor Printz at Tinicum, "making hay for the cattle, and accompanying the Governor on his pleasure yacht."<sup>8</sup> According to the 1677 tax list contained in the Records of the Court of Newcastle, a few settlers of that area owned slaves.<sup>9</sup>

## William Penn and the Quakers.

Settlement of the Delaware Valley had begun with the Dutch (1609-1638). The Swedes ruled for 17 years (1638-1655), when the Dutch reconquered it, but in 1664 the area passed to the English, and came under the control of the Duke of York. In March of 1681, William Penn was granted a royal charter for Pennsylvania, in repayment of a debt owed his father Admiral Sir William Penn.<sup>10</sup>

Penn had been since 1667 a member of — and a zealous apologist for — the Society of Friends, called Quakers, whose radical religious beliefs and social philosophies had brought them into conflict with the English church and state. Having himself experienced imprisonment for his convictions, Penn designed his colony as a "holy experiment," insuring religious freedom, and promised the prior inhabitants — perhaps 2,000 — of the new Pennsylvania that "I shall not usurp the right of any, or oppress his person."<sup>11</sup>

Penn's intense social and religious ambitions for his "holy experiment" must necessarily be accompanied by an appropriate political and economic design. He set forth a "Fundamental Constitution of Pennsylvania," a liberal plan

allowing the people to elect their own delegates to the Assembly, which in turn was empowered to instruct the governor and the Council. Immediately upon granting of his charter, he began to advertise the colony, recruit settlers, and sell land. By 1682 he had sold half a million acres and persuaded several hundred First Purchasers to join him in Pennsylvania. It can be shown that he expected to get enough money from land sales to satisfy his own existing debts and to secure his financial future. But although he sold over 700,000 acres of land between 1681 and 1685, and collected over 9,000 pounds (equivalent to more than \$1,000,000 today), these land sales did not bail him out of debt. In fact, his financial condition worsened as he absorbed much of the administrative costs of the province. And he had little success in collecting his quitrents, or annual taxes, on the land sold in Pennsylvania.<sup>12</sup>

In 1681 a joint stock company was established in London, the Free Society of Traders, intended to provide a steady infusion of capital during the early years of the colony. Penn recruited its members from among well-to-do Quaker merchants of London — Nicholas More, Philip Ford and James Claypoole, for example — and granted them special privileges and inducements, without which it was feared that they would not join. In selling the company 20,000 acres, besides the investors' individual "baronies" of 5,000 acres or more each, Penn much reduced his quit-rents, and allowed the Society three seats on the Provincial Council. This Council, and the governor, under Penn's second constitution, the "Frame of Government," devised in 1682, held increased power at the expense of the popular Assembly. Both the Society of Free Traders and Penn's new constitution were challenged, especially by newcomers arriving after Penn's departure in 1684, and in the resulting re-alignments of power and influence, opponents to the Proprietary government gained strength.<sup>13</sup>

## Quaker Merchants and the Slave Trade

The new colony prospered in spite of its political problems. This prosperity is explained by Gabriel Thomas, who in 1698 wrote *An Historical and Geographical Account of Pennsylvania and of West-New-Jersey*. He says,

Now the true Reason why this Fruitful Country and Flourishing City advance so considerably in the Purchase of Lands both in the one and the other, is their great and extended Traffique and Commerce both by Sea and Land, viz., to New-York, New-England, Virginia, Mary-Land, Carolina, Jamaica, Barbados, Nevis, Monserat, Antego, St. Christophers, Barmudoes, New-Found-Land, Maderas, Saltetudeous, and Old-England; besides several other places. Their Merchandize chiefly consists in Horses, Pipe-Staves, Pork and Beef Salted and Barrellled up, Bread and



Flower, all sort of Grain, Pease, Skins, Furs, Tobacco, or Potashes, Wax, etc., which are Barter'd for Rumm, Sugar, Molasses, Silver, Negroes, Salt, Wine, Linen, Household-Goods, etc.<sup>14</sup>

It is clear that the Quaker merchants were actively engaged in many forms of trade and commerce.

Almost all Negroes who arrived in Philadelphia before 1730 were shipped from the West Indian Islands in small lots of two or three. They were sent northward at the direct request of Pennsylvania residents for their own personal use, or on consignment to Philadelphia merchants for purposes of sale. James Claypoole, treasurer of the Free Society of Traders, did as many were doing when he wrote his brother in Barbados requesting slaves. He repeated his request:

I writt to thee, to send me 4 blacks, viz. a man, a woman, a boy, a Girl but being I was so disappointed in Engl as not to send thee those goods thou wrote for, I could not expect thou wouldst send them. . . Now my desire is that if thou dost not send them all however to send me a boy between 12 and 20 years. . .<sup>15</sup>

In a letter to William Penn dated December 1684, Nicholas More wrote: ". . . There has ben in this River a shipe from bristol full of 150 negroes. I have bought four, and my tow best are rune away and another Servant, and have no tidings of them at all, all the Negroes were sould for redy money. . ."<sup>16</sup> Nicholas More was a wealthy physician who had married the daughter of a prosperous merchant of London. Purchasing from Penn a 10,000-acre tract in Pennsylvania and investing 300 pounds in the Free Society of Traders, he became its president.<sup>17</sup> The ship bringing the 150 Negroes was the *Isabella* of Bristol, which returned to England in late May 1685.<sup>18</sup>

William Frampton, also a Quaker merchant, seems to have acted as agent for the firm of Charles Jones Jr. & Co., of Bristol, England. In a Memorandum Book of the American debtors of the firm, there is a record of the sale of 6 Negroes to Wm. Haige and 3 Negroes to Edmund Cantwell along with other goods.<sup>19</sup> A 1685 letter to William Frampton instructs him "to take into yo Custody of six Negroes w'ch Wm Haige has given you a bill of sale. . . dispose of & sell them to the best advantage. . . Give Wm. Haige Credit for in his acc't this land he has mortgaged for ye remainder of ye money you know best how to manage. . ."<sup>20</sup> A letter from C. Jones, Bristol, dated in 1770, suggests other "African voyages" of the *Isabella* in 1685 and again in 1686.<sup>21</sup>

There were other purchasers and owners of slaves during this period. In the 1684 tax returns it is recorded "Lacey Cocke hath a negroe 20 years of age."<sup>22</sup> Lace Cocke, apparently a Swede, was a resident of the area known as Upland, now Chester, located on the portion of the Delaware River south of Philadelphia.<sup>23</sup> In 1684, "Jno Jones Acquaints the [Provincial] Council that one Russell harbours his Negroes. . ."<sup>24</sup> In a letter dated October 1684, Cornelius Bom, a Dutch cake baker living in Philadelphia, states "I have no servants except one negro whom I bought."<sup>25</sup> These citations, all coincidentally dated 1684, suggests that these individuals may have been among the purchasers of the slaves imported to Philadelphia in that year on the *Isabella*. But a letter written early in 1684 suggests that slaves were not unusual before that date. This letter evidently written by Herman Op den Graeff, brother of

two of the future signers of Germantown's 1688 protest against slavery, observes "...we have Blacks or Moors here also as slaves to labor."<sup>26</sup>

Slaveholding in Philadelphia seems to have been predominantly an urban phenomenon. The incidence of slaveholding in the city was about four times that of the surrounding countryside. In sharp contrast to the towns of the colonial South, most slave-owners in Philadelphia held only one or two adult slaves. This pattern of ownership may have been determined by the situation in Philadelphia where most of the productive labor was carried out in small shops of individual artisans.<sup>26</sup>

Unfortunately, little evidence is available to indicate the extent of slave importation during this early period. No official census was taken in Philadelphia during the colonial period which would have revealed the racial composition of the population. The only available demographic source is the probate records. A survey of inventories of estates from 1682 to 1705 indicates that about one in fifteen families owned slaves during this period.<sup>28</sup> It would be interesting to determine, if possible, how many of these families were Quaker.

It is clear that Quaker participation in the Negro trade continued, prompting the Yearly Meeting in 1696 to advise "that Friends be Careful not to Encourage the bringing in of any more Negroes."<sup>29</sup> Two years later the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting expressed concern about Friends who sold slaves "at the publick Markett place & Outcry."<sup>30</sup> But in spite of these admonitions Quaker merchants continued selling Negroes. In 1703 Samuel Carpenter, a wealthy Quaker, sold slaves to William Trent.<sup>31</sup> Two of the most active traders in the early 18th century were Jonathan Dickinson and Isaac Norris. Dickinson had brought ten Negroes from Jamaica when he first sailed to Philadelphia in 1697. After one year, he had but three Negroes remaining, and one of those seriously ill. Faced with caring for three burdensome slaves, he made apparently unsuccessful attempts to sell them in the Philadelphia area.<sup>31</sup> By 1700 Dickinson was dealing in Negroes sent him on consignment by West Indian merchants.<sup>33</sup> Isaac Norris, in spite of numerous pleas, continued his involvement in the slave trade until his death in the 1730's. Similarly, other Quaker merchants of Philadelphia continued in the sale of slaves until well into the 18th century.

It has been suggested that the withdrawal of Quaker merchants from this trade was due, in a large part, to the poor quality of slaves consigned from the West Indies to Philadelphia merchants. This resulted in difficulties in resale and a decline in profits. The growing pressure against the practice of slave-holding among their fellow Friends was also certainly an important factor. By the mid-18th century, during the peak of the slave trade in Philadelphia, involvement was primarily non-Quaker.<sup>34</sup>

### Quakers and Anti-Slavery

It is not clear how the Quaker merchants who owned and traded slaves, reconciled this practice with Friends' beliefs in "universal grace" and the unity of all mankind in a brotherhood equal before God.

The practice of slavery was questioned several times during the 17th century. In 1652 Rhode Island gave blacks the same legal status as white indentured servants, but the law was never enforced. Later in the century Newport



merchants became leading contenders for the lucrative West Indian trade in molasses, sugar, rum and slaves.<sup>35</sup>

In 1662, Cornelius Plockhoy, a Dutch Mennonite, was given permission to establish a settlement on the Delaware Bay. This settlement was based on ideals of universal brotherhood, popular government, religious freedom and social and economic justice for everyone. Plockhoy advocated in particular the establishment of small nearly self-sufficient cooperative communities in which "Husbandmen, Masters of Arts and Sciences, and Useful Handy Craft-People" would live together as one "Familie or Household-government."<sup>36</sup> One of the regulations of this utopian community was that "No lordship or servile slavery shall burden our company."<sup>37</sup> The community, however, failed. Thirty years later, in 1694, Cornelius Plockhoy, now blind, appeared in Germantown and was granted citizenship.<sup>38</sup>

In 1673, Puritan Richard Baxter published in England "Directions to Those Masters in Foreign Plantations Who Have Negroes and Other Slaves." In this tract, Baxter condemns slave traders as "Pirates" engaged in the "worst kind of thievery." He criticized those colonists who purchased Negroes to use them "as beasts, for their mere commodity, and betray, or destroy, or neglect their souls." Baxter sought liberation of the souls of Blacks but not their bodies. Similar sentiments were expressed in 1680 by Morgan Godwyn, a priest of the Church of England, in a tract which, although it did not attack slavery as such, rather insisted it was possible, profitable, and incumbent upon Christians to instruct their Negroes in Christianity. By his account, Christianity would make slaves better servants, but they should not be set free.<sup>39</sup>

In the beginning, Quakers saw no inconsistency in buying and keeping slaves. They had the same economic interest as other colonists in employing slave labor. In Barbados especially, where Quakerism flourished in the early days of the sugar industry, Quakers held many slaves. George Fox, founder of Quakerism, found many slaveholders among Barbados Friends when he visited there in 1671.

George Fox began to perceive at an early date the spiritual contradiction in the practice of slaveholding. As early as 1657, he wrote from England "To Friends Beyond Sea, that Have Blacks and Indian Slaves." In this, his first discussion of slavery, he did not condemn the practice as such, expressing only the idea of the equality of men in the sight of God.<sup>40</sup> When Fox himself saw the state of slaves in Barbados, his interest in their welfare revived. In a letter dated that year to Edward Mann in London, John Hull of Barbados describes Fox's admonition

...about training up their negroes in the hear of God, those bought with their money and such as were born in their families, so that all may come to the knowledge of the Lord so that with Joshua they may say, "As for me and my house we will serve the Lord," and that their overseers might deal mildly and gently with them and not use cruelty as the manner of some is and hath been, and to make them free after thirty years servitude. . .<sup>41</sup>

The non-Quaker slave-holders of Barbados quickly recognized the danger to their social and economic system in George Fox's plan to Christianize Negroes and teach them that they were of one blood with whites. While Fox was still on the island in 1671, word began to spread against him and his fellow Quakers accusing them of sowing the

seeds of slave revolt. So persistent were these rumors that Fox disavowed any such intent.<sup>42</sup> In a paper addressed to the Governor and Assembly at Barbados, Fox writes in this same year:

Another slander and lie they have cast upon us is, namely, that we should teach the negroes to rebel, a thing we do utterly abhor and detest in and from our hearts. . . For that which we have spoken and declared to them is to exhort and admonish them to be sober and to fear God, and to love their masters and mistresses, and to be faithful and diligent in their master's service and business, and that then their masters and overseers will love them and deal kindly and gently with them. . .<sup>43</sup>

Again, in a tract entitled *Gospel Family-Order*, 1676:

And so now consider, do not slight them, to wit, the Ethiopians, the blacks now, neither any man nor woman upon the face of the earth; in that Christ died for all, both Turks, Barbarians, Tartarians, and Ethiopians; he died for the tawnies and for the blacks as well as for you that are called whites. . . It will doubtless be very acceptable to the Lord, if so be that masters of families here would deal so with their servants, the Negroes and blacks, whom they have bought with their money, to let them go free after a considerable term of years, if they have served him faithfully; and when they go and are made free, let them not go away empty-handed. This, I say, will be very acceptable to the Lord.<sup>44</sup>

William Edmundson, an Irish Quaker, who had been one of George Fox's companions in 1671, revisited Barbados in 1675. He also held meetings for slaves in Quaker homes and was also accused of inciting slave revolts. In his own defence he argued that Christianized Negroes presented less danger of rebellion than those kept in "ignorance and under oppression." The following year, however, Barbados passed a law prohibiting "the people called Quakers from bringing Negroes to their meetings" and from allowing slaves to attend Quaker schools. No stranger was allowed to preach at Quaker meetings until he had been in residence for at least a year. In 1678 Barbados re-enacted the law against bringing Negroes to meeting and in 1680 forbade Friends to hold religious meetings of any kind.<sup>46</sup>

The fears of the Barbadians were not ungrounded. Positive protests against slavery were made by blacks in the West Indies during this early period. Several separate slave revolts can be identified in the English islands between 1640 and 1713, in spite of minimal documentation. Barbados might be expected to be the center of slave insurrection, and discontent had been manifested there in 1683, 1686, 1692, and 1702. Antigua experienced a slave revolt in 1687. The most severe protests occurred in Jamaica, beginning in 1673 with a series of small incidents, and culminating in 1685-86 with an entire year of uprising, during which whites were killed and many blacks executed in retaliation. Although these insurrections were serious affairs, they were generally ineffectual, and did not constitute a direct challenge to the slave system in the English islands.<sup>47</sup>

The Quaker attempt to preach to slaves without bestowing upon them the liberty inherent in Christian doctrine, indicates confusion in Quaker thinking regarding the practice of slavery. This contradiction was finally realized by William Edmundson, when at Newport in 1676 he



expressed a new idea that slaveholding was unChristian in its very nature. In a general letter of advice to Friends in America he states

And it would be acceptable with God, and answer the witness in all, if some did consider their [i.e., negroes'] condition of perpetual slavery, and make their conditions your own, and so fulfill the law of Christ. For perpetual slavery is an aggravation, and an oppression upon the mind, and hath a ground; and Truth is that which works the remedy, and breaks the yoke, and removes the ground. So it would do well to consider that they [the slaves] may feel, see, and partake of your liberty in the Gospel of Christ... [that] they may see and know the difference between you and other people, and your self-denial may be known to all.

And in a postscript Edmundson put the vital question:

And many of you count it unlawful to make slaves of the Indians: and if so, then why the Negroes?<sup>48</sup>

This confusion of Quakers regarding slave-holding can be further illustrated by a 1684 request to the Third Haven Monthly Meeting in Maryland: "William Dixon having a mind to sell a negro his freedom, desires this meetings advice." This inquiry was referred to the Yearly Meeting.<sup>49</sup>

In Pennsylvania William Penn's attitude toward slaves reflects the conflicting attitudes of many Friends. In his "Articles of the Free Society of Traders," Penn echoes the philosophy of George Fox, stating in Article XVIII,

That if the Society should receive Blacks for servants, they shall make them free at fourteen years end, upon Consideration that they shall give into the Society's Ware-house two-thirds of what they are Capable of producing on such a parcel of Land as shall be allotted them by the Society, with a stock and necessary Tools, as shall be adjudged by the Society's Surveyor. And if they will not accept of these terms, they shall be servants till they will accept it.<sup>50</sup>

But in a 1685 letter to James Harrison, a Quaker trader from Bolton, Penn in speaking of servants states, "It were better they were blacks, for then a man has them while they live."<sup>51</sup>

There are several indications that William Penn was himself a slave-holder at this time. In a letter dated July, 1685, he instructed Harrison, "If the Black, that is the fisher, be there [at Pennsbury] still, let Jos. Cart have him at full price." In November 1685 William Penn told Harrison to send his sloop to Barbados and that one or both of the blacks he had received from Capt. Allen should be crew members. In December of the same year, William Penn reported again to Harrison, "The Blacks of Capt. Allen I have as good as bought, so part not with them without my order."<sup>52</sup> In September of 1689 Penn writes to John Blackwell regarding his situation at Pennsbury, "I wou'd have but a little family, indeed none but the blacks."<sup>53</sup> Penn's use of slaves at Pennsbury can be further documented by his Cash Book of 1699.<sup>54</sup> In the will which Penn made before he left America for the last time in 1701, he wrote "I give to my blacks their freedom, as is under my hand already, and to Old Sam 100 acres, to be his children's after he and his wife are dead, forever, on common rent of one bushel of wheat yearly forever." His will of 1711, which superseded that of 1701, did not mention Negroes at all. Whether he realized it or not, Penn was actually the owner of slaves at the time of his death in 1718. His widow Hannah attempted in 1720 to disencumber the estate of

some small slave children.<sup>55</sup>

## The Germans

When the Germans arrived in 1683, therefore, the new colony, in spite of Penn's idealistic intentions, had become an arena of competing factions, each struggling for its own economic and political advantage as well as freedom from the control of the proprietor and his circle. Quaker merchants were acting inconsistently with their belief in the brotherhood of mankind by engaging in the slave trade. The proprietor himself was the owner of slaves.

The Germans who came to Pennsylvania in 1683 had become acquainted with Quaker beliefs through the visits of Friends, including William Penn, to the Palatinate and Holland. Mennonites in particular, a much persecuted sect originating in Switzerland during the 14th century, held many tenets in common with the Quakers, such as opposition to war, to the taking of oaths, to a paid ministry, to infant baptism, and to extravagance in dress. Similarly, a reform movement, called Pietism, had grown up within the Lutheran church, emphasizing renunciation of worldly pleasures and a rebirth of the spirit of Christianity. Besides religious oppression, the new Friends' societies, Mennonites, and other dissenters suffered under the general devastation and political and economic turmoil left in the wake of the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648).

When Penn received his grant to Pennsylvania in 1681, he began to seek recruits among these distressed communities, producing several pamphlets describing the new province which were translated into Dutch and German and distributed in areas where Quakerism had taken hold. In these he urged the economic advantages of the new colony, and the beneficial influence of plantation and country life upon the moral and social order.<sup>56</sup>

Among those attracted by the ideas of William Penn was Francis Daniel Pastorius, born in Sommerhausen WHAT AREA? in 1651, three years after the end of the Thirty Years' War. His father, originally a Catholic, became a Lutheran upon marrying Pastorius' mother. After studying law at several universities, Pastorius began practice in 1676, removing a few years later to Frankfurt, where he became acquainted with and impressed by Pietist doctrines. After a "Grand Tour" through Europe, as companion to a young nobleman, he returned to Frankfurt confirmed in his desire for the spiritual life, without worldly cares and pleasures. He found his Pietist friends stirred by the communications, by letter and in print, from William Penn, so much so that they had

purchased 15,000 Acres of land in this remote part of the world, some of 'em entirely resolv'd to transport themselves, families & all; this begat such a desire in my Soul to continue in their Society, and with them to lead a quiet, godly & honest life in a howling wilderness (which I observed to be a heavy Task for any to perform among the bad examples & Numberless [Vanities] in Europe.

After visiting his father and packing his books and after One weeks Visit which I gave to Friends at Krisheim, to wit. . . Gerhard Henrix [and others],. . . I went a foot to Crefelt and there did speak to ... Dirk Herman & Abraham op den Graeff &c who with many others came about Six weeks after me into the aforesaid province.<sup>57</sup>



Gerhard Hendricks, Derick and Abraham op den Graeff signed with Pastorius the 1688 protest against slavery. It may be assumed that they shared with him similar reasons for emigrating to Pennsylvania.

Much has been written in an attempt to establish the national origins and religious affiliation of the Krefeld settlers in Pennsylvania. Twentieth-century research through church and court records in the Lower Rhineland (Germany) has demonstrated that the Krefelders were German and that most of them were Quakers.<sup>58</sup>

From Krefeld came the three op den Graeff brothers, Herman, Derick and Abraham. According to a Krefeld marriage certificate dated March 1681, "Derijck Isacks, bachelor, a townsman's son born in Krefeld [Krefeld] married Nolcken Vijten, spinster, born in Kempen [a neighboring village]." This was a Quaker wedding. There had been a Quaker congregation in Krefeld since 1679, and all who signed the marriage document belonged to it. These signatures included Herman and Abraham Isacks. The ancestry of this family is recorded in the ancestry book of Scheuten. According to this record, the op den Graeffs seem to have originally been Mennonites, although some were affiliated with the Reformed Church. Abraham op den Graeff was married in the Reformed Church in 1679. The op den Graeffs appear to be typical of all thirteen emigrants to Pennsylvania, all of whom, except one, had joined the little group of Krefeld Quakers. Previously most of them were Mennonites and some were members of the Reformed Church.

Little is known of Gerhard Hendricks, the fourth signer of the protest. According to Pastorius, Hendricks was one of the "Friends at Kresheim," and is thus established as a German Quaker. Hendricks with his wife and several others from Kresheim did not arrive in Germantown until October 1685. At this time Hendricks purchased land on the Wingohocking Creek in Germantown.<sup>59</sup>

In May, 1683 Pastorius sailed from Rotterdam to Pennsylvania. Upon the arrival of the Krefelders in October, Penn issued a warrant granting "in behalf of the German and Dutch settlers" — Penn often referred to the Krefelders as Dutch — 6000 acres in what would become Germantown, and additional land elsewhere. The new landholders, according to Pastorius in a letter written in March of 1684, being "not too well skilled in the culture of the ground," promptly set to the production of linen, and in 1690 were credited with production of "many Hundred Yards of pure fine Linnen Cloath in a Year."<sup>60</sup>

### The Friends Meeting-House and the Site of the Protest

By 1686 Germantown had built its own "temple of God," as Pastorius called it, x61† which can be identified, from records of the Abington Monthly Meeting in 1686, as a Quaker meeting-house: "And that there shall be a general meeting movable at four several places viz at Germantown. . . And ye next at Byberry. . . And ye next shall be at the house of Richard Wall. . ."<sup>62</sup>

It has been assumed that the house of Tonis Kunders

was the site of the writing of the protest. In 1729 Thomas Chalkley records in his Journal attending the funeral of "Dennis Conrad," adding that the first meeting for worship was held at his house. Robert Proud in his *History of Pennsylvania* says that the first religious meeting of the Quakers in Germantown was held in 1683 at the house of "Dennis Conrad," apparently citing Chalkley.<sup>63</sup> But with the building of the meeting house by 1686, it can be assumed that meetings in Germantown were held there. Kunders' name is not mentioned in Quaker records in this connection.

According to William Kite, librarian of the Germantown Friends' Library, writing in *The Friend* in 1874 <sup>64</sup> two sites were designated by tradition as occasional Friends' meeting places:

One, an old frame building, brick paned, at the corner of School Lane and the Main Street, long since taken down. The house where Dr. Malin now lives occupies its site. And one in the Meadow, near Shoemaker's station on the Germantown railroad. . . Dennis Conrad's house. . . was taken down and a building known as Leshner's tavern erected on its site; Watson says a portion of the wall was left standing and utilized in the rebuilding. . . The old tavern, much altered still stands on the Main Street nearly opposite Manheim Street. It is the house no. 4537, occupied by Christopher Kinzel as a dwelling and barber shop. . . In a deed dated 1st mo. 4, 1690, Abraham Isaac op den Graeff conveyed two lots to Jacob Shoemaker — and in 1693 he conveyed them to Friends. In the deed of conveyance, which is still extant, I find these words: "Being 50 acres or a whole lot (three perches square, next to Jacob Isaacs Van Bebbber only excepted, which the said Jacob Shoemaker herebefore hath granted and conveyed unto the Quakers, so called, for their meeting place, and are always to be fenced by the owners thereof.)" This larger lot is still — a portion of it — held by the Germantown Preparative Meeting, and is the ground on which their present meeting house and school houses stand. The wording of the exception would show that the small lot was then in the occupation of the Society, and if there was, as the deed evidently implies, a building on the lot, the wording of the subscription paper in 1703, "To build a new meeting house," will be readily explained. Most of the first houses were humble ones of logs, and a few years would bring the necessity for a more substantial structure. The size of the meeting house yard, where the building erected in 1705 stood, corresponds quite nearly with the lot mentioned by Jacob Shoemaker in the deed quoted above. The house erected in 1705 was of stone, and if I am right in supposing it occupied the site of an older more primitive structure, we have the twelve years preceding its building readily accounted for. . . The house erected in 1705 stood on the Main Street in what is now the old grave yard. Three sides of the wall enclosing the meeting house yard still stand, but the rear wall, which separated it from the old grave yard has been taken down. Within a few weeks, in digging a grave, part of the foundation of this wall was found. In 1812 a new and larger house was erected near where the school house now is. This was taken down in 1871, and an old tablet which had been built in the wall has been preserved and placed in the front of the present committee room. It is here given:

Penn. ANNO	GER
OLD 1705	MAN
NEW 1812	TOW



## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> Hazard, Samuel. *Annals of Pennsylvania, 1609-1682*, Philadelphia, 1850, p.49.
- <sup>2</sup> DeJong, Gerald F., *The Dutch in America, 1609-1974*, Twayne Publishers, Boston, 1975, pp.7-10.
- <sup>3</sup> Hazard, *op. cit.*, p.181.
- <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 329.
- <sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.331, 372.
- <sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p.456.
- <sup>7</sup> McManus, Edgar J. *Black Bondage in the North*, Syracuse University Press, 1973, pp.2-4.
- <sup>8</sup> Odhner, C. T. "The Founding of New Sweden," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* [hereafter PMHB] 3:277, 1879.
- <sup>9</sup> "Taxables Living within the Jurisdiction of New Castle Court in November 1677," PMHB 3:352-353, 1879.
- <sup>10</sup> Carson, Hampton. "Dutch and Swedish Settlements on the Delaware," PMHB, 33, 1909.
- <sup>11</sup> Soderlund, Jean R., ed., *William Penn and the Founding of Pennsylvania, 1680-1684: A Documentary History*, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983, p.55, Document 13, "To the Inhabitants of Pennsylvania."
- <sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p.5.
- <sup>13</sup> See Nash, Gary B., "The Free Society of Traders and the Early Politics of Pennsylvania," PMHB 89, 1965; also his *Quakers and Politics, Pennsylvania 1681-1726*, Princeton, 1968.
- <sup>14</sup> Thomas' account was published by Albert Cook Myers in *Narratives of Early Pennsylvania, West New Jersey and Delaware, 1630-1707*, New York, 1912.
- <sup>15</sup> Quoted by Wax, Harold D., "Quaker Merchants and the Slave Trade in Colonial Pennsylvania," PMHB 86:144-145, 1962. The letter is in James Claypoole's Letterbook, 1681-1683, Historical Society of Pennsylvania (hereafter HSP).
- <sup>16</sup> Dunn, Richard S. and Mary Maples Dunn, eds., *The Papers of William Penn*, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982. Vol. I:608; Document #201.
- <sup>17</sup> Nash, *op. cit.*, p. 153.
- <sup>18</sup> Dunn and Dunn, *op. cit.*, Vol. I:609, footnote 9.
- <sup>19</sup> "Early Letters from Bristol and Philadelphia," p.1, HSP Mss. # AM2532.
- <sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p.17.
- <sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p.2.
- <sup>22</sup> "Returns of Inhabitants and Lands Owned and Improved in Portions of Philadelphia County in 1684," PMHB 7:106, 1883.
- <sup>23</sup> "Record of the Upland Court," *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, 7:78, 1860. Lace Cock is mentioned throughout this record.
- <sup>24</sup> Pennsylvania. Minutes of the Provincial Council, *Colonial Records*, Vol. 1:117.
- <sup>25</sup> Pennypacker, Samuel Whitaker, *The Settlement of Germantown*, Philadelphia, 1899, pp. 105, 105.
- <sup>26</sup> Sachse, Julius Friedrich, *Letters Relating to the Settlement of Germantown in Pennsylvania, 1683-84, from the Konneken Manuscript in the Ministerial-Archiv of Lubeck*, Lubeck & Philadelphia, 1903, p. 32.
- <sup>27</sup> Nash, Gary B., "Slaves and Slaveowners in Colonial Philadelphia," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 30:244-248, April 1973.
- <sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p.226.
- <sup>29</sup> Minutes of Philadelphia and Burlington Yearly Meetings, 1681-1746, p. 57; cited by Wax, *op. cit.*, p.147.
- <sup>30</sup> Minutes of Philadelphia Monthly Meeting (1682-1714), p. 115, cited by Wax, *ibid.*
- <sup>31</sup> William Trent's ledger (1703-1708), p.156; cited by Wax, *ibid.*
- <sup>32</sup> Jonathan Dickinson's letters of Apr. 1 and May 14, 1698, are in his Letter Book (1698-1701) at HSP. They are cited by Wax, *ibid.*, pp.148-149.
- <sup>33</sup> Jonathan Dickinson to Isaac Gale, June 25, 1700; cited by Wax, *ibid.*, p. 149.
- <sup>34</sup> Wax, *ibid.*, pp. 151-159.
- <sup>35</sup> Drake, Thomas E. *Quakers and Slavery in America*, Yale University Press, 1950, p. 1.

- <sup>36</sup> DeJong, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-24.
- <sup>37</sup> Pennypacker, *op. cit.*, p. 204.
- <sup>38</sup> Keyser, Naaman H., et al. *History of Old Germantown*, Philadelphia, 1907, p. 47. Pennypacker, *op.cit.*, p.210.
- <sup>39</sup> Drake, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-4.
- <sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5, citing Fox's *A Collection of Many Select and Christian Epistles, Letters, etc.*, London, 1698. Epistle 153.
- <sup>41</sup> Fox, George. *Journal*, John L. Nickalls, ed., Cambridge University Press, 1952, pp. 598-599.
- <sup>42</sup> Drake, *op.cit.*, p.7.
- <sup>43</sup> Fox, *Journal*, pp. 604-605.
- <sup>44</sup> Fox, George. *Gospel Family Order, Being a Short Discourse Concerning the Ordering of Families, both Whites, Blacks and Indians*, London, 1676; cited by Drake, *op.cit.*, p.6.
- <sup>45</sup> Edmundson, William. *A Journal of the Life, Travels, Sufferings, and Labor of Love ... of ... William Edmundson*, London, 1715; cited by Drake, *op.cit.*, p. 8.
- <sup>46</sup> Drake, *ibid.*
- <sup>47</sup> Dunn, Richard S. *Sugar and Slaves, the Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624-1713*, New York, 1972; pp. 256-262.
- <sup>48</sup> Edmundson, William. Letter, dated Newport, 19th 7th Mo 1676; copy in 17th-century hand in Records of New England Yearly Meeting, v. 400, (ms.) entitled "Ancient Epistles, Minutes, Advices or Discipline." Cited by Drake, *op.cit.*, pp.9-10.
- <sup>49</sup> Michener, Ezra. *Early Quakerism*, Philadelphia, 1860; p.331.
- <sup>50</sup> "Articles of the Free Society of Traders," PMHB 5:45, 1881.
- <sup>51</sup> Dunn & Dunn, *The Papers of William Penn*, Vol. III:66. Document 13.
- <sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. III:67.
- <sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. III:256.
- <sup>54</sup> William Penn's Cash book, 1699, pp. 3, 6, 9, 15, 18 (Ms. Coll., APS), cited McManus, *op. cit.*, p. 5.
- <sup>55</sup> Hannah Penn, Letter, London, June 6, 1720 to James Logan; Penn Mss. I:95, HSP; cited by Drake, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-24.
- <sup>56</sup> Penn, William. "Some Account of the Province of Pennsylvania," 1681; in Myers, *op. cit.*, pp. 202-215.
- <sup>57</sup> Learned, Marion Dexter. *The Life of Francis Daniel Pastorius* Philadelphia, 1908; pp. 102-104.
- <sup>58</sup> Niepoth, Wilhelm. "The Ancestry of the Thirteen Krefeld Emigrants of 1683," *Pennsylvania Genealogical Magazine*, 31(3):191-207, 1980.
- <sup>59</sup> Pennypacker, *op. cit.*, pp. 118-119.
- <sup>60</sup> Myers, *op.cit.*, p. 304.
- <sup>61</sup> Learned, *op. cit.*, pp. 158, 387.
- <sup>62</sup> Abington Monthly Meeting, Minutes 1682-1746, v.1 (Swarthmore College, Friends Historical Library). Monthly meeting at Oxford, 22 12 mo. 1686. Also at Abington Monthly Meeting, 26 12 mo 1704, notice was taken that "Friends of Germantown ... laid before us, that they intend to build a new Meeting House next summer," presupposing the existence of an old one. See Seidensticker, Oswald, "The First Antislavery Protest," *The Penn Monthly*, July, 1784, p. 498.
- <sup>63</sup> Chalkley, Thomas, *A Journal or Historical Account of the Life, Travels, and Christian Experiences of that Antient Faithful Servant of Jesus Christ, Thomas Chalkley*, 3d ed., London, 1751; p. 234. The author would like to express her appreciation to James M. Duffin, Assistant Librarian, Germantown Historical Society, for this citation. Proud's comment appears in his *History*, Philadelphia, 1797, p. 220.
- <sup>64</sup> Kite, "First Germantown Friends," *The Friend*, 48:51-52, 1874.

To be continued



# THREE EXHIBITS CELEBRATE THE 300th ANNIVERSARY of the GERMANTOWN PROTEST AGAINST SLAVERY

Text by Barbara C. Abrams, Curator, Germantown Historical Society

Photography by Harry Kalish

April 1988 marks the 300th anniversary of one of the first documented protests against slavery in North America. The influence of this Germantown Protest is featured in three exhibits this spring and summer. The exhibits opened in April as part of a community-wide celebration honoring the protest tricentennial. Each show focuses on a particular aspect of the anti-slavery movement in Germantown.

At Wyck, home to generations of Quakers, the Friends' sentiments are documented in the exhibit, "One Family's Concern for the Abolition of Slavery; a Collection from the Wyck Papers 1787-1891." The stories of the Underground Railroad are highlighted in the display, "The Johnsons and the Underground Railroad in Germantown," now on view at Johnson House. "Abolitionism in Germantown: Community and Conscience," the Germantown Historical Society's own exhibit, studies the events surrounding the 1688 protest and the lives of the four protest signers. The exhibit looks at the social, political, and theological climate of Germantown's formative years in which the protest was drafted.

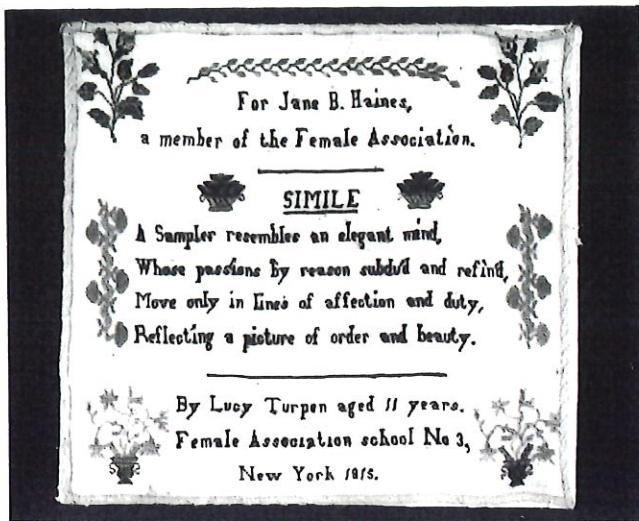
These pages represent some of the highlights from each of these three exhibitions. The Germantown Historical Society and the Johnson House exhibits will be on display throughout the summer. "One Family's Concern for the Abolition of Slavery" closes at Wyck on June 2, 1988.

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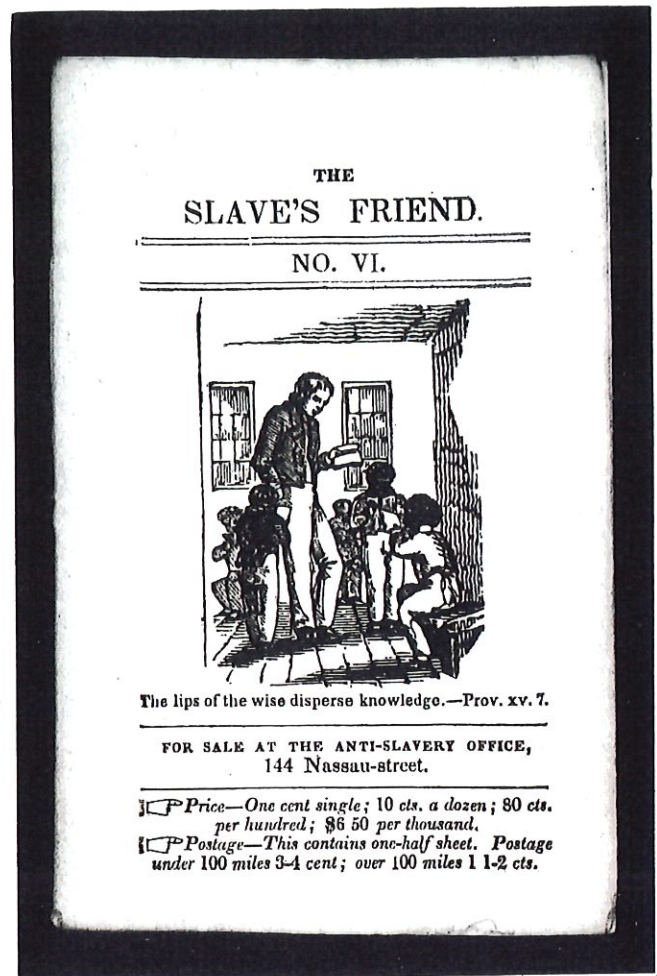


At the time of the Protest's bicentennial in 1888, there was a great deal of praise for this early abolitionist document. It is probably during this post-Civil War era that a small Colonial period table became associated with the signing of the Protest. Today this table is used by the Germantown Mennonite Meeting.

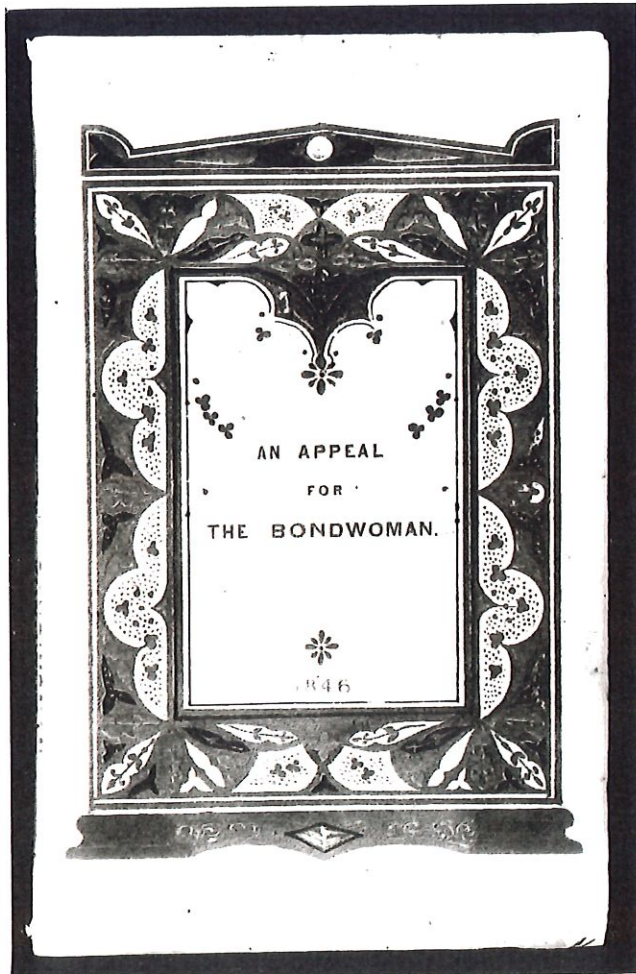




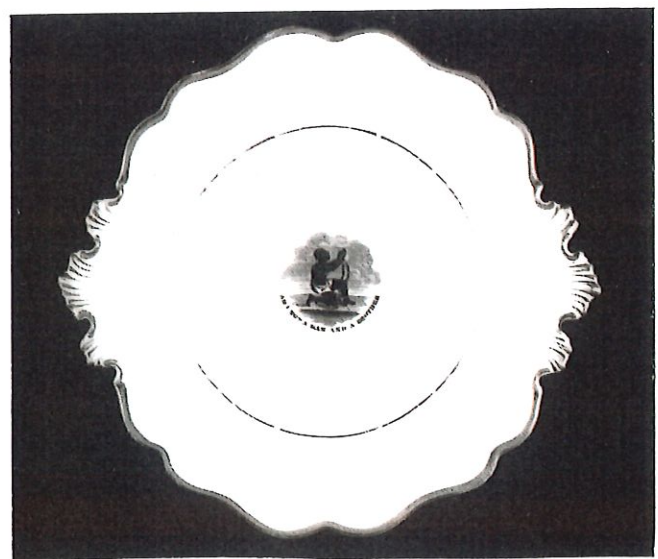
The Female Association was a charitable school founded by Quaker women in 1802. Lucy Turpen, a black student, executed this sampler for one of the school's patrons, Jane Bowne Haines. Lucy was the first student in the school, and her sewing expertise later qualified her as a teacher there.



Very small (2 3/4 x 4") abolitionist tracts such as "The Slave's Friend" sold for only a penny and were printed in huge numbers by Abolitionist groups such as The Anti-Slavery Office in New York City. This 1830 issue gave children an abolitionist outlook on the horrors of slavery.



The highly emotional appeal of many Abolitionist publications is quite clear in an epic poem entitled "An Appeal for the Bondwoman to Her Own Sex." The poem was written in Philadelphia by Elizabeth Lloyd, and was distributed at a Liberty Fair.



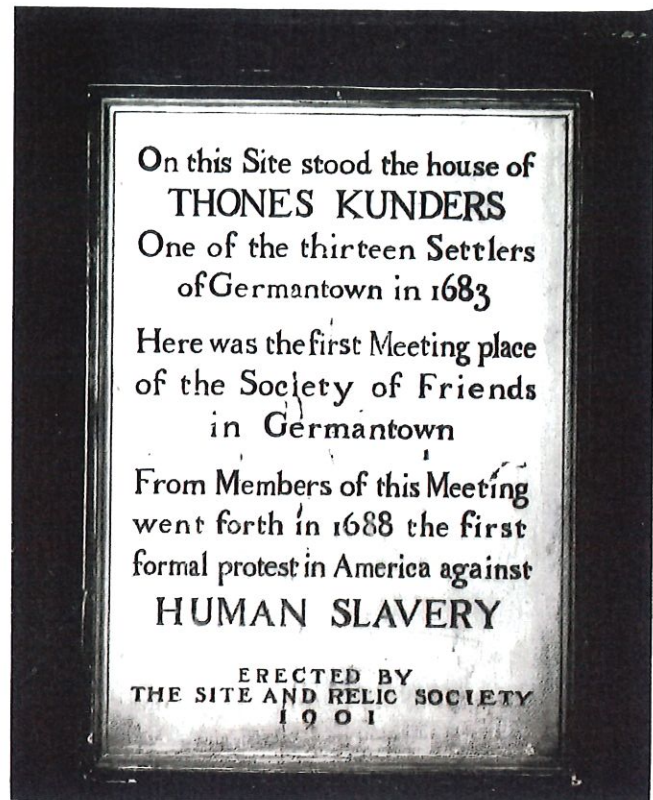
The emblem of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society decorates the center of this commemorative plate. The inscription reads "Am I not a man and a brother?" The black figure in chains was a common motif on abolitionist objects.



"Tones Kunders House"



By the late 19th century the Tones Kunders house, thought to be the site of the protest, had been torn down. A somewhat Federal style house had been erected, and was in use as a barber shop. The property had passed through many hands and many physical changes. Many 19th century sources refer to the north wall as a remnant of the Kunders house. This persistent story may have been merely wishful thinking.



The significance of the 1688 Protest was recognized by abolitionists in the 19th century, and by historians in the 20th century. One of the first projects of the Site and Relic Society (now the Germantown Historical Society) was to place this tablet at the site of the Protest. During the 1983 Tricentennial, a new historical marker was placed at 5109 Germantown Avenue.

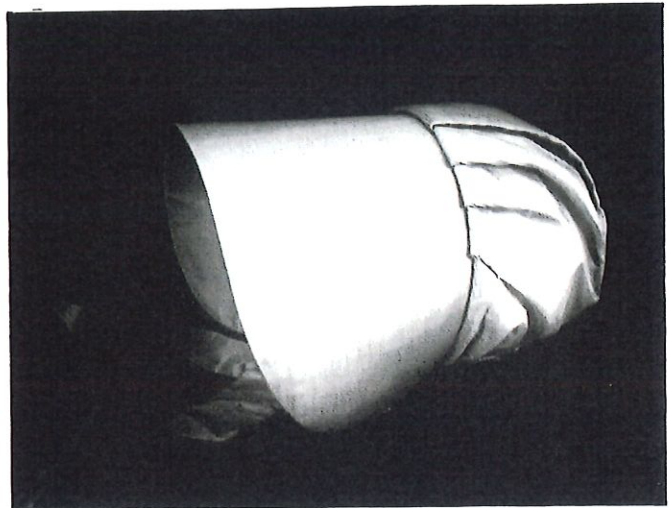
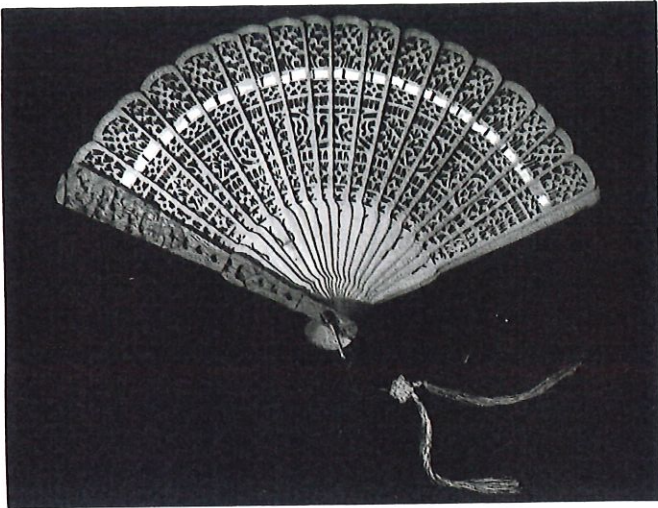


An early 20th-century photograph of the property shows the tablet erected by the Site and Relic Society. The late 18th-century facade also displays an antique-dealer's sign.

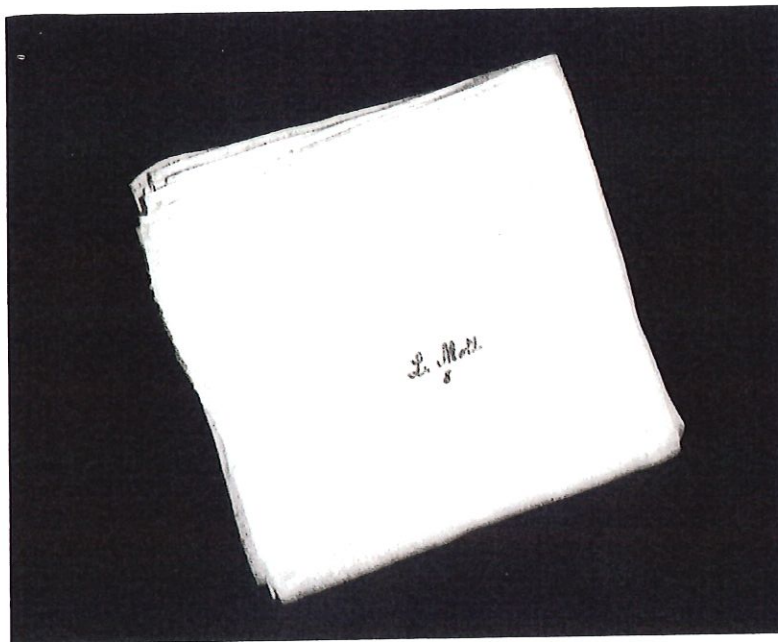


Two additional stories and a bay window radically changed the site's appearance by mid-20th century. In July of 1976 the buildings at the corner of Wister and Germantown Avenue were demolished. The lot remains vacant today.





The dramatic history of the Underground Railroad is well documented in Philadelphia. In Germantown, the Johnson House at the corner of Washington Lane and Germantown Avenue has long been associated with this type of anti-slavery activity. Today a few Johnson family artifacts remain, such as this silk bonnet and sandalwood fan, but few clues exist to document the clandestine activity of the Railroad.



The costume collection of the Germantown Historical Society includes a small number of items worn by Philadelphia and Germantown anti-slavery activists. Most well known of these abolitionists was Lucretia Mott. This plain linen handkerchief bears her name.



# BLACKS IN GERMANTOWN BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR.

## Part I: Persons Named in Various Contemporary Records and Subsequent Reminiscences, etc.

**Allen, Richard**, 1760-1831. Born a slave of Benjamin Chew, he was sold away to Delaware as a child. He purchased his freedom, and established "Mother Bethel" Church in Philadelphia, the founding church of the African Methodist Episcopal Church in America, becoming the denomination's first bishop. With Absalom Jones, he performed heroic service during the yellow fever epidemic of 1793.

**Baker, Thomas**, 1833?-1893. Buried April 23, 1893 from Pleasant & Musgrove Streets; then cited as the "first colored man to own property in Germantown." The author (unnamed) of "A Trifling Correction" (*Germantown Guide*, April 29, 1893, p. [2]) claims this honor for William Fisher, Sr., (see below). However, Robert Clymer (see below) certainly antedates both Baker and Fisher. Baker's property is said to have come to him from his mother, Mary.

**Blackman, Charles** had household of 5 persons; 1810 *Federal Census, Germantown Township*. Apparently a mistake of the census taker — whether Charles was forename or surname is not clear, but "Blackman" elsewhere is used to denote color. Nevertheless, the entry is indexed under Blackman.

**Brooke, Margaret**, "a slave arrested in Germantown a few weeks since and restored to her owner at Baltimore, has been freed by the payment of \$400, much of it raised in Germantown." From the *Germantown Telegraph*, Dec. 20, 1837.

**Brown, George**, "black man," lot bought of his estate. Mentioned in Minutes, Managers for the Relief and Employment of the Poor, 1809-1822; p. 57-58, 1813. Lot bought of his estate — \$81.

**Carmon, Benjm.**, "Blackman" with household of 5 persons; #6 in 1800 *Census Schedule Germantown Township*.

**Clymer, Robert\***. A mulatto slave of Dr. Christopher Witt (1675-1765), the physician and horticulturist. In Witt's will (dated 7 November 1761 and proved 4 February 1765) he "absolutely manumit[ed] and [made] free" Robert Clymer, and bequeathed to him a 3-acre lot on the northwest side of Abington Lane (now Washington Lane), purchased by Witt from Adam Holt, which today would be located between Germantown Avenue and Chew Street. After Witt's death, Clymer came into possession of this land, and on 3 April 1767 he purchased of Harmon Stump of Bristol Township a 3/4 acre lot with house upon it. The following year Cornelius Angle, or Engle, sold Clymer another 3/4 acre lot adjoining. The 1769 Provincial tax list places Clymer where the 1767 and 1768 purchases were located, that is, on the west side of Germantown Avenue a short distance above present-day Walnut Lane. It is interesting to note that in both 1767 and 1768 deeds, Robert Clymer is recorded as being of Germantown, and a practitioner of physic, or physician. He must have considered himself as an apprentice of Witt, and as having learned

the profession. In 1788 Clymer had sold all three lots and the house to Peter Dedier, for the consideration of 245 pounds in gold or silver. By 1788 Robert Clymer was married to Elizabeth (surname unknown) and had settled in Bensalem Township, Bucks County, where he is recorded as a farmer.

**Custis, George W.**, "colored, Buttonwood Hotel, Germantown, died IX-17-1849, for many years the popular waiter at the Buttonwood." From Hocker's "Genealogical Notes from the Incomplete files of the *Germantown Telegraph*, 1830-1866"; typescript, GHS.

**Douglass, John**, "worthy colored shoemaker," mentioned by Hotchkin, *Ancient & Modern Germantown, etc.*, as living on Germantown Avenue near Tulpehocken "in an old log house which has disappeared." McElroy's Directory, 1856, has him as cordwainer, Main above High; not listed in 1857.

**Fisher, William, Sr.**, "colored [died] in his 55th year, Germantown, Dec. 31, 1857. For many years he was proprietor of the only refectory in the town, which he continued up to the time of his death, though competition was strong." From Hocker's "Genealogical Notes from the Incomplete files of the *Germantown Telegraph*, 1830-1866"; typescript, GHS.

"If possible to ascertain who was the first colored owner of real estate in Germantown\*, [it] would probably fall to the name of the late William Fisher, who 50 years and more ago kept an oyster house and restaurant in a frame building still standing, nearly opposite Association Hall. When Centre Street was opened, he purchased ground on the lower corner, erected the present building thereon, and continued his eating-house at that place. [Keyser, in his unpublished "Notes for Volume II, *History of Old Germantown*, gives the address as 5827 Germantown Avenue.] At that time there were but few colored families in Germantown besides that of Fisher's, which was the most prominent. . ." From the *Germantown Guide*, Saturday, April 29, 1893, p. [2].

\* See entry above for Robert Clymer. -Ed.

**Fry, Solomon**, had household of 7 persons; #45 in 1800 *Census Schedule, Germantown Township*.

**Jenkins, Ann Eliza**, ten years old, under the care of the Association for Coloured Orphans, and with their consent, was article to Joseph Wistar March 31st, 1842, for the next 8 years, at the end of which time she was to have "one new suit," and a Bible. She was to "learn Housewifery," and receive some schooling. She was able to sign herself "Annie." Indenture in Elkinton-Wistar papers, GHS.

**Johnson, Shedrick**, mentioned, Minutes, Managers for the Relief and Employment of the Poor, . . . 1809-1822; p. 83, 1815. Abraham Deaves and Robert Bringhurst appointed to enquire after the proper place of residence for him. His family has been some expense to the township; his wife to be furnished with half a cord of firewood.

**Johnson, Susan**, black woman with four children applies for support; residence found to be in Germantown; to be removed to Poor House and suitable [sic] places be got for two of them. Minutes, Managers for the Relief and Employment of the Poor, . . . 1809-1822; p.83, 1815.

**Keating, John**. Black man brought to Germantown Poor

\* This information was discovered and documented from the Philadelphia Register of Wills and Deed Books by James M. Duffin. The deeds to the Germantown Avenue lots were recorded in 1852 in Deed Book T.H., No. 37, pp. 504-510.



House by Managers of the Almshouse of Philadelphia, with an order of removal from Philadelphia to Germantown, also an account of sundry expenses amounting to \$11.75. Resolved, Germantown Treasurer to pay the same. (Minutes, Managers for the Relief and Employment of the Poor, . . . 1809-1822, p.31, 1811.) He "is gone & furnished with some clothing," but, in the next entry, he is returned to the Poor house, "impertinent and likely to be very troublesome," so the Superintendent is directed to feed him on bread and water and keep him chained for a few days as punishment for his bad conduct. Later (p.83) a bill of \$16.50 is to be paid for expenses of his removal to Germantown and five weeks' board.

**Knight, David**, "kept a barber shop" in the basement of William Fisher's eating house (see above). -Naaman Keyser, "Notes for Volume II of *The History of Old Germantown*," unpublished, p. 63A, GHS. He says that for many years the Fishers and Knights were the only colored families in Germantown; however, another account [see above, under Baker] adds the names of Douglass [see above], Knight, Lemon, Huff, and Anderson. These last three we are unable to identify, -Ed.

**Lewis, Moses**, wife and 3 children, occupants of the Rock House, 345 E. Penn St. (now destroyed). "At one time a colored man named Moses Lewis and his wife occupied the Rock House. His wife was a pretty mulatto woman, a runaway slave from the South. One day there appeared. . . a deputy U.S. Marshal, with a requisition for Mrs. Lewis. . . . Mrs. Lewis had three children and they too came under the requisition of the slave-owner. Lewis protested and threatened to fight for his wife and family. The neighbors became interested, and in a short time the good people of Germantown began to rally around Lewis and his family. In a short time \$1200 was raised and the slave-owner was bought off, and the Lewis family was free. Some of the descendants of this family are living in Germantown today." -Newsclipping, from *Independent Gazette*, ca.1927, in Jellett's scrapbook, "Germantown Historic Miscellany," GHS. See also entry above for Margaret Brooke.

**[?Logan], Dinah** Slave of the Logan family at Stenton; sought and obtained her freedom from William and Hannah Logan in 1776, and remained as hired servant. She is credited with saving Stenton from being burned by the British in 1777. The story goes that four soldiers came to fire the mansion as the British were leaving Philadelphia; while they were in the barn, an officer arrived looking for deserters. Dinah told him about the four in the barn, and he took them away. Dinah's tombstone in the Logan graveyard records her fidelity. Jean R. Soderlund's article on "Black Women in Colonial Pennsylvania" (*Pennsylvania Magazine*, CVII, January 1983) cites Manumission Book for the three Philadelphia Monthly Meetings, 1772-1796, Arch Street Meeting House, Philadelphia. John Fanning Watson includes the story of the burning of Stenton in his *Annals of Philadelphia in the Olden Time*, rev. ed., Phila.,

1905, II:480.

**Milford, Sippy**, had household of 5 persons; #564 in 1800 *Census Schedule*, Germantown Township.

**Miller, Philip**, had household of 5 persons; #104 in 1800 *Census Schedule*, Germantown Township.

**Parker, Samuel**, Blackman; had household of 4 persons in 1800 *Census Schedule*, Germantown Township.

**"Phillis \_\_\_\_\_"** "June 21, 1753. Run away the 14th instant from the subscriber, living in Germantown, a Negroe woman, named Phillis, about 25 years of age, of middle stature, well-set, much marked about the neck and back with large whales or lumps, which she received in Barbadoes: Had on when she went away, an ozenbrigs jacket and petticoat, with a stripped ditto over it, new black grain'd shoes, has a shrill voice, and when in a good humour, very talkative; much inclined to company. Whoever takes up said Negro, and brings her to my house, or to the work-house in Philadelphia, shall, if taken up within ten miles, have Ten shillings reward, and if upwards, Twenty shillings, with reasonable charges, paid by John Jones." From *Pennsylvania Gazette*, No. 1278, quoted in "Newspaper Items Relating to Germantown, 1721-1807," typescript, GHS.

**Polhemus, Thomas**, had household of 2 persons, 1810 *Federal Census*, Germantown Township. Mentioned in Minutes, Managers for the Relief and Employment of the Poor of the Township of Germantown, 1809-1822, at GHS, as of 1810 (p.29): Living in a house of Charles Engle's, and "likely to become chargable [sic] to the township, and will gain a residence here if they are suffered to remain in said house one year. Therefore, Resolved Joseph Miller be appointed to examine said Polhemus, and if he cannot give the Township satisfactory security of his not becoming chargable he is requested to take out an Order for removing him to his place of legal residence. In 1811 (p. 31), measures are to be taken for removal of Polhemus.

**Robinson, "Black Sam"**, "a vendor of shad, oysters, and small fruits in Germantown for the past 35 years [n.d.] died at his residence, Main St. below Queen. . . He kept an oyster saloon and for many years provided thereat the election poll or booth of the division. . . His resonant and cheerful voice, with its upward inflection, will long ring in the memory. . . as a reminder of his kindly disposition and respectful address." -undated clipping, in Jellett's "Germantown Biographical Miscellany," v.2:337, GHS. Keyser (*History of Old Germantown*, p. 240) also mentions him as living at 5238-5240 Germantown Avenue about 1880.

**Thomas, John**, had household of 5 persons, 1810 *Federal Census*, Germantown Township.

**Thompson, Charles**, had household of 5 persons, 1810 *Federal Census*, Germantown Township.

**Wilhelm, Aaron**, baptised May 7, 1759, at the German Reformed Church (Market Square), by Rev. J. G. Alsentz. A mulatto; father unknown; mother Joanna Wilhelm, a white woman. Sponsor: George Klinger.

