Lincoln’s Springfield

JAMESON JENKINS and JAMES BLANKS

AFRICAN AMERICAN NEIGHBORS
OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Spring Creek Series

Richard E. Hart
Jameson Jenkins' Certificate of Freedom

Recorded With the Recorder of Deeds of Sangamon County, Illinois on March 28, 1846

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Jameson Jenkins and James Blanks

Front Cover Photograph: Obelisk marker for graves of Jameson Jenkins and James Blanks in the “Colored Section” of Oak Ridge Cemetery, Springfield, Illinois. This photograph was taken on September 30, 2012, by Donna Catlin on the occasion of the rededication of the restored grave marker.

Back Cover Photograph: Photograph looking north on Eighth Street toward the Lincoln Home at Eighth and Jackson streets from the right of way in front of the lot where the house of Jameson Jenkins stood.

Dedicated to Nellie Holland and Dorothy Spencer

The Springfield and Central Illinois African American History Museum is a not-for-profit organization founded in February, 2006, for the purpose of gathering, interpreting and exhibiting the history of Springfield and Central Illinois African Americans life in the 19th, 20th and 21st centuries.

We invite you to become a part of this important documentation of a people’s history through a membership or financial contribution. You will help tell the stories that create harmony, respect and understanding.

All proceeds from the sale of this pamphlet will benefit The Springfield and Central Illinois African American History Museum.

Jameson Jenkins and James Blanks: African American Neighbors of Abraham Lincoln Spring Creek Series.
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Richard E. Hart was born in Ottawa, Illinois, and attended school and was raised in Springfield. He attended the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign where he received his B.A. in 1964 and his J.D. in 1967. He was admitted to practice law in 1967 and has been a practicing attorney in Springfield for the last forty-eight years. He is a partner in the firm of Hart, Southworth & Witsman. Hart is married to Ann and they have three children and six grandchildren.

Hart is a past President of The Abraham Lincoln Association and member of the Illinois Abraham Lincoln Bicentennial Commission. He is a past President and board member of the Sangamon County Historical Society, past Chairman of the Advisory Board of The Lincoln Legal Papers, and past President and member of the Board of Directors of the Elijah Iles House Foundation. Hart was largely responsible for raising the funds and managing the day-to-day restoration of the Elijah Iles House and the Strawbridge-Shepherd House, two ca. 1840 Greek Revival residences.

Hart is also past President of Springfield Preservation, Ltd., a for-profit corporation that has restored and leased five Lincoln-era houses in Springfield’s German Settlers Row.

Hart suggested the format for the *Looking for Lincoln* project in Springfield and donated his personal historical research and ideas that were used for that project.

Hart and his wife Ann were also responsible for proposing the design for the City of Springfield’s streetscape. Their design proposal and advocacy was adopted in lieu of another proposal for a contemporary design. As a part of their advocacy, the Harts purchased and donated the first period lights for Springfield’s streetscape. Since that first donation, the use of the design has spread throughout downtown Springfield and is now moving into several neighborhoods, including the Iles Park Neighborhood.

In 1999, Hart was given the City of Springfield’s Preservationist of the Year award.

In 2012, Hart was presented with the Logan Hay Medal. The bronze medal is awarded infrequently and is the highest honor given by The Abraham Lincoln Association to recognize individuals who have made noteworthy contributions to the mission of the Association.

In 2014, Hart was awarded the Illinois State Historical Society’s Lifetime Achievement Award for his outstanding contributions over the decades to promoting the history of the Prairie State.

In 2015, Hart was awarded the Springfield NAACP Chapter’s 2015 Legal and Political Award.

From 2003 until 2015, Mr. Hart served on the Board of Managers of Oak Ridge Cemetery and was Chairman of the Board of Managers of Oak Ridge Cemetery. He is a founding member of the Board of Directors of Springfield Illinois African American History Foundation Museum and served from . Hart remains a member of the Board of Directors of The Abraham Lincoln Association and of the Elijah Iles House Foundation.

For at least the last ten years Hart has been the editor of *For The People*, a newsletter of The Abraham Lincoln Association, and the *Iles Files*, a newsletter of the Elijah Iles House Foundation.

Hart’s personal interest has been in the history of Springfield during the time that Abraham Lincoln lived there and in particular in the presence there of African-Americans. He is also interested in particular areas of Sangamon County during the period of early settlement. He has divided his published research on these two areas into the Spring Creek Series focusing on Lincoln’s Springfield, and the Sugar Creek Series focusing on the early settlement of Cotton Hill and Ball Townships in Sangamon County.
Spring Creek Series

Early Sangamon County Antiques – The Barringer Exhibit (2005) (Editor)
Lincoln’s Springfield – The Underground Railroad (2006)
The Early Court Houses of Sangamon County, Illinois (1821-1837) (2008)
Lincoln’s Springfield – Abel W. Estabrook: Robert Todd Lincoln’s Abolitionist Teacher (2009)
Lincoln’s Springfield – Springfield’s Early Schools (2009)
The Colored Section, Oak Ridge Cemetery (2009)
Lincoln’s Springfield – Greek Revival Architecture on the Prairie (2011)
Circuses in Lincoln’s Springfield (1833-1860) (2013)
Preston Butler: Photographer in Lincoln’s Springfield (2014)
Jameson Jenkins and James Blanks, African Americans in Lincoln’s Springfield (2014)
Lincoln’s Springfield Neighborhood (2015)

Sugar Creek Series

Jones Cemetery Tour: Ball, Cotton Hill & Woodside Township, Sangamon County, Illinois (2002)
Philemon Stout Cemetery: Ball Township, Sangamon County, Illinois (2006)
Christopher Newcomer Cemetery: Woodside Township, Sangamon County, Illinois (2009)
Sugar Creek Cemetery: Ball Township, Sangamon County, Illinois (2010)
David Brunk Cemetery: Ball Township, Sangamon County, Illinois (2010)
Cumberland Sugar Creek Cemetery, The Old Burying Ground (2012)
George Brunk Cemetery, Cotton Hill Township, Sangamon County, Illinois (2012)
The Strawbridge – Shepherd Farm Site
Thomas Royal: Revolutionary War Soldier and Early Sangamon County Settler (2016)
African Americans in Lincoln’s Neighborhood

By late-twentieth century standards, the Lincoln family lived in an integrated neighborhood. In 1850, at least 20 African Americans, about 14.4 percent of Springfield’s African American population, lived within a three-block radius of the Lincoln home at Eighth and Jackson streets. The Jameson Jenkins and James Blanks families were among those 20 African Americans.

1854 Map of the Lincoln Home Area in Springfield, Illinois, Showing the 1850 Location of 21 African American Residents Within a Three-Block Radius of the Lincoln Home

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Jameson Jenkins and James Blanks

Introduction

Two African American men, Springfield neighbors of Abraham Lincoln, were early activists in pursuing civil rights for their race. One, Jameson Jenkins, did so as a conductor on the Underground Railroad. The other, James Blanks, did so as a leader in establishing schools for Springfield’s colored children. Their lives are worthy of study as examples of African American civil rights activism and leadership in mid-nineteenth century Springfield, Illinois.

In the 1830s, both men migrated to Indiana from the South — Jenkins from North Carolina and Blanks from Virginia. In Indiana, they settled in an African American farming community known as Beech Settlement. Later, in the 1840s, both men and their families moved to Springfield, Illinois.

The Jenkins and Blanks migrations from the South were facilitated by a religious group called the Society of Friends, or Quakers. The Quakers originally migrated from England and many settled in or near Philadelphia, Pennsylvania and Nantucket. Quakers came to North Carolina from Pennsylvania about 1749, and from Nantucket in 1771. At the time of the American Revolution, Quakers constituted a large part of the North Carolina population, mostly concentrated in Randolph and Guilford counties.

Most North Carolina Quakers opposed slavery and some actively assisted African Americans in escaping that condition. Some provided room and board to slaves as well as free people of color as they gathered and waited in Quaker communities for the right time to migrate north to freedom. Some Quakers even moved to southern Ohio and Indiana where they established Quaker communities and assisted newly arrived slaves and free people of color. This Quaker assistance was the beginning of what came to be called the Underground Railroad.

In Indiana, Jenkins and Blanks lived for a time in Beech Settlement, a self-sufficient African American farming community in central Indiana. Their short stay in Beech Settlement brings to our attention an important chapter in the mid-nineteenth century history of Midwestern African Americans — the development of a number of African American agricultural settlements in Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. It was a great surprise to me to learn of the existence of these communities that played such an important role in Jameson Jenkins’ and James Blanks’ journeys to Springfield.

My Rosetta Stone in piecing together much of the story of Jameson Jenkins has been his Certificate of Freedom recorded with the Sangamon County Recorder of Deeds on March 28, 1846. Discovery of the Certificate was one of those “Wow” moments when one unexpectedly finds a gem in a pile of coal. I was reviewing deed records at the Illinois Regional Archives Department in Brookens Library at the University of Illinois Springfield and came across a reference to the Jameson Jenkins Certificate. I was not looking for it. No one could have been looking specifically for the document. There was no reason to do so. The Certificate has been the source of invaluable information about Jameson’s origin and life in Wake County, North Carolina. It has allowed me to piece together the route that Jameson took from North Carolina to Springfield.

The presence of the Jenkins and Blanks families as close neighbors of Abraham Lincoln shines a bright spotlight on their lives and gives us a personal glimpse into Springfield and Abraham Lincoln that might otherwise have been abstract and remote. The stories of the lives of these two families are tangible illustrations of African American life in nineteenth century
America in general and in Springfield in particular. They are the best examples of the diverse and interesting African Americans who lived near and knew Abraham Lincoln.

In Lincoln’s Springfield, we can ride with Jameson in his wagon through the neighborhood where the Jenkins and Lincoln families were neighbors for about 13 years. We can hear Jameson whisper of plans to assist a runaway African American slave in achieving freedom by traveling north in his wagon on the Underground Railroad. We can watch Jameson load neighbor Lincoln’s bags onto that same wagon and ride with him in the wagon to the Great Western Depot on February 11, 1861. There he delivers his cargo to his neighbor who as President Elect is about to leave Springfield for Washington. We can then stand back with Jameson and listen to Mr. Lincoln deliver his poignant Farewell Address to Jenkins and his Springfield friends.

One can also attend meetings of Springfield’s colored citizens where James Blanks and other Springfield African Americans plan for schools for their children and make requests of the citizens of Springfield to assist in that endeavor.

His experiences and knowledge of Springfield African Americans were substantial and unfettered. During Lincoln’s 24 years as a Springfield resident, he certainly knew of the day-to-day life of Springfield African Americans. The Lincolns employed a number of African American females as servants, washerswomen and seamstresses. They also employed males to work with the animals and do heavier work. Some worked in his home, some were neighbors, one cut his hair, one made his shoes, and another made his shirts and underwear. He knew that a few of them were conductors on the Underground Railroad. He knew that in early August of each year many paraded through the streets of Springfield and then gathered at what is now Douglas Park to celebrate the anniversary of the freeing of the Haitian slaves. He acted as attorney for some and knew the most intimate details of their lives.

There were no automobiles. The distances between residences and work and shopping were short. You could easily walk to town, so as Lincoln and others passed one another on the street and at the market, they looked one another in the eye and said “Hello.” They were real and you could not escape or ignore them. They lived next door or down the street. They were neighbors.

I believe that this proximity and daily encounters created a deep sense of community and common purpose among the people of the Lincoln neighborhood and of Springfield. No doubt they had much to do with his personal attitudes about slavery and individual freedom and independence.

In contrast, Lincoln’s 4 ½ year relationships with African American servants in the highly structured White House would have been much less in terms of duration, depth and intimacy.

As you read the stories of these two men and their families, I hope you vicariously sense the joys and the fears that they must have experienced at each new stage of their lives. They were lives well lived and deserving of study.

Richard E. Hart
Springfield, Illinois
June 6, 2014
This map shows the approximate route taken by Jameson Jenkins from New Light Township, Wake County, North Carolina to Guilford, Beech Settlement, Indiana, and finally to Springfield, Illinois, a total distance of approximately 833 miles. It also shows the approximate route of James Blanks from Greensville County, Virginia to Beech Settlement, Indiana, and finally to Springfield, Illinois, a total distance of approximately 910 miles.
How The Record Speaks to Us

As you read this book, you will find that most of the footnotes refer to newspaper articles, federal and state censuses, city directories and documents found in the Sangamon County records at the Illinois Regional Archives at the University of Illinois-Springfield. These sources have provided sufficient information to write a brief account of the lives of Jameson Jenkins and James Blanks.

But would you want your life story to be based solely on such bland sources? Probably not. You would appear as a mere skeleton without personality or passion. Little of the true personality of Jameson or James or their families can be discerned from the impersonal public record.

But there is enough, at least about Jameson, to conclude that he was an adventuresome person. He did not bow to unjust power. He challenged the legal status quo in order to help African Americans escape the shackles of antebellum American slavery. He was fearless and brave. We will never know the number of slaves he helped to freedom. But one life saved merits praise, and Jameson helped many more than one, I am sure.

We also know that Jameson was judged by a committee of his largely white church. The all white male committee terminated Jameson’s church membership because of his licentious conduct. One might view this as the work of white men with prejudice disciplining an African American unjustly. That is not the case in this instance. The church was known to have a number of members who supported abolitionism and the Underground Railroad. In some quarters, the church was known as the “Abolitionist Church.” The men on the committee, in my judgment, would not have expelled Jameson without sufficient cause, and their judgment certainly would not be based upon race. I believe that Jameson must have done something that was morally repulsive to the church and the community at that time.

On at least two occasions, Jameson was arrested for what were minor offenses — littering the street and fighting in public. Unlike the church committee charges, we can speculate that these charges may have been the work of white men with prejudice disciplining an African American unjustly, but we will never know the real truth about that.

We can add to Jameson’s scant public record by looking at the known events of the time and place where he lived and placing him in that context. He was a young free man of color in a southern slave state that annually increased the restrictions on his life. He requested the local justices to grant him a permit to visit a place that would treat him as an equal and arrange for his escape to the North. From there, he took a route north to east central Indiana on a well known trail used by slaves escaping the south — the Underground Railroad. For a short time, he lived in an African American agricultural community near an Indiana Quaker settlement. Finally, he settled in a growing central Illinois community that recently had been named the capital of Illinois. He lived down
the street from Abraham Lincoln, one of history’s most respected human beings, and he
took Lincoln’s bags to the train depot when he left Springfield for Washington D.C. to
lead a nation.

In short, Jameson was human. Like all of us, he was neither all good nor all bad.

There is not much information on James Blanks. My impression is that he was
much more cerebral than his rough and tumble brother-in-law, Jameson. His public
support of schools for colored children is documented in the Springfield newspapers. He
moved to Chicago in 1854 and lived there until his death in 1876. He is enumerated in
city directories and census of Chicago as a porter or janitor. At his death, he was brought
back to Springfield and was buried next to Jameson Jenkins in Oak Ridge Cemetery. The
two men share the tombstone that is shown on the cover.

Perhaps more interesting than either the life story of Jameson or James was the
story of their common mother-in-law, Jane Pellum. Jane was the matriarch of the two
families and a census taker noted that she remembered events of the American
Revolution. We do know that Abraham and Mary Lincoln knew Jane well. Her story, to
the extent known, is told here, but I regret that the record left by Jane does not allow one
to write much about her life.

Aunt Jane Pellum, how I wish you could speak and tell us about your life. How
remarkable that you lived during the entire time that slavery was permitted in the United
States. How remarkable that you experienced firsthand the antebellum Southern slave
culture and came to be a neighbor, friend and helper of the Lincoln family. You were 80
when you died in Springfield on November 9, 1867, and you were buried there in the
“Colored Section” of Oak Ridge Cemetery, near where your two daughters and sons-in-
law, Jameson and James, now lie buried.3

Grave of Jane Pellum
Oak Ridge Cemetery

The Jenkins Family

Pre American Revolution

Birth of Nancy Jenkins
in New Light Township, Wake County, North Carolina

The story of the Jameson Jenkins family begins in what is now New Light Township, Wake County, North Carolina. Jameson’s mother, Nancy Jenkins, was born there before the Revolutionary War, and it was there that the Jenkins family had its geographical and cultural roots.⁴

1790

Free People of Color in Wake County, North Carolina

In 1790, Wake County had a population of 10,192. The population of free people of color was 180. Nancy Jenkins was most probably one of those 180 and it was her status as a “free person of color” that she passed on to her son, Jameson. That status was determinative in Jameson’s life.

⁵ Bevers, Fendol., creator. 1871 Map of Wake County, North Carolina State Archives, publisher, Nichols & Gorman
http://dc.lib.unc.edu/cdm/fullbrowser/collection/ncmaps/id/241/rv/singleitem/rec/1
In 1800 the population of Wake County was 13,437. The population of the free people of color was 324 — 4% of the total Wake County population. In 10 years, the number of free people of color had grown by 144, an 80% increase.

Birth of Jameson Jenkins in New Light Township, Wake County, North Carolina
(1808-1873)

In 1808, Jameson Jenkins was born in New Light Township, Wake County, North Carolina, the son of Nancy Jenkins and Unknown. He was a mulatto and a “free person of color” as was his mother. It should be noted that the description of “mulatto” was not limited to those of African American and White bloodlines, but was also applied to those of mixed blood with American Indians and other races. It is possible that Jameson and the other “mulattos” identified herein might be of mixed blood that included that of American Indians as well as African Americans.

By 1810, the population of Wake County was 17,096. The population of the free people of color was 518 — 3% of the total Wake County population. In 10 years, the number of free people of color had grown by 194, a 59.87% increase.

Birth of Gilley Evans in Wake County, North Carolina
(1810-18__)

Jameson Jenkins’ first wife, Gilley Evans, was born in 1810 in Wake County, North Carolina. Very little is known about Gilley.

By 1820, the population of Wake County was 20,102. The population of the free people of color was 734 — 3.6% of the total Wake County population. In 10 years, the number of free people of color had grown by 216, an increase of 41.17%.

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6 The first name of “Jameson” is sometimes spelled “Jimison,” “Jamerson,” “James,” “Jamieson,” “Jimerson,” and “Johathan.” His obituary reads “Jimerson.” His tomb stone is no assistance as it reads “J. Jenkins.” I have chosen to use the spelling “Jameson,” as it is that spelling that the National Park Service has chosen for its descriptive materials relating to Mr. Jenkins.

7 Records at Oak Ridge Cemetery, Springfield, Illinois, state that Jameson was 65 when he died in 1873. That would make his birth year 1808. Jameson’s obituary also states that he was about 65 years old. Some of the census information lists an age for him that would make his birth date about 1810. Without definitive evidence, I have arbitrarily chosen 1808 as his birth year.
1830

Free People of Color in Wake County, North Carolina

By 1830, the population of Wake County was 20,398. The population of the free people of color was 833 — 4.1% of the total Wake County population. In 10 years, the number of free people of color had grown by 99, an increase of 13.5%.

1831

Marriage of Gilley Evans and Jameson Jenkins in Wake County, North Carolina

On January 27, 1831, in Wake County, North Carolina, Jameson Jenkins, age 25, married Gilley Evans, age 21. In the Clerk of the Court’s record, Jameson’s name was spelled “Jamison Jinkins.”

Marriages between free persons of color and slaves were prohibited by the laws of North Carolina, so it is reasonable to conclude that Gilley was not a slave, but rather a free person of color. In 1838, this was also the conclusion of a former Wake County neighbor, William Laues (Laws), who stated that both Jameson and Gilley passed for white and he believed them to be free.

Trapped In Between Two Fires

The following is a description of the Roberts family that settled in Indiana and established the African American Roberts Settlement. This brief summary of the Roberts experience parallels that of Jameson Jenkins and James Blanks.

People of mixed African, Native American, and European descent, the first Roberts settlers had been raised in eastern North Carolina, an area where their families had lived as modest, well-respected, free landowners for at least a generation before the American Revolution. They migrated to Indiana’s frontier in large measure because their freedom seemed in jeopardy. During their lifetimes, slavery in their native land had become far more concentrated, and fears of slave unrest had mounted—the South’s three largest post-1800 slave uprisings, including the 1831 Nat Turner Rebellion, all erupted within one hundred miles of their homes. As a result whites had come to view free blacks with great suspicion and steadily whittled away their economic, social, religious, legal, and political rights. As early pioneer Long Jim Roberts put it, free blacks in their former homes had become “trapped in between two fires,” caught in the middle of the struggle between whites and slaves.


10 http://www.robertssettlement.org/history.html
North Carolina Laws Regulating Free Persons of Color

To understand Jameson Jenkins, one must understand what it meant to be a “free person of color” in antebellum North Carolina.

As a matter of fact, there never was a time that the people of North Carolina would not have rejoiced to see a wholesale exodus of the free colored population from the State.

*The Free Negro in North Carolina*, Rosser Howard Taylor.\(^{11}\)

**Free People of Color in North Carolina**

During the years preceding the Civil War, North Carolina’s population of free people of color blossomed. The status of “free people of color” was superior to outright slavery, but it still lacked the basic attributes of “freedom.” In fact, some observers have termed the “free negro” the “most pathetic figure in North Carolina prior to the Civil War...”

The most pathetic figure in North Carolina prior to the Civil War was the free negro. Hedged about with social and legal restrictions, he ever remained an anomaly in the social and political life of the State. The origin of this class of people [free people of color] may be attributed to many sources, the most common of which are (1) cohabitation of white women and negro men, (2) intermarriage of blacks and whites, (3) manumission, (4) military service in the Revolution, and (5) immigration from adjoining States.

With practically no education, and with very little incentive to accumulate property in any of its forms, one is not surprised to learn that the free negroes, in the words of an old-timer, “never amounted to much.”\(^{12}\)

The free person of color was supposed to be a little higher in social rank than the slave. But not every slave acknowledged the social supremacy of free people of color. The slave’s attitude of contempt for the free person of color may have been encouraged by the slave owners, who wished to discourage the association of the slaves and free people of color. Free people of color were forbidden to marry slaves, and they were not allowed to gamble with one another. Nevertheless, there was a great deal of clandestine association, especially in the towns. It was a common occurrence on Monday morning to see a group of offenders led out of the magistrate’s court and into the bushes and there given thirty-nine lashes.\(^{13}\)

The majority of the free people of color hired themselves to work for white people for a daily wage. Others became blacksmiths, tinkers, barbers, farmers, small merchants, fiddlers, carpenters, mechanics, craftsmen and preachers. In almost every community there was a free negro well-digger or ditcher. Where they could rent land, many of them attempted farming on a small scale in connection with their work as wage earners. Free negro women usually made better house servants

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\(^{12}\) *The Free Negro in North Carolina*.

\(^{13}\) *Revisal of 1837*, ch. III, pp. 588 and 590. *Laws of North Carolina*, Session 1830-31, ch. 4, p. 9. *Atlantic Monthly*, January, 1886. The poor white man was ever an object of contempt in the sight of the free negro. “Big white folks are all right, but poor white folks ain’t no better than us niggers.” Such was the general opinion the colored citizen held of his indigent white neighbor. The slave owners always regarded the free negro with suspicion because he was known to be in sympathy with the desire of the slaves to be free; he might aid slaves in planning a revolt, in running away from their masters and in disposing of stolen goods. Rev. J. W. Wellons, Elon College, N. C. Mr. Wellons witnessed the execution of Nat Turner in 1831. Hoyt, *Murphey Papers*, p. 61.
than slave negro women and were consequently frequently employed in that capacity. Others hired themselves out as laborers and domestics.\(^\text{14}\)

**North Carolina Laws Restricting Freedom of James and Gilley Jenkins**

Although designated a “free person of color” in 1830 North Carolina, Jameson Jenkins was never free in the sense that we think of freedom today. He and his new wife, Gilley, had grown up under a long list of North Carolina laws that restricted their freedom. In the year of their marriage, 1831, and thereafter, those laws grew increasing harsh and restrictive. The life that Jameson and Gilley were accustomed to was changing and their status as free people of color was becoming even less free. They must have been quite uncomfortable to live in this environment where what little remaining freedom they enjoyed was being stripped away.

In about 1786, 25 years before the birth of Jameson and Gilley, the North Carolina legislature adopted a series of laws regulating the conduct of free persons of color in order to prevent them from harboring runaway slaves and from receiving stolen goods from slaves. Free persons of color were forbidden to trade with slaves in property of any kind under penalty of £10 or three months in prison.\(^\text{15}\) They were forbidden to entertain any slave in their houses during the Sabbath or between sunset and sunrise.\(^\text{16}\) In some North Carolina towns, free persons of color were required to wear a badge of cloth on the left shoulder with the word “Free” written thereon. In some towns, they also had to register with the town clerk and pay a fee of ten shillings three days after arrival in these towns.\(^\text{17}\)

Another of the laws enacted in 1786 made it a criminal offense to bring slaves into North Carolina from a state where slaves had been liberated.\(^\text{18}\) The law fixed a penalty of £50 for each slave brought in conditioned on the removal of the slave to the state where he or she had been liberated.

In 1816 the North Carolina legislature petitioned Congress to set apart “a certain portion of the United States, situate on the Pacific Ocean for an asylum for persons of color . . . heretofore emancipated or shall hereafter be emancipated under the laws of this State or any other State.” The Federal Government was to provide free transportation. Congress took no action on the petition, but the petition reveals the prevailing sentiment in North Carolina in 1816 with reference to free persons of color.\(^\text{19}\)

During the 1820s and 1830s, Jameson and Gilley experienced new North Carolina laws that further restricted the rights of free people of color.

In 1830, the North Carolina legislature adopted legislation preventing a North Carolina free person of color from returning to North Carolina after being absent for 90 days or more. One historian asserted that it was a means of getting rid of an undesirable element of the population.

\(^\text{14}\) [ncmuseumofhistory.org/workshops/Antebellum%20NC/session1.html](http://ncmuseumofhistory.org/workshops/Antebellum%20NC/session1.html)


\(^\text{18}\) *Codes of North Carolina, Martin’s Revisal*, Newbern, North Carolina, Martin & Ogden, 1804, ch. 6, p. 414.

\(^\text{19}\) *The Free Negro in North Carolina.*
It also prevented free persons of color from leaving the state, becoming instilled with new ideas of freedom and abolition and returning to the state to disseminate those ideas.

After Jameson and Gilley were married in January 1831, the North Carolina legislature adopted legislation providing that if a free person of color convicted of a criminal offense was unable to pay the fine, he could be hired out to any person who would pay the fine in exchange for the person’s services not to exceed five years.

Most historians blame the tightening of restrictions on people of color — both free and enslaved — to white fear of black uprisings and revolts. In August 1831, that fear was fueled by a two-day slave rebellion in Southampton County, Virginia. The rebellion was led by slave preacher Nat Turner and about 60 whites were killed. Militiamen crushed the revolt and then spent two months searching for Turner, who was eventually caught and hanged.20

By 1835, it became illegal to free slaves or for freed slaves to move freely around North Carolina. In 1835, free men of color lost the right to vote. Additional laws prohibited free people of color from preaching in public, learning to read and write, buying or selling liquor, or owning firearms. These laws were collectively known as the “black codes.” More of the restrictive North Carolina laws are set forth in Appendix C.

Collectively, these laws promoted secret resistance by local residents who helped to smuggle runaway slaves to free states in the North. The resistance in North Carolina was concentrated among Quakers living in Guilford County.

Jameson and Gilley Jenkins Experience Restrictive Laws of North Carolina

The young married Jenkins couple, Jameson and Gilley, experienced the press of North Carolina laws that restricted their status as free colored. Undoubtedly, they wanted to escape that increasingly restrictive environment. They almost certainly knew of the Guilford Quaker sympathies for slaves and free colored and of their assistance in helping both make their way north into the “free” states. It was the perfect route for Jameson and Gilley to follow in order to escape their present condition and move into a new world where they dreamed of living free and unfettered by the restrictive laws of North Carolina.

By the summer of 1835, Jameson and Gilley Jenkins finally chose to seek that new life far from New Light Township, Wake County, North Carolina and free of these restrictions. Meanwhile, another family of free people of color, the James Blanks family, 200 miles to the south in Greensfield County, Virginia, was experiencing the same increase in the restrictions on their freedom. The same prejudices and fears were at play in the Virginia legislature as were present in the North Carolina legislature, and the Blanks family too would seek a new life in a place free of these restrictions.

http://ncmuseumofhistory.org/workshops/Antebellum%20NC/session1.html
The Quakers at Guilford County, North Carolina

As a rule, the Quakers were much more cordial in their relations with the free people of color than was any other element of the white population in the State.

*The Free Negro in North Carolina*, Rosser Howard Taylor

At the same time that Jameson and Gilley Jenkins were living a restricted life as free persons of color in New Light Township, Wake County, North Carolina, a large population of members of a religious society were living about 76 miles to the west in Randolph and Guilford counties. The society was called the Society of Friends and its members were called Quakers. The two counties where they lived were known collectively as the “Quaker Belt.”

The western part of Guilford County was peopled by Quakers, Englishmen coming by way of Pennsylvania, and another type not so mild — the Nantucket Quaker, who came to this western part of Guilford about the time of the first brewing of the Revolutionary War. This section was the centre of Quaker element in the state. For some reason, or impulse, the Friends, or Quakers, regarded the freeing of the slaves as their own peculiar mission. In their yearly meeting as early as 1772… Friends were discussing slavery and the sin of it; and in 1774 they freed their own slaves. The North Carolina yearly meeting of Friends chartered a ship, called The Sally Ami, for the purpose of sending slaves to Haiti, where they might be free. Slaves were bought and sent to Haiti.

The Quakers living around western Guilford County in the Quaker Belt opposed treating human beings as property on religious and ethical grounds. Some of them formed groups or “manumission societies” to urge individuals to free slaves. Others raised funds and organized groups of “freedmen,” African Americans who would return to Africa with the help of “colonization societies.” Yet others were “abolitionists” who promoted the immediate legal prohibition of slavery.

… soon after the Revolutionary War, societies were formed all over North Carolina to protect and restore to freedom those negroes kidnapped and sold into slavery. In the first decade of the nineteenth century a society was organized in Guilford County. Called the “Manumission Society of North Carolina.” Its meetings were held in the Deep River section, and others besides Friends were members, among them many slave-holders, who eagerly discussed the question of slavery.

The Manumission Society of North Carolina sought to put an end to the slave traffic by allowing no more to be brought into North Carolina; by allowing no slave to be exchanged from one master to another; and by allowing all negroes born after a certain date to be free. By this means they would gradually promote emancipation, thus averting

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21 *The Free Negro in North Carolina.*

22 From 1681 to 1705, 70% of Quakers owned slaves. By 1756, however, only 10% of Quakers owned slaves. Many Quakers were arrested and the African Americans among them forced into bondage. Many of these Quakers appealed to the courts winning freedom for those African Americans they stood up for. In 1776 a committee of North Carolina Quakers was sent to visit what is now Ohio in the Northwest Territory. They sought and found land where slavery could never exist. They returned to North Carolina and made known their findings. At the Trent River Quarterly [Quaker] Conference it was voted unanimously to make the trek to this distant venue. One hundred thirty Quaker families prepared themselves and migrated to [Ohio]. The trek began in the spring of 1799. A trip was made first eastward to the ocean of North Carolina, then northward along the coast, via sailing vessels for two weeks, and on to Alexandria, Virginia. Upon arrival, wagons were hired to transport the group and their goods to the mountains. Then they hired a new wagoner to take them to Red Stone, Virginia. There they waited for the coming spring for the land office to open. The area in the extreme southern end of Jefferson County, Ohio would be the beginning point of a huge Quaker migration … arriving in 1800.

the disastrous consequences of releasing suddenly upon North Carolina civilization about 205,170 slaves. The active members numbered several hundred, many prominent slaveholders being members. A large per cent, of the people of North Carolina at that time were philosophizing about some scheme for the emancipation of slaves.

What to do with slaves when freed was a question. Emigration to Haiti was encouraged. Many of this Society preferred that the negroes be kept in slavery to having them remain in the state when freed. They were all, however, abolitionists. 24

There were others who assisted African Americans in leaving the south and going north to Ohio and Indiana. They later unknowingly were the originators of what came to be known as the Underground Railroad. The Grand Central Station of the Underground Railroad was at Guilford, North Carolina.

The Underground Railway, though in reality an outgrowth of the Manumission Society, was not connected with it. This was a secret organization, begotten in the ingenious brain of the Coffins, by which slaves were sent to the Northwest. The scheme remained a secret for a quarter of a century, in which time many a slave-holder found his number of slaves greatly diminished, and his negroes skipped and gone.

Note: Friends did not receive negroes into their denomination as did Presbyterians, Baptists and others. Who ever saw a negro who was a Quaker?

The first “depot” of this “railroad” was in southwest Guilford County, not many miles from the Randolph Comity line. The negro escaped from his master by night, went to one of these “agents,” was concealed by day in the hip roof of his house; by night he was sent to the next “agent’s” home, and so to free territory. A system of nails driven in trees along the way marked which fork of the road to take. 25

The reputation of the Guilford Quakers in all of these activities was common knowledge among both whites and African Americans in Jameson’s North Carolina. Escaped slaves and free people of color knew to head for Guilford. Slave owners also knew that escapees would head there. Jameson knew to make Guilford the destination of his 1835 “visit.” The white power holders in New Light Township where Jameson lived also knew this. The reputation of Guilford was not a secret.

The stars in the history sky were aligned to bring together an amazing confluence of growing intolerance of the increasingly restrictive North Carolina laws on free persons of color, the presence of Quakers in Guilford County assisting persons of color to leave the south and move north to an Indiana African American/Quaker farming community, and a young couple, Jameson and Gilley, looking for a new life free of the tightening North Carolina restrictions. 26

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25 The History of Guilford County, North Carolina, Sallie Walker Stockard, Gaut-Ogden Co., Knoxville, Tennessee, 1902, p. 48
26 I have been unable to find any evidence of Gilley moving with Jameson to Guilford County.
Jameson Jenkins Given Permit to Visit Guilford County, North Carolina

1835
Summer

Jameson Jenkins Given Permit to Visit Guilford County, North Carolina

In the summer of 1835, Jameson Jenkins was a 29-year-old free person of color who lived in New Light Township, Wake County, North Carolina. He decided to leave his home and “visit” Guilford County, North Carolina, a journey of 76 miles or so west. This was the beginning of a nine-year journey in which he traveled over 833 miles along a path west and north. He finally reached the end of his journey in 1844 in Springfield, Illinois. It is probable that his 25-year-old wife, Gilley, traveled with him, but I have found no proof of this.

Jameson must have thought about this move for a long time. His decision to leave his Wake County home and his mother Nancy was fraught with great personal risks and uncertainty. It subjected him to all of the horrors experienced by an African American away from his county of residence in the antebellum south. He could be seized by slave catchers who might destroy his “freedom papers” and sell him into slavery. Jameson’s journey was but one of thousands of such African American journeys from the slave states of the south to the “free” states north of the Ohio River. All of those on this journey faced the same personal risks that Jameson faced in his journey to a new free life.

In order to begin the trip to Guilford County, Jameson needed a permit from authorities in Wake County allowing him to travel beyond the boundaries of Wake County. Travel permits were given by local justices and it was to one of them that Jameson turned with his request. The permit was also a shield of protection against the slave catchers who might otherwise arrest and sell him into slavery. Jameson presented his request for a permit to “make a visit to Guilford County” to Ezra Gill, a 40-year-old justice of the peace and farmer who lived in the New Light District of Wake County, North Carolina.

Map of North Carolina Showing Guilford and Wake Counties

http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/maps/stout37.gif

27
28

Thomas Ezra Gill, Sr., son of Isaac Gill and Edith Mobley, was born about 1795. He married Alice Lee Davis on February 21, 1824 in Wake County, North Carolina. In the 1830 Census, Ezra Gill was listed as at home in Wake County, North Carolina. In the household are: Whites: 1 male under 5; 1 male 30-39; 1 female 10-14; 1 female 20-29. Slaves: 1 male under 10; 1 male 10-23; 2 females 10-23. According to the August 16, 1850 census, he was a farmer who resided in New Light District, Wake County, North Carolina. Value of Real Estate owned - $2,330. Aley Gill, F, (age illegible). All of the above “Place of Birth: No. Carolina.” Sometime after the 1850 census, Gill moved from Wake to Franklin County, North Carolina. Four of his six
Jameson Jenkins and James Blanks

Jameson Jenkins Given Permit to Visit Guilford County, North Carolina—the Quaker Belt

For Jameson to have requested such a permit, the following must have been true:

1. Jameson knew of the law requiring a permit to leave his home county of Wake.

2. Jameson knew that he had to request a justice of the peace to grant the permit and he had to describe where he was going and why.

3. Jameson knew that the permit described his trip to Guilford County as a “visit,” a term that implies a return to one’s home upon completion of the “visit.”

4. “Visit” may have been a euphemism for “stay and not return” to Wake County.

5. Jameson had to know that Guilford County was the home of Quakers who were engaged in helping free persons of color to freedom. It is most probable that Ezra Gill also knew this and must have winked and nodded when Jameson asked for a permit to “make a visit” to Guilford County.

6. Jameson must have known that Ezra Gill was sympathetic and would grant a permit to “visit” Guilford.

Below is a transcription of Ezra Gill’s 1838 recollection of that event.

_State of North Carolina_
_Wake County this 12th April 1838_

_Dear Sir certify that the son of the above Nancy Jenkins was known by me to be a freeman of colour and further certify that I gave him a permit to leave this Country for him to make a visit to Gilford County sometime in the summer of 1835._

_Ezra Gill_

(1795-7/24/1869)

From Ezra Gill’s statement, we know that:

1. In the summer of 1835, Jameson was a freeman of color living in Wake County, North Carolina.

2. At that time, Jameson requested a permit from Ezra Gill, a justice of the peace for Wake County, to travel to Guilford County, North Carolina, a distance of approximately 67 miles for a “visit.”

3. Ezra Gill gave Jenkins the permit.

4. Jameson’s mother was Nancy Jenkins.
Jameson Jenkins and James Blanks

Jameson Jenkins Given Permit to Visit Guilford County, North Carolina—the Quaker Belt

Little is known of Ezra Gill. From the tone of his communication to Jameson in 1835, I would judge him to be a straightforward, matter-of-fact type of person. Knowing the parties and their circumstances, I would also judge him to be sympathetic and gentle. The mere fact that in 1838 he would respond to a request for verification of his permit given to Jenkins in 1835, indicates that he wanted to be of assistance to Jameson in his pursuit of freedom and a new home. He mentions Jameson’s mother, whom he must have known well. He also has no rancor about the fact that Jameson did not return home on the permit he had given him to “visit” Guilford. Nor does he seem resentful that Jameson utilized the sympathetic Quakers and their help to resettle in Indiana.

The significance of Jameson’s permit cannot be underestimated. It was the important credential that a free colored needed to go out into the world beyond his home county. It defined him and his place in the order of things in 1835 North Carolina. It distinguished him from a slave. The permit was such an important document of control that if a slave forged a permit, he was subject to being lashed “no more than 39 times.”

Slaves offering forged free papers to be whipped.

If any slave shall be guilty of producing any forged free pass or certificate, he or she so offending, shall on conviction before any Justice of the peace, be sentenced to receive as many lashes on his bare back, not exceeding thirty-nine, as the said justice may in his discretion direct.

1791 North Carolina Statutes

Jameson Jenkins’s Life at Guilford

When Jameson Jenkins arrived in Guilford County with his permit to “visit,” he no doubt was taken in by sympathetic Quakers. They would have given him food and shelter in exchange for his labor until it was time for him to begin his trip north. They would then have helped him head north along the Underground Railroad route to Indiana and freedom.

Friends Meeting House at New Garden.
Watercolor by John Collins, 1869.

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29 For those interested in the census data pertaining to this family, see Jameson Jenkins Narrative, Final Report, Claire Martin, Illinois State Museum, Landscape History Program, Technical Report 2012-2054-6., November 16, 2012, Section II.
30 1791 North Carolina Statutes, chapter 335, section 2.
31 Image courtesy of the Friends Historical Collection, Guilford College, Greensboro, North Carolina.
A number of questions remain unanswered. How long did Jameson stay in Guilford? Probably no longer than 3 years. He probably arrived sometime in the summer of 1835 and left in 1838 or thereabouts. Is there any record in Guilford County of Jameson’s certificate of freedom? Did his wife Gilley go with him from Wake to Guilford County? Why is there no certificate of freedom for wife Gilley?

1840

**Free People of Color in North Carolina**

In 1840 the population of Wake County was 21,118. The population of the free people of color was 1,009, 4.8% of the total population, 176 or 21.13% greater than 10 years earlier.

**North Carolina Timeline**

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<tr>
<td>Birth of Nancy Jenkins</td>
<td>Birth of Jameson Jenkins</td>
<td>Birth of Gilley Jenkins</td>
<td>Marriage of Jameson Jenkins and Gilley Evans</td>
<td>Jameson Jenkins Given Permit to Visit Guilford</td>
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The Blanks Family

1787
Birth of Jane Pellum in Virginia
(1787-1867)

The story of the James Blanks family begins in the areas of Richmond and Greensville County, Virginia, about 200 miles north of the home of the Jenkins family in Wake County, North Carolina. Jane Pellum, who became the matriarch of both the Jenkins and Blanks families, was born in Virginia on August 8, 1787. Jane was the mother of the future wives of Jameson Jenkins and James Blanks. Martha Ann would marry Blanks and Elizabeth Ann would marry Jenkins. Jane was a mulatto and most probably a free person of color, a status just as important and determinative for the Pellum and Blanks families as it was for the Jenkins family. As an older lady in Springfield, Illinois, Jane Pellum was a neighbor and friend of Abraham Lincoln and his family and was fondly known as “Aunt Pellum” or “Aunt Jane” or “Aunty Pellum.”

1807
Birth of Elizabeth Ann Pellum in Richmond, Virginia
(1807-1880)

Elizabeth Ann Pellum, the mulatto daughter of 20-year-old Jane Pellum and Unknown, was born in Richmond, Virginia, on November 22, 1807. Elizabeth was most probably a free person of color as was her mother. She would become Jameson Jenkins’s second wife.

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32 The last name of “Pellum” is often spelled “Pelham.” Jane Pellum’s tombstone reads “Jane Pellum.” It is that spelling that I will use. Bonner, Mercer, And Pelham Family Papers; ca. 200 items, 1762-1888; Correspondence, financial records, wills, and genealogical data of the ...Pelham families of Virginia. Manuscripts Division, Special Collections Department, University of Virginia Library, Charlottesville, Virginia.

33 Oak Ridge Cemetery Records, Springfield, Illinois. Lot 16, Block 5 was purchased by Bell Watkins on November 11, 1867.

34 Obituary, Journal, November 23, 1880, p. 4.
1812

Birth of James Blanks in Virginia 
(1812-1876)

James Blanks was born in Virginia in 1812. He was a mulatto and most probably a free person of color. He would marry Martha Ann Pellum, the daughter of Jane Pellum and the sister of Elizabeth Ann Pellum. James and Jameson Jenkins would become brothers-in-law.

1815

Birth of Martha Ann Pellum in Virginia 
(1815-1880)

Martha Ann Pellum, the daughter of 28-year-old Jane Pellum and Unknown, was born in Virginia in 1815. She was a mulatto and most probably a free person of color, as was her mother. Martha would marry James Blanks. She was Elizabeth Ann Pellum’s sister and Jameson Jenkins’s future sister-in-law.

1828

Martha Ann Blanks Writes to Sterling Watkins

Even though I have been unable to connect the following letter directly to Martha Ann Pellum, I include it for consideration by others who might study this book in the future. Perhaps they will be able to make the connection. My view is that it is doubtful, as Martha was only 13 years old and probably not yet married to 16-year-old James Blanks.

June the 15 1828 Dear Sir this is inform you that I am well at present hoping that this few lines may find you the same and all fambly in good heath I will be very happy of seeing of you at any time you _____ despose to come the is a good many youg girls my self and Nancy Watkins was from Petersburg the 2 day of this month and brought some young men with us home David Watkins was maried the 5 day of ____ Sunday Jessay Watkins was maried the 3 day of December to Martha Param Miss Martha _onner Linnber her lov to you and likewise the fambly Miss Nancy Watkins the same I have nothing more to rehat to you at this time present but remain you well wi sher till Death

Miss Marth Ann Blanks her hand and pen
Att Sterling Watkins

verso
Mr. Sterling Watkins
Greensville County
Va.

Pre-1832

Marriage of Elizabeth Ann Pellum and Unknown Watkins 
in Greensville County, Virginia

Sometime before 1832, Elizabeth Ann Pellum married her first husband, Unknown Watkins, in Virginia, probably in Greensville County. Elizabeth was the daughter of Jane Pellum and would become Jameson Jenkins’s future wife.
1832

Birth of Jane Watkins in Virginia
(1832-1879)

On July 27, 1832, Jane Watkins was born in Virginia, the daughter of Elizabeth Pellum Watkins and Unknown and the granddaughter of Jane Pellum. In 1850, Jane Watkins was living in Springfield with her mother, Elizabeth, who was then married to Jameson Jenkins. In 1867, Jane would marry Richard Mason Hancock and they would live in Chicago. Richard was a prominent civil rights activist. See Appendix F.

Virginia Laws Regulating Free Persons of Color

Before the Civil War, Virginia had the largest population of free people of color in the United States. Half of them lived in the Tidewater region. The ratio of slaves to free people of color was 8 to 1. Many of the families of free people of color had been free since the 1600s and many descended from black slave men who had children by white indentured servant women. Others were manumitted.

Starting in 1793, each Virginia county court kept a register of free people of color. These registers typically gave the person’s name, age, color, stature, marks and scars, and name of the court of emancipation. Documentation of an African American’s freedom status protected him or her from being forced into slavery. It also restricted their ability to migrate within the state, requiring them to stay in the county where they were registered.

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36 Tidewater is a geographic area of southeast Virginia and northeastern North Carolina, part of the Atlantic coastal plain. Portions of Maryland facing the Chesapeake Bay are also given this designation. The area gains its name because of the effects of the changing tides on local rivers, sounds, and the ocean.
Migrations Out of Virginia

An 1806 Virginia law required freed slaves to leave the state within twelve months of gaining their freedom. This stiff law was softened by subsequent laws in the 1820s and 30s. Between the 1840s and 1860s, many free people of color left Virginia and resettled in Indiana, Illinois, Ohio, and Michigan.

Just as in the summer of 1835, Jameson and Gilley Jenkins chose to seek a new life far from New Light Township, Wake County, North Carolina and free of these restrictions, so too did the James Blanks family in Greensville County, Virginia, 200 miles south of Jameson and Gilley Jenkins, was experiencing the same increase in restrictions on their freedom. The same prejudices and fears were at play in the Virginia legislature as were present in the North Carolina legislature, and the Blanks family too would seek a new life in a place free of these restrictions.

There is no evidence that the Blanks family moved from Greensville County, Virginia to Guilford County, as did Jameson Jenkins. We do know that the Blanks family migrated to Beech Settlement in Rush County, Indiana. In any event, the Blanks family migration appears to have somewhat paralleled that of the Jenkins family in time and place.

Virginia Timeline

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<tr>
<th>1787</th>
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The Move From Guilford to Indiana
The Kanawha Road

The Guilford Quakers and the Beginning of the Underground Railroad

By 1804, slavery was largely abolished in all of New England, the Middle Atlantic states, and the Northwest Territory, but it remained in the Southern states. Because it still existed there, it remained illegal in the Southern states for anyone to help a slave escape and gain freedom. Many Guilford Quakers saw slaves as equals and ignored the law that made it illegal to help slaves to freedom. Some of them eventually assisted slaves and free people of color to move from the south to Quaker settlements in Indiana and Ohio. As a part of that assistance, some of these Quakers created a network of safe houses and escape routes — eventually called the Underground Railroad. I call these the Guilford Quakers.

As was said earlier, the general reputation of Guilford as a Quaker settlement friendly to free people of color and slaves was not a secret to most North Carolina residents. However, out of necessity, the specifics and techniques of the operation of the Underground Railroad remained a closely guarded secret.

The “Underground Railroad” was, first and foremost, secret. That was what it took to protect the people who helped the slaves escape, as what they did was against the law, punishable by prison and fines, and in fact, the punishments increased almost yearly from the early 19th century to the civil war. The secrecy of it all makes it very difficult to document. There are very few direct sources of information on underground railroad activities in North Carolina.

Some Quakers, however, did not agree with the Guilford Quakers. They considered the assistance given to African Americans and the Underground Railroad as breaking the law and disrupting the peace — violations of Quaker values. They asserted that this was involvement with the law and the government, something Quakers tried to avoid. These disagreements caused divisions of the Quakers into smaller Quaker groups that shared similar beliefs and views.

Levi Coffin Moves From Guilford, North Carolina to Richmond, Indiana

Some of the Guilford Quakers who opposed slavery left North Carolina and migrated north, primarily to Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Canada. In 1826, Levi Coffin, perhaps the most famous of the Guilford Quakers, moved from Guilford, North Carolina to Richmond, Indiana, where he managed a branch of the Underground Railroad. Coffin eventually headed the whole Underground Railroad system in the free states. For 21 years, Levi and his wife Catherine hid slaves in their Richmond, Indiana house and helped more than 2,000 fugitive slaves to freedom.

… Quaker families were seeing most of its younger generation emigrate west. Some of this was due to the availability of cheap vacant land in the “Northwest Territories” (Indiana,
Illinois, Ohio); some of it was the desire to get their children away from the dominant slaveholding ethic. No matter what local Quakers taught their children about the equality of human nature and the evil of slaveholding, the law of the land and the culture of their neighbors promoted and protected the ownership and exploitation of Negroes. It was a conflict that could only be resolved by leaving North Carolina. By 1818, so many residents of Randolph County, North Carolina, had relocated to the Indiana that a Randolph County was created in memory of the “old country.”

**Guilford Not the Stereotypical South of Gone With The Wind**

Given the numerous primary sources and confirmation of this route from the heart of Piedmont North Carolina to Ohio and Indiana, and the confirmation of its regular use in underground railroad activities, the antebellum history of Guilford and Randolph Counties, and its Quaker inhabitants, does not follow the popular “Gone with the Wind” narrative of the antebellum South. Our region was another story, not the romantic lost world of the plantation gentry, but a Shadow South, of abolition and manumission activities, of industry and internal improvements, and steady moral and political opposition to the status quo. Our history is much more nuanced and interesting than the standard black and white (or blue and gray) textbook version, and our culture is lessened by the fact that we forget and ignore the work and sacrifices of the men and women who fought against heavy odds to change the fundamental basis of the society they lived in.

**The Kanawha Road**

The Kanawha Trace Waybill

There is a record identified as The Kanawha Trace Waybill which documents the route from New Garden to Ohio (its first stop appears to go west toward Winston-Salem (Clemmons) instead of north to the Dan River. All the maps of “underground railroad routes” out of the slave-holding states completely ignore the route from central North Carolina to Indiana and Ohio. The route was called the “Kanawha” road.

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<td>Grice’s</td>
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**Piedmont Underground Railroad.**

44 hompages.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~maggieoh/Migrate/merle.htm.

45 hompages.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~maggieoh/Migrate/merle.htm.

46 This Bill may not be precisely correct in every instance. Obtained from Argus Ogborn, Quaker Historian, Richmond, Indiana.
Levi Coffin’s autobiography vividly describes the experience of a runaway slave who left Guilford County and traveled north on the Kanawha Road. Even though Jameson was a free person of color, his experience on his route to freedom must have been similar to what the slave Jack experienced, and it is worthy of being included here.

A gentleman by the name of Barnes, who lived in the eastern part of the State [North Carolina], had a body servant named Jack, to whom he was much attached. Barnes was a bachelor, with no direct heirs, and being in ill-health, he made his will, in which, as was allowed by a provision of the law, he bequeathed to Jack his freedom for faithfulness and meritorious conduct, also a considerable portion of his estate.

At his death, distant relatives flocked to the scene, seized upon the property and entered suit to contest the will. Jack knew very well that from Southern courts of justice he could expect no favor; so procuring a copy of the will, and a certificate of good conduct, signed by several leading white men of the place, who were friendly to him, he sought a more secure place in which to await the decision of the court.

He had heard of a settlement of Quakers at New Garden, near Greensboro, Guilford County, who were opposed to slavery and friendly to colored people. He obtained directions to aid him in finding this place, and left home privately, that it might not be known where he was if the case should go against him. He reached New Garden safely, was introduced to me, and I took him to my father’s house.

Jack remained in our neighborhood for some time, employed on the farms of my father, of ... and others, and proved himself to be an industrious and faithful servant. He won the esteem and sympathy of all who knew him and his story, by his steady habits, intelligent character and manly deportment.

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Routes of the Underground Railroad

Jameson Jenkins and James Blanks

The Move From Guilford County North Carolina to Rush County, Indiana

He came to New Garden in the fall of 1821, and in the following March received the news that the case in court had been decided against him. The property that had been willed to him was turned over to the relatives of his master, and he was consigned again to slavery. The judge decided that Barnes was not in his right mind at the time he made the will; this was apparent from the nature of the will. The heirs took possession of the property, but where was Jack, the able-bodied valuable servant, who also belonged to them? He was not to be found, and they advertised in the papers, offering one hundred dollars reward to any one who would secure him till they could get hold of him, or give information that would lead to his discovery.

This advertisement appeared in the paper published at Greensboro, and when Jack saw it he was greatly alarmed. The questions which occupied his mind and with which he greeted his friends were, “What shall I do? Can I get to a free State, or any place, where I can enjoy liberty in safety?”

It was decided that for the present he must be concealed, and he was secreted among his friends, part of the time at our house, and part at the house of Vestal Coffin. A council was held by Jack’s friends to devise some plan to get him to a free State. Bethuel Coffin, my uncle, who lived a few miles distant, was then preparing to go to Indiana, on a visit to his children and relatives who had settled there. He would be accompanied by his son Elisha, then living in Randolph County, and by his daughter Mary. They intended to make the journey in a two-horse wagon, taking with them provisions and cooking utensils, and camp out on the way. This was the usual mode of traveling in those days.

The road they proposed to take was called the Kanawha road. It was the nearest route, but led through a mountainous wilderness, most of the way. Crossing Dan River, it led by way of Patrick Court-House, Virginia, to Maberry’s Gap, in the Blue Ridge mountains, thence across Clinch mountain, by way of Pack’s ferry on New River, thence across White Oak mountain to the falls of the Kanawha, and down that river to the Ohio, crossing at Gallipolis.

This was thought to be a safe route for Jack to travel, as it was very thinly inhabited, and it was decided that my cousin Vestal and I should go to see our uncle, and learn if he was willing to incur the risk and take Jack with him to Indiana. He said he was willing, and all the arrangements were made, and the time for starting fixed. The night after they started, Vestal Coffin took Jack, on horseback, to Dan River, about twenty miles distant, where they camped the first night, and where the fugitive joined them.49

It is most probable that Quakers in Guilford County assisted Jameson Jenkins in his move from North Carolina to an African American agricultural settlement in central Indiana. It is also possible they also helped the Blanks family do the same. The Quaker Underground Railroad gave these families the means to escape the escalating harshness of post Revolutionary War state laws restricting the rights of African Americans — free as well as slave. Without the assistance of the Guilford Quakers, the lives of both families would have been quite different.50

The Underground Railroad route used by the Jenkins and Blanks families may have been along the Kanawha Road, an ancient trail that wound its way north from Guilford to freedom — from Guilford County, North Carolina to Rush County, Indiana and freedom.

49 Coffin Autobiography.
50 Quakers in Indiana in the Nineteenth Century, Sheryl Vanderstel. hwww.connerprairie.org/Learn-And-Do/Indiana-History/America-1860-1900/Quakers-In-Indiana.aspx Hamm:126-129.
Life in Indiana

The 1810 census recorded 393 free people of color and 237 slaves in the Indiana Territory. Between 1810 and 1820, the number of free people of color in Indiana increased by 807, from 393 to 1,200, an increase of 205%. This large increase was the result of African Americans migrating from the South to frontier Indiana where they sought improved economic and social conditions as well as freedom. Probably the largest number of African Americans who settled in Indiana during this period were from Virginia and North Carolina.

In 1820, the Indiana State Supreme Court case of Polly v. Lasselle ordered all slaves, except those held before the 1787 Northwest Territory Ordinance, to be freed. The new ruling led to a sharp decline in the state’s slave population. In 1820 the census recorded 192 slaves. By the 1830 census there were only three slaves recorded.

Quaker Settlement, Carthage, Ripley Township, Rush County, Indiana

The considerable colored population in and about Carthage is descended from the families brought there in the days before the Civil war by means of the “underground railroad,” a station of which was maintained by the Friends in that vicinity. 

Centennial History of Rush County, Indiana.

In 1821, several families of North Carolina Quakers settled in Rush County, Indiana, and purchased land in Ripley Township, in the northwest corner of the county in the vicinity of Carthage. In the next year, others came and by 1825 there was a large settlement of Quakers in Ripley Township.

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51 The Politics of Pro-Slavery Sentiment in Indiana 1816-1861, Morton M. Rosenberg, (1968), Muncie, Indiana, Ball State University, p. 12.


The Beech Settlement in Rush County, Indiana

By the late 1820s, “free people of color” from the border counties of eastern North Carolina and Virginia had migrated, often by the Underground Railroad, to an area near the Quaker settlement of Carthage in Ripley Township, Rush County, Indiana. There they established a community known as “Beech Settlement.” Although some of these migrants came to Indiana as individuals or individual families, most resettled in clusters made up of extended kinship networks. They arrived in Indiana with enough money to buy land, which they understood was the key to their economic and social survival. At the peak of their development and prosperity, circa 1870, two such communities included 86 families, hundreds of residents, schools and churches, and combined land ownership exceeding 4,000 acres. One of those two communities was Beech Settlement.

As racial intolerance in the South increased during the 1820s–1840s, additional groups of free people of color migrated to central Indiana where they formed agricultural communities in a number of Indiana counties. These agricultural communities were often near Quaker settlements whose residents were also from Virginia and North Carolina and who were tolerant of African Americans as neighbors. One of those settlements, Beech Settlement in Rush County, Indiana, was where the Jenkins and Blanks families settled.

At Beech Settlement, most of the early residents were farmers or blacksmiths. Some of the farmers accumulated significant land acreage. They wanted to educate themselves and their children and with the assistance of the Quakers at Carthage established their own schools and churches. They also organized a library that was maintained and used during the years 1842-1869.\(^5^4\)

In addition to assistance with education, the Quakers helped African Americans at Beech Settlement to find employment, rescued freed people of color who had been kidnapped into slavery, and aided fugitive slaves traveling on the Underground Railroad. They also paid doctor bills and defrayed funeral expenses. They were indeed Friends.

Jenkins and Blanks Families Move to Beech Settlement, Indiana

Both the Jenkins and Blanks families became a part of the “considerable colored population in and about Carthage” when they moved there. Their last stop on their Underground Railroad journey to Indiana was one of the independent African American farming communities in central Indiana — Beech Settlement in northwest Rush County, Indiana. As residents of this community, James Blanks and Jameson Jenkins added another historic chapter to the stories of their remarkable lives.

\(^{54}\) Mt. Pleasant Library: Reading among African Americans in 19th Century Rush County [Indiana], Ann O’Bryan. hdl.handle.net/1805/403 Submitted by Dawne Slater-Putt, CG.
Pre-1835

Elizabeth Pellum Watkins Family
Moves From Greensfield County, Virginia
to Rush County, Indiana

Sometime prior to May 1835, Elizabeth Pellum Watkins, her husband Unknown Watkins, and their daughter Jane moved from Greensfield County, Virginia to Rush County, Indiana, a distance of 677 miles. The Watkins family was among the first of the southern African American families to come to Rush County, Indiana. They, along with other southern African Americans, settled near the Quakers, purchased and cleared land, planted crops, and built houses, churches, and schools. They were among those who established the African American farming community of Beech Settlement. 55

1835

Birth of Bellfield Watkins in Indiana
(1835-1891)

Bellfield Watkins was born in Indiana in May 1835. 56 He was the son of Elizabeth Pellum Watkins and her husband at that time. Bellfield was a mulatto. His sisters were Jane and Aquilla Ann Watkins.

1838

Back Home in Wake County, North Carolina

Marriage of Nancy Jenkins and Stephen Harris

On March 12, 1838, Nancy Jenkins, Jameson’s mother, married Stephen Harris, a free man, in Wake County, North Carolina. 57 What happened to Jameson’s father, Unknown Jenkins?

Jameson Jenkins in Indiana

By the spring of 1838, Jameson Jenkins had left Guilford, North Carolina, and was in Rush County, Indiana. The distance from Guilford County, North Carolina to Rush County, Indiana was 536 miles. 58

Jameson Jenkins Requests Copy of Freedom Papers

In the spring of 1838, Jameson Jenkins was in need of his Freedom Papers and apparently could not find those given to him three years earlier by Ezra Gill in the summer of 1835. He or a

55 Mt. Pleasant Library: Reading among African Americans in 19th Century Rush County [Indiana], Ann O’Bryan. hdl.handle.net/1805/403 Sterling Watkins migrated to Beech Settlement from Greensville County, Virginia. Along with Sterling Watkins, other Watkins family landowners were Daniel, James, David, and John. Sterling married Rebecca Roberts in 1833. They had at least nine children. The Watkins family purchased and cleared land, planted crops, and built houses, churches and schools and became one of the most prosperous of the Beech settlers.
56 Register, Friday, October 9, 1891, p. 5.
57 North Carolina Marriage Bonds, 1741-1868, Record, Bond # 000154590, image num: 002480, Record # 02 251.
58 The distance from New Light Township to Guilford North Carolina was 76 miles. The total distance from New Light Township to Rush County, Indiana was 605 miles.
friend at his request wrote to James M. Mangum, a prominent resident of New Light Township, to obtain “a copy of the freedom papers of Jameson Jenkins.” Mangum responded to Jameson’s request, as did Ezra Gill, Peleg S. Rogers, and William Laues. Their responses are transcribed below.

**Jameson Jenkins’s Certificate of Freedom Papers**

State of North Carolina
Wake County this 12th April 1838

Dear Sir after compliments to you in your address to James M. Mangum in your letter and to assist his mother in obtaining a copy of the freedom of Jamerson Jenkins which I Ezra Gill of the County and State aforesaid do hereby certify that the Mother of Jamerson Jenkins is known hear by the name of Nancy Jenkins formerly now married to a free man by the name of Stephen Harris and I the said Ezra Gill one of the acting Justices of the Peace in and for the County and State aforesaid do further certify that the son of the above Nancy Jenkins was known by me to be a freeman of colour and further certify that I gave him a permit to leave this County for him to make a visit to Gilford County sometime in the summer of 1835. In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and Seal the day and date above written.

Ezra Gill

State of N. Carolina
Wake County April 12th day A.D. 1838

I Peleg S. Rogers one of the acting Justices of the Peace in and for County State aforesaid do certify that that the above is true to the best of my knowledge and belief and fully concur with the above Certificate.

Peleg S. Rogers

State of N. Carolina
Wake County April 16th day 1838

William Laues one of the acting Justices of the Peace for the County & State aforesaid do certify that I have been acquainted with Jemerson Jenkins & his wife Gilley for several years and they have passed for free people and further I believe them to be free to the best of my knowledge. Given under my hand this day as the above day & date

William Laues [Laws]

Jamerson Jenkins I have complied with your request by your friend further I can state that your mother is very desirous you would come back to this County and also I want you as soon as this get to hand to write me a letter and let me know all about your affairs. April 16th day 1838

Jas M. Mangum

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59 At his death in 1854, James Manuel Mangum was one of the wealthiest men in North Carolina and the owner of 24 slaves. He was born December 28, 1796 in the New Light Township on the Wake/Granville County line in North Carolina to John and Sarah Mangum. He was a third generation Wake/Granville Mangum. Not much is known of James’s early life. On September 27, 1816, James married Lydia Ferrell in Wake County. Lydia was the daughter of Hezekiah Ferrell. She brought a large amount of land (inherited from her father) into the marriage. This land is where they would eventually build their home. James and Lydia had six children. In 1838, James Mangum was elected to the North Carolina House of Commons (Present day North Carolina House of Representatives). He was re-elected to the same post again in 1840. After leaving the House of Commons in 1842, James was elected Brigadier General of the 17th Brigade, 7th Division of the North Carolina Militia. James died on November 22, 1854. At the time of his death, James was one of the wealthiest men in all of North Carolina. He owned just over 1,000 acres of land, which put him in the top 99½ percent of his fellow North Carolinians and, being a man of his times, also owned 24 slaves, which put him in the top 97 percent of all North Carolina slave owners. In his will, James allotted his slaves to his children by name and tried to keep children with their mothers (unlike his father, who ordered his slaves “valued” and divided into six lots for his heirs).
The responses have a remarkable tone. The responders convey a sense of respect for Jameson, Gilley and Nancy, people the responders obviously knew well. Mangum’s also displays a personal, almost father-like solicitude — “I want you as soon as this get to hand to write me a letter and let me know all about your affairs.” “…further I can state that your mother is very desirous you would come back to this Country.” Your mother wants you to come home and write and let me know what you are doing. There seems to be no retribution or concern that Jameson moved on to Indiana leaving his home for good, and doing more than just “visit Guilford” as was stated in the permit.

The responses also raise many questions. Had Jameson lost his papers that had been given to him before leaving New Light Township? Where in Indiana was Jameson living in 1838 when he apparently made this request? Jameson’s mother, Nancy Jenkins Harris, was probably living in Wake County in 1838 as she is listed there in the 1840 census. If he was living in Indiana, did that state require that he file his evidence of freedom? Did he file the certificate in Indiana and, if so, where? Why did he record this document in Illinois on March 28, 1846? A copy of the Sangamon County, Illinois, Recorder’s handwritten transcription of this certificate may be found on the inside of the front cover page.

**Significance of the Freedom Papers and Certificates of Freedom in Free States**

Living in a free state did not guarantee freedom for African Americans. Free African Americans could be kidnapped and sold into slavery. Escaped slaves were forced back into captivity by increasingly stringent fugitive slave laws.

Freedom papers and certificates of freedom were documents evidencing the free status of African Americans. These papers were very important because “free people of color” lived with the constant fear of being kidnapped and sold into slavery. Freedom Papers proved the free status of a person and served as a legal affidavit. It was prudent for free people of color to file papers attesting to their free status with the office of the county recorder of deeds. Filing with the deeds office protected African Americans from the loss, theft, or destruction of original documents. All too frequent were the situations where slave catchers confiscated or destroyed freedom papers to force free African Americans into lives of bondage.

African Americans were required in many states to register proof of their free status with the county government. The documentation could take the form of copies of manumission papers, Free Negro Registers, Certificates of Freedom, or affidavits attesting one’s birth to a free woman. Without such proof, free persons of color risked abduction and enslavement, even in the North. These registers not only provided protection for free African Americans but also helped to prevent slaves from passing as free people.

As increasing numbers of people flooded westward into the Northwest Territory during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In 1804, Ohio passed the first “black laws” to curtail the rash of fugitive slaves entering its borders in search of freedom. The Ohio laws required all African Americans and mulattoes residing in the state to register themselves and their children with the county clerk’s office and to provide proof of their free status. Registered slaves were required to pay the office for a certificate confirming freedom. Employers were forbidden by law to hire any non-certificate-holding black or mulatto.

Both Indiana (1816) and Illinois (1818) followed the Ohio policy of trying to prevent African American immigration by passing laws requiring African Americans who moved into the state to produce legal documents verifying that they were free and posting bond to guarantee their
good behavior. The bond requirements ranged as high as $1,000, which was prohibitive for most African Americans in those days. African Americans who violated the law faced punishments.

Birth of Aquilla Ann Watkins in Indiana
(1838-___)

Aquilla Ann Watkins was born in Indiana in 1838. She was the daughter of Elizabeth Pellum Watkins and her husband at that time. Aquilla was a mulatto. Her sister was Jane Watkins and her brother was Bellfield. In 1867, she would marry William Wright.

Sometime After 1838 — Death of Elizabeth Pellum Watkins’s Husband

Sometime after the birth of Aquilla Ann Watkins or perhaps even before her birth, Unknown Watkins disappears from the life of his wife, Elizabeth Pellum Watkins. Did he die? Did they divorce? Did he run away? Did she run away?

1840

Birth of William La Rue Florville
(1840-1921)

On March 10, 1840, William and Phoebe Rountree Florville had their fifth child, William La Rue, who was born in Springfield, Illinois. In 1861, William would marry Nancy H. Jenkins, the daughter of Jameson and Elizabeth A. Pellum Jenkins.

Jane and Gus Pellum Residing in Greensville County, Virginia in the 1840 Census

The 1840 census of Greensville County, Virginia, lists Jane Pellum and her husband Gus. Jane was listed as a 40-year-old mulatto who was born in Virginia in 1800 and was keeping house. Her parents were born in Virginia. Gus was listed as a mulatto.

Merger of Families
Marriage of Jameson Jenkins and Elizabeth Pellum Watkins in Rush County, Indiana

Jameson (Jamison) Jenkins and Elizabeth Ann Pellum Wadkins (Watkins) were married on October 6, 1840, in Rush County, Indiana. Elizabeth was the daughter of Jane Pellum and Unknown Pellum. This was the second marriage for both. (It is still not known what happened to Jameson’s first wife, Gilley, or to Elizabeth’s first husband, Mr. Watkins.)
Marriage of James Blanks and Martha Ann Pellum

Before 1842, James Blanks married Martha Ann Pellum, the daughter of Jane Pellum and Unknown. 64

By these two marriages the two families — the Jenkins family from North Carolina and the Blanks family from Virginia — were merged.

Quaker Disagreements Over Abolition

During the 1840s and 1850s, Indiana Quakers split over the issue of abolition. Abolitionist Quakers wrote for the abolitionist journals and founded and joined abolitionist societies to the great dismay of more moderate Quakers. Most conservative Quakers thought this was against the Quaker notion of appropriate quiet and retiring demeanor. They thought this brought far too much notoriety to these members and disrupted the notion of unity, so valued by Friends.

In 1842, Levi Coffin and other influential Friends were disciplined by the Quaker Indiana Yearly Meeting for their outspoken and very public behavior relating to slavery. The next day the Meeting welcomed slave owner Henry Clay as an honored guest. Outraged, the anti-slavery Quakers formed the Indiana Yearly Meeting of Anti-Slavery Friends. The orthodox Friends were “much grieved” by the split, but by 1857, they too, for the most part, became abolitionists. That year the Indiana Yearly Meeting of Anti-Slavery Friends dissolved and most members rejoined the orthodox Indiana Yearly Meeting. 65

1842-1844

Motivation for the Move to Springfield, Illinois

In about 1842, the Blanks family moved to Springfield and the Jenkins family followed in 1844. There had to be a significant event or events that caused these families to leave the Beech Settlement in Indiana after having lived there for about nine years. Beech was well established as an African American community of people with common reasons for migrating from the South to Indiana. It was comfortably nestled near the Quaker community of Carthage and the Quakers there accepted African Americans and protected Beech. The Jenkins and Blanks families were probably treated well within this community. We will never know exactly why they chose to move 260 miles west to Springfield, Illinois.

We do know that the Indiana laws were becoming stricter on African Americans and that the Indiana Quakers were arguing among themselves about the extent of their support for African American civil rights. Did these factors prompt the move to Illinois? Did they know a Springfield African American family or person who encouraged them to come to Springfield? We do know that there were other African Americans who migrated from Beech Settlement to

64 There is no record of the marriage in the Indiana State Library Genealogy Database: Marriages through 1850.
Jameson Jenkins and James Blanks

Life in Indiana: The Families Merge


1842

James Blanks and Family Move to Springfield, Illinois

In about 1842, the Blanks family moved to Springfield. The 260 mile move from Beech Settlement to Springfield was probably made in horse-drawn wagons in the fall after the year’s crops were in and the roads were dry and dusty. Their wagons would have carried all of their worldly goods. The route taken was probably in part along what is now called the old National Road. It then was a crude highway carved through forests and across prairies from central Indiana to central Illinois. As many as 200 wagons a day passed through towns along the route.

What would the trip have been like? Would they have been well received along the way or would they have had their freedom papers handy in the event they were challenged?

The Jameson Jenkins family did not move at this time, but did so after the birth of Nancy H. Jenkins in 1844.

1844

Birth of Nancy H. Jenkins in Indiana
(1844-1921)

Nancy H. Jenkins, the mulatto daughter of Elizabeth Pellum and Jameson Jenkins, was born in Indiana in 1844.66 She was probably named for Jameson’s mother who was still living in Wake County, North Carolina.

Jameson Jenkins and Family Move to Springfield, Illinois

Since 1835, Jameson Jenkins had led a life that was symbiotic with sympathetic Quakers. He was accepted as an African American and was freed by Quakers moving him north on the Underground Railroad. Jameson not only had the practical knowledge of a “passenger” on the Underground Railroad, but also the Quakers had also taught Jameson how to be an Underground Railroad conductor. Jameson now left this zone of comfort and moved into a community that was largely absent of Quaker virtues and values. In the spring of 1844, he was moving into a small Illinois village inhabited by a diverse mix of Southerners, Northerners and foreign born.

Indiana Timeline

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<td>Jameson Jenkins and Elizabeth Ann Pelum</td>
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66 The 1850 census lists her as a six year old who was born in Indiana.
Making A New Home in Springfield

Illinois’ Black Code

In 1818, Illinois was admitted into the Union as a “free” state, but slavery continued and free blacks were oppressed by a series of restrictive state laws that denied them fundamental freedoms. These Illinois Black Laws (also known as Black Codes) were observed from 1819 - 1865. Under these laws, blacks could not vote; testify or bring suit against whites, could not gather in groups of three or more without risk of being jailed or beaten, and could not serve in the militia and thus were unable to own or bear arms. Blacks living in the state were required to obtain and carry a Certificate of Freedom; otherwise, they were presumed to be slaves.

Illinois’ Black Laws were repealed in 1865, the same year the United States Congress ended the legal institution of slavery with the passage of the 13th Amendment. 67

1840

Springfield African Americans Living in White Households: 1840

African Americans were a part of the Springfield population from the beginning. The first settlers, the Kelly family, brought their “slaves” with them from North Carolina in 1818. Following the Kellys in the 1820s and 1830s, the earliest Springfield settlers were principally from the upland south. They brought the customs and mores of that region with them and those became the predominant culture of early Springfield. 68

The 1840 population of Springfield was 2,579. 69 About 4.4% of the total population (115) were African Americans. The 1840 census divided the 115 Springfield African Americans into two categories — “Slave” and “Free Colored.” There were five identified as “Slaves” and 110 as “Free Colored.” 70

The census listed four Springfield residents having a total of five “Slaves.”

1. James Bell’s household had one female “Slave,” age 10 to 24.
2. J. T. Betts’ household had two African American male slaves age 10 to 24.
3. Ninian Wirt Edwards’s household had one male “Slave,” age 10 to 24. There was one Free Colored female, age 10 to 24. This was probably Hepsey, who was indentured to Edwards in 1835.
4. William Lewis May’s household had one female “Slave,” age 10 to 24 (Bernice).

67 www.wttw.com/main.taf?p=76,4,3,4
68 For a full account of African Americans in Lincoln’s Springfield see Lincoln’s Springfield – The Early African American Population, Richard E. Hart, 2008. The book may be found in the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library (ALPS-ZDE) F896 S76 H3267Li; Lincolniana L2 H326Li. (Hereafter referred to as Springfield African Americans.)
70 Historical Encyclopedia of Illinois and History of Sangamon County, vol. 1, Newton Bateman and Paul Selby, editors, Chicago, Munsell Publishing Company, 1912, p. 483. (Hereafter referred to as 1912 History.) By 1840, there were 3,598 free African Americans and 331 “slaves” in Illinois. The 1840 United States Census was the last census identifying some African Americans as “Slaves” and others as “Free Colored.”
The 110 free colored may be further divided between the 29 free colored residing with white families and the 81 free colored with independent residence.\(^{71}\)

By the mid 1840s, the upland Southern cultural dominance of early Springfield had been diluted by settlers from the Mid Atlantic and New England states. They brought a culture and lifestyle very different from that of the upland Southerners, but the two cultures coexisted mostly in harmony.

The most significant difference in the two cultures was their differing attitudes toward slavery and abolition. Several Springfield churches divided over these issues. Some Springfield residents were extreme abolitionists who actively participated in the Underground Railroad. Some Springfield residents countenanced “slavery” and continued the institution \textit{de facto} by having African American servants indentured to them for a period of time.\(^{72}\) This diversity encouraged tolerance and perhaps even acceptance. This was the cultural caldron that the Jenkins and Blanks families joined. The pot would come to a national political boil in 1860 with Abraham Lincoln opposing Stephen A. Douglas in a run for the Presidency.

1842

\textbf{Arrival in Springfield, Illinois of James and Martha Ann Pellum Blanks}

It is probable that sometime in 1842, James Blanks and Martha Ann Pellum Blanks moved from the small Indiana agricultural community of Beech Settlement to Springfield, Illinois. Springfield was larger than Beech Settlement, but it was still a small trading and governmental community that only recently had become the new capital of Illinois. Just five years earlier, Abraham Lincoln had made a similar move from the small agricultural village of New Salem to Springfield. The Springfield that greeted James and Martha Blanks was the Springfield of Abraham Lincoln’s early days there.

What would the arrival in Springfield have been like? Whom did they first see and where did they first stay? How did they earn a living as newcomers? What did James Blanks do in Springfield? He appears to have had some money upon his arrival in Springfield.

\textbf{James Blanks Buys Two Lots at Ninth Street and Jackson Streets from William Elkin, Sheriff}

On October 13, 1842, James Blanks purchased two lots at the southwest corner of Ninth and Jackson Streets in Springfield, Illinois for $266.66.\(^{73}\) They were probably vacant lots. Perhaps the lots were used by the Blanks family as a garden or pasture for cows or horses. When Abraham Lincoln purchased his home at Eighth and Jackson in 1844, it is most probable that he knew that James Blanks was the African American owner of these lots as they were catty-corner from his new home. James owned these lots for 12 years, from 1842 until 1854.\(^{74}\) There is no evidence that Blanks improved these lots during his 12 years of ownership.

\(^{71}\) \textit{Springfield African Americans}, Appendix I.  
\(^{72}\) See \textit{Springfield African Americans}, Appendix G.  
\(^{73}\) IRAD.  
James Blanks Sues Edward F. Olds for $60.20

On October 26, 1842, James Blanks obtained a writ of attachment from the Sangamon County Circuit Court in a suit against Edward F. Olds, who owed Blanks $60.20. The Sheriff returned the writ with the notation that he had levied the attachment on lots number 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 13, 14, and 16 in Block 6 in Whitney’s Addition to Springfield. Olds was given until November 24, 1842 to give bail and plead to the action. If he failed to do so, judgment would be given to Blanks and the property attached would be sold to satisfy the judgment. The attorneys for Blanks were Edwards & Butterfield.

Journal, Friday, November 11, 1842.
Judgment Entered in Favor of James Blanks Against Edward F. Olds

On November 24, 1842, the Court entered judgment in favor of James Blanks against Edward F. Olds in the amount of $62.76. The Court ordered a public sale of property of the defendant Edward F. Olds to satisfy the judgment.

Thursday, November 24, 1842

James Blanks  Plaintiff   Against   Attachment
Edward F. Olds  Defendant

This day comes the Plaintiff by his attorney and it appearing to the satisfaction of the Court that publication has been made herein according to Laws And the said Defendant being three times solemnly called came not but made default. It is therefore considered by the court that the Plaintiff hath sustained damages by reason of the breach of promise in the Plaintiff declaration mentioned. But because those damages are unknown to the court. It is ordered that the Clerk made an assessment and he having assessed the same to the sum of Sixty-two dollars & seventy six cents ($62.76/100) and made the report thereof in writing which is approved of by the court, and ordered to be filed. It is therefore ordered and adjudged by the court that the plaintiff recover of and from the said Defendant the sum of Sixty-two Dollars & Seventy six cents (62.76/100) the damages aforesaid in form aforesaid assessed, and also his costs here expended.

And on motion of the Plaintiff by his attorney It is further ordered that a special writ of fiere fascias issue herein directed to the sheriff of Sangamon County Commanding him to sell the following described property to satisfy said Judgment to wit: Lots Number two (2), three (3), four (4), five (5) Six (6) Seven (7) Eight (8), thirteen (13) fourteen (14), fifteen (15) and sixteen (16) in Block No. six(6), in Whitney’s Addition to the Town (now City of Springfield).

1843

James Blanks Named in Suit to Enforce Mechanic’s Lien

In May 1843, Consul Sampson and John Robinson filed a petition against Edward F. Olds and James Blanks to enforce a mechanic’s lien.
James Blanks Dismissed as a Defendant in Suit to Enforce Mechanic’s Lien

Consul Sampson Plaintiff
John Robinson Against
Edward F. Olds Defendant
James Blanks

This day came the plaintiff by their attorney, and dismissed their suit as to the defendant Blanks.

Wednesday, November 15, 1843

1844

Abraham Lincoln Buys House at Eighth and Jackson Streets

On Tuesday, January 16, 1844, Abraham Lincoln, age 35, and the Reverend Charles Dresser made a contract for the sale to Lincoln of Dresser’s house at Eighth and Jackson Streets. Lincoln agreed to pay Dresser $1,200 in cash and to convey a lot in the business section that Lincoln and Stephen T. Logan had acquired two years earlier.

Home of Abraham Lincoln at the Northeast Corner of 8th and Jackson Streets Circa 1844

Arrival in Springfield of Jameson and Elizabeth Pellum Jenkins and Family

By sometime in 1844, Jameson and Elizabeth Pellum Jenkins and their family, a total of seven, had moved from Rush County, Indiana to Springfield. Jameson had two horses (one grey and one sorrel mare) and a wagon. The family would have consisted of:

1. Jameson, husband, age 36;
2. Elizabeth Ann Pellum, wife, age 37;
3. Jane Watkins, Elizabeth’s first daughter by her first marriage, age 12;
4. Bellfield Watkins, Elizabeth’s son by her first marriage, born in 1835, age nine. He was sometimes called Bellfield Jenkins;

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81 Sangamon County Circuit Court Records, Vol. H [Accession No. 4/0092/01], p. 110, November 15, 1843. IRAD.
83 Register, Friday, October 9, 1891, p. 5.
5. Aquilla (Quilly) Ann Watkins, Elizabeth’s second daughter by her first marriage, born in 1838, age six;
6. Nancy H. Jenkins, James and Elizabeth’s daughter born in 1844, less than one year old.

It is unknown when Jane Pellum, Elizabeth’s mother, came to Illinois. In the 1840 census of Virginia, Jane and Gus Pellum were residing in Greensville County, Virginia. Jane was listed as a 40-year-old mulatto who was born in Virginia in 1800 and was keeping house. Her parents were born in Virginia. Gus is listed as a mulatto. However, Jane was born in 1787. She would have been 53 years old.

Where did they first live? They needed room for horses that pulled at least one wagon, for a garden, and a barn and fenced area for horses.

Jameson Jenkins Has Letter at Post Office

The December 12, 1844 edition of the Journal listed letters remaining at the post office on December 1, 1844. The name “J. Jenkins” was in the list.85

1845

James Blanks Loans $50 to William H. Butler

On July 17, 1845, William H. Butler, a 20-year-old Springfield African American who had been born in Kentucky in about 1825, borrowed $50 from James Blanks, who was then 33 years-old. As security for the one-year loan, Butler gave Blanks his dark sorrel mare called Music who was eight or nine years old and his light sorrel horse with a blaze face and two white hind feet called Bill who was four or five years old. The loan document was signed with an “X” by William H. Butler and was witnessed by William H. Herndon, who was then a law partner with Abraham Lincoln.86

A little information about William H. Butler follows.

On October 13, 1838, African American barbers Titus Kirkpatrick and William Butler advertised in the Journal that they had formed a partnership. Butler was from Washington City and was a practiced barber.

On January 18, 1846, William H. Butler married Diana Devillah (DuVall/Deville).

On June 14, 1850, eight Springfield African American men, H. W. Baylor, S. S. Ball, Thomas Cox, James Blanks, Jno. Jackson, Wm. Baker, Wm. H. Butler, and Aaron Dyer, the Trustees of the “Colored School,” signed a Journal newspaper announcement of a public supper to raise money for the “Colored School was to be held at the Colored Baptist Church.”

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84 Family History Library, Film 1255368, NA Film Number T9-1368, Page Number 6C.
85 Journal, Thursday, December 12, 1844, p. 3.
86 Sangamon County Recorder of Deeds, Deed Record Book X, pp. 18-19. IRAD.
In 1850, the Auditor noted that William H. Butler whitewashed the fence around the Square.

By August 1852, William H. Butler was cleaning the privy pots at the State Capitol. “He got $32 for emptying them eight times. Butler, about 37, was a black laborer with a small family. He had been born in Kentucky and owned $200 worth of real estate.”

Daniel Callahan and William Butler are mentioned as station keepers on the underground railroad in Glennette Tilley Turner’s *The Underground Railroad in Illinois*.  

1846

**The Lincoln Family**

Edward Baker Lincoln was born at the Lincoln Home on March 10, 1846.

On August 3, 1846, Abraham Lincoln was elected to a seat in the United States House of Representatives, as part of the Thirtieth Congress, as a candidate of the Whig Party. This was the only United States Congressional seat he ever held.

The first remodeling of the Lincoln Home occurred. The Lincolns added a bedroom and a pantry to the back of the home.

**Jameson Jenkins Records Certificate of Freedom in Sangamon County, Illinois**

In the spring of 1846, Jameson left two public documents that are not only revealing, but also are circumstantial evidence that something was going on in his life that required him to record his certificate of freedom and to borrow $125 and pledge his horses and wagon as security. He must have been financially pressed to have pledged his means of making a living for a loan in the substantial amount of $125.

On March 28, 1846, Jameson Jenkins, age 38, recorded his “Certificate of Freedom” with the Sangamon County Recorder of Deeds. This was the certificate quoted at page 9 and acquired by Jameson in 1838 while living in Indiana. For further discussion of the Certificate of Freedom, see page 24.

**Jameson Jenkins Borrows $125 From George W. Lowrey and Pledges Wagon and Horses as Security For Loan**

On May 12, 1846, Jamison Jenkins borrowed $125 from George W. Lowrey and pledged two horses, wagons, and a double harness as collateral for repayment in one year of a

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89 Sangamon County Recorder of Deeds, Deed Record Book 4, p. 21, Deed Book AA, pp. 284-85. IRAD.

90 2012 purchasing power: from $3,870 to $63,600. A simple Purchasing Power Calculator would say the relative value is $3,870.00. This answer is obtained by multiplying $125 by the percentage increase in the CPI from 1846 to 2012. If you want to compare the value of a $125.00 Commodity in 1846 there are three choices. In 2012 the relative: *real price* of that commodity is $3,870.00
promissory note with interest at the rate of 6% per annum. This was a very large amount of money to borrow. What did he do with this money?

Jamison Jenkins to Mortgage
George W. Lowry [Died on January 3, 1860 at age 37] Who was he?

This Indenture Made and entered into this Twelfth day of May in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and forty-six between Jamison Jenkins of the County of Sangamon and State of Illinois ___ of the first part and George W. Lowrey of the County of Sangamon and State of Illinois ___ the second party Witnesseth, that the said party of the first part for and in consideration of the sum of one hundred twenty five dollars and — Cents in hand paid the receipt whereof is hereby Acknowledged do hereby grant bargain —— unto the said party of the second part his heirs and assigns forever _______ the following described goods and chattels to wit Two horses wagons double harness, one grey Horse, one Sorrel mare—

1847

James Blanks Buys Lot on Eighth Street from John A. Mason

On November 13, 1847, James Blanks, age 39, bought a lot on the east side of South Eighth Street from John A. Mason for $212. The lot was a half block south of the Lincoln home and was where Jameson Jenkins and his family would eventually live.

1867 Reuter Perspective Map: Eighth Street From Cook Street to North of Jackson Street
Showing Location of Property Where Jameson Jenkins Lived

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91 Sangamon County Recorder of Deeds, Deed Record Book 4, p. 21, Deed Book AA, pp. 284-85. IRAD.
92 Lot 5, Block 11, E. Iles Addition to Springfield. Warranty Deed, dated February 18, 1848, Sangamon County Recorder of Deeds, Deed Record Book AA, pp. 20 and 21. IRAD.
Jameson Jenkins and James Blanks

Making A New Home in Springfield

1848

James and Martha Ann [Pellum] Blanks Sell Lot to Nancy Jenkins

On February 18, 1848, James and Martha Ann [Pellum] Blanks, Elizabeth Pellum Jenkins’s sister, sold a lot on the east side of Eighth Street, between Jackson and Edwards Streets, one-half block south of the Lincoln home, to Nancy Jenkins for $200. It is not evident that there was a house on the lot at this time. James signed the deed and Martha placed her “X” as her signature, thus revealing that James could write and Martha could not. Who paid for the lot is not revealed. Perhaps Jameson used the money he borrowed from George W. Lowrey to make part of this payment.

Nancy was the four-year-old daughter of Jameson and Elizabeth Jenkins. See the map above for the location of the lot. Blanks had purchased the lot only four months earlier for $212. Why did Blanks convey the lot to Nancy? Perhaps because of Jameson’s involvement in the Underground Railroad, he feared that such activity might cause him to incur some civil or criminal liability. In turn that could result in the real estate being taken away from him if title were in his name.

There may have been other reasons. Maybe Jameson’s wife wanted to protect herself in the event of a divorce. Later when the family moved to 14th and Adams, title to real estate there was taken in the name of Elizabeth, Jameson’s wife, for her life, and upon Elizabeth’s death to Nancy. It would seem that whatever the reason in 1848, it continued until 1865. Nancy owned the property until September 1, 1865.

Elizabeth P. Jenkins and Jameson Jenkins

Received into Membership of Second Presbyterian Church

On September 2, 1848, Elizabeth Pellum Jenkins transferred her church membership from the Colored Methodist Church of Springfield (AME) to the Second Presbyterian Church, now Westminster Presbyterian. Two months later on November 5, 1848, Jameson Jenkins was received into the same church on profession of faith.

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94 Lot 5, Block 11 E. Iles Addition. Sangamon County Recorder of Deeds, Deed Book AA, pp. 284-285. IRAD. On June 2, 1838, Lincoln paid Elijah Iles and his wife $300 for Lots twelve and thirteen in Block seven, Elijah Iles’ Addition to the Town of Springfield. ...The lots were in the center of the block across the street from the Lincoln home. Both of these lots he retained for a number of years.

95 Another early church was located at 4th and Mason Streets. ... Henry Brown famous for years as the Methodist preacher of the old school.

96 Minutes of the Second Presbyterian Church, Westminster Presbyterian Church, Walnut and Edwards Streets, Springfield, Illinois. (Hereafter referred to as Minutes of the Second Presbyterian Church.) In May 1835, 30 members of the First Presbyterian Church of Springfield left the church over the issue of slavery and formed a new church, known as the Second Presbyterian Church (now Westminster Presbyterian Church). Most of the 30 were New Englanders, and their new church was known not only as the Second Presbyterian Church but also sometimes as the abolitionist church. History of Sangamon County, Illinois, Inter-State Publishing Company, Chicago, 1881, p. 605. (Hereafter referred to as 1881 History.)
Jameson Jenkins and the Underground Railroad

Springfield’s Underground Railroad

By 1841, Springfield was an active Underground Railroad station. Not much has been written about this aspect of Lincoln’s Springfield, but it was an important part of the life of a number of transplanted New England abolitionists as well as African Americans, including Jameson Jenkins. In fact its existence may have influenced Jenkins to move to Springfield. In order to understand the importance of this aspect of Springfield and Jameson’s life, it is helpful to know a bit about some of the other Springfield conductors on the Underground Railroad.

Members of Second Presbyterian Church

In a 1916 speech to the Presbyterian Synod of Illinois, Clinton L. Conkling, a friend of Lincoln and an elder of the Westminster Presbyterian Church, made these observations:

After a while a stream of immigrants came from New York and New England. They were anti-slavery in feeling and practice. Springfield became one of the stations of the underground route as it was called, between bondage and freedom; between Kentucky and Missouri, the dwelling of the slave, and Canada, the haven of rest. A Saturday’s holiday of one of our own members (family of boys) was once spoiled because during the preceding night the old family horse was used to take a runaway slave to the station further north on this underground route and was not returned in time for the boys to use him.

A 1956 history of Westminster Church states that “More than one Second Presbyterian home was a station on the Underground Railway, the organization which helped runaway slaves escape to Canada.”

Luther N. Ransom

Luther N. Ransom, a white man, was one of the Springfield conductors on the Underground Railroad. In 1840, he moved to Springfield with a group of 53 New England abolitionists who settled west of Springfield at Farmington where they conducted several stations on the Underground Railroad. Luther’s participation in Springfield’s Underground Railroad is evidenced by a St. Louis slave owner’s October 18, 1841, handbill offering a $200 reward for the return of an African American woman, Rittea or Henrietta Jones, and her children, Martha, age six, Sarah, age four, and James, age two, and her husband, Nicholas, a “free dark mulatto.” A “P.S.” at the end of the handbill stated that Rittea and her family were “seen at L. N. Ransom’s boarding house, at Springfield Ill., on yesterday morning.” Luther operated a boarding house near the Globe Tavern and it was this location that is referred to in the handbill.

In April 1843, Luther Ransom wrote to William Lloyd Garrison of the Liberator:

SPRINGFIELD, Ill., April, 1843.
MY BROTHER:
Although you are personally unknown to me, yet my spirit has for years communed with your spirit, as I have from week to week perused your invaluable paper, freighted as it has been with humanity. I have long desired to see your face in the flesh, but as probably this privilege will never be granted me, I have concluded to send you this salutation,

97 Early Settlers of Sangamon County, John Carroll Power, Springfield, Illinois, 1876, p. 593. (Hereafter referred to as Power.)
thinking that coming from these sectarian, pro-slavery, man-killing ends of the earth, it may somewhat encourage you in your warfare against these giant evils that afflict and curse our earth.

I have been partly induced to write you that I might unburthen my mind to one who knows how to sympathize with those situated as I am. The population of this city is over three thousand, and there are nine organized churches, calling themselves christian, who have each their spiritual guide, besides a number of clergymen engaged in other pursuits; but of the whole number, there is but one that has the moral courage to preach to their congregation against the horrible sin of oppression, and that one the minister of the colored church. Of all the white clergymen in this city, there is but one that calls himself an abolitionist, and he disclaims being a Garrison abolitionist. You know what that declaration means. There are, as you would naturally conclude from the above statements, but a very few abolitionists in the city, and I am, on account of my ultraisms, as they are pleased to call them, regarded as you are by the new organized third party abolitionists of the country, a crazy infidel. If, however, the principles you advocate be infidelity, the term infidel will soon stand for a friend of God and man.

This is a bitter pro-slavery, revengeful community; a majority are from slaveholding States, who have, as they profess, left to get rid of the evils of slavery; many of whom, before leaving, sold their human chattels, or hired them out to others, and are now living or speculating upon the money they received for the bodies and souls of their brethren, for whom Christ poured out his own precious blood on the cross. The rest are mostly adventurers from different parts of the globe, who have no humanity in their hearts, at least for the poor slave. What I have stated in reference to this community is true with regard to the entire middle and southern portions of this State. The northern part is much better; there are more abolitionists, though political partyism is doing its work of destruction there. The greatest proportion of abolitionists in this State are in favor of political action; yet there are a few who rely upon moral means for the overthrow of slavery. I am contributing what little of influence an individual unaccustomed to writing or public speaking has, in the moral warfare that is waging against all oppression; not only that of the bodies, but of the souls of my fellow-men, which has not unfrequently endangered my personal safety. I have very frequently the high satisfaction of helping along the fugitive from the ‘patriarchal institution.’ I have seen some from as far south as Louisiana. This service is attended with great hazard, as our State laws are very severe against those who obey God in this particular. I was for twenty years a member of the Presbyterian church, but about two years since, I withdrew from that connection, on account of its anti-christian character; and what is true of that, is true of all the organized sects of this slavery-accursed country. I mean not only negro slavery, but governmental and ecclesiastical slavery.

I rejoiced greatly when you and your coadjutors raised the standard of NonResistance. It was the first intimation that I had of there being others who believed with myself on that subject. I regret much the suspension of the Non-Resistant, and that your paper has not as frequently now as formerly a department for that despised, but Christ-like doctrine. I am fully satisfied that slavery in some form will continue to exist, until that first principle of the religion of Christ is embraced and lived out in our world. And now, my brother, permit me to say, that you are not altogether consistent with your principles on this subject. If I have understood you, you hold that nations have no more right than individuals to employ physical force in overcoming evil, and that every individual who casts a vote, directly sanctions slavery and war and that you abstain from voting, from the conviction that it is morally wrong. Now, how can you direct others in what manner they should do that which you cannot do yourself, which you do when you say to voting abolitionists, Vote for freedom? To me it appears like saying to the man of war, War is wrong you ought not to fight, but if you will fight, fight for freedom. Again, I see no inconsistency in petitioning Legislatures for the repeal of laws; but I do see great
inconsistency in non-resistants asking for the enactment of any law, even though the object sought to be attained be ever so desirable or right in itself. God has settled the question in reference to doing evil that good may come. It appears to me that we need not be afraid of the consequences of carrying out, to their fullest extent, our non-resistant principles. True, we may be charged by third party abolitionists with ‘losing the staff of accomplishment,’ and the army who are fighting for human freedom and for God may be reduced to as small a number as was Gideon’s, yet it will assuredly be accomplished by the heaven-ordained means of truth and love. In conclusion, were I to give you a full narrative of my sentiments, feelings and purposes, I could do it in no way so well as by transcribing the letter of Joseph Barker of England.

I remain, dear Sir,
Yours for universal human freedom,
L. N. RANSOM.  

Springfield African American Underground Railroad Conductors

Not all of the Springfield conductors on the Underground Railroad were white New England abolitionists. Jameson Jenkins was one of at least four Springfield African American conductors on the Underground Railroad who assisted many runaway slaves on their trips north from Springfield. The other three were William K. Donnegan, Rev. Henry Brown and Aaron Dyer. A little about each will give one an idea of the scope of the activity in Springfield and enough evidence to conclude that Abraham Lincoln must have known of its existence.

William K. Donnegan

William K. Donnegan, an African American, was born in Kentucky circa 1832, and came to Springfield in 1845. In 1858, he was living on the north side of Jefferson Street, between Eighth and Ninth Streets, just five blocks north of the Lincoln home. Donnegan was a shoemaker with a shop on the north side of Adams Street, between Seventh Street and the Public Square, just a block east of the Lincoln & Herndon law offices. He made shoes and boots for Abraham Lincoln.

William K. Donnegan’s reminiscence of his 1858 participation in Springfield’s Underground Railroad was published in the Old Settlers Department of the May 1898 edition of Springfield's The Public Patron. Donnegan’s reminiscence deserves a complete publication.

Most old people will remember, and many young ones have read in their school histories about the celebrated “Underground Railways” established throughout the Northern States in the old slavery days, before the civil war. If all of the thrilling events incident to the escapes, and attempted escapes of runaways were written out they would form a volume as intensely interesting and dramatic as any of the “blood and thunder” novels of any age or authorship.

98 Liberator, Friday, May 26, 1843, Boston, Massachusetts, Volume: XIII, Issue: 21, p. 84.
Ransom is described by another antislavery man: “I know of but three subscribers to your paper in this State. One is L. N. Ransom, of Springfield - one of the most thoroughgoing ultras I ever saw - a most excellent man - called crazy, sometimes, by the orthodox. He was once a Presbyterian of the straitest sort, but sometime since left all the sects because of their support of slavery, war, &c. He is indeed a fast friend of human rights.” [William T. Allen, Peoria, 5/18/1843 to The Liberator, 8/25/1843.] The Liberator (1831-1865) was an abolitionist newspaper founded by William Lloyd Garrison and Isaac Knapp in 1831. Garrison co-published weekly issues of The Liberator from Boston continuously for 35 years, from January 1, 1831, to the final issue of December 29, 1865. Although its circulation was only about 3,000, and three-quarters of subscribers were African Americans in 1834, the newspaper earned nationwide notoriety for its uncompromising advocacy of “immediate and complete emancipation of all slaves” in the United States.
Springfield was by no means wanting in such events, and we give the following story as a sample. It comes from a well-known colored citizen of Springfield, himself and brothers free-born, and bent on freeing others, as can well be guessed from the narrative that follows. The story will be given as nearly as possible exactly as he relates it.

"I lived, in those days, on the north side of Jefferson, between Eighth and Ninth streets, in a story and a half house. It is still standing, and I could show you the garret yet in which many a runaway has been hidden while the town was being searched. I have secreted scores of them, I once had seven hundred dollars in gold and silver turned into my lap by the owner of a slave as a bribe for my assisting in his recapture. This took place in my shoe shop on Fourth street. The house is not now standing. Well, could not capture the fellow, and had to return the money; but all the same he was under a pile of leather in that very room when the money was paid.

"One early morning in the summer or spring of 1858, I think it was, George Burreas, a barber and a near neighbor of mine, came into my shop somewhat excited and wanted me to go home at once. He said that during the night a wagon had driven up to his house and hurriedly unloaded a runaway slave girl, the driver getting away as quickly as possible, explaining that they had been hotly pursued from Jacksonville, and that their pursuers could not be far away then. He also hurriedly explained that the girl must be concealed carefully and quickly as she was a dangerous character, being hard to manage. What was especially dangerous was that she had an excellent memory and could tell the name of every man, woman and baby along the route. She had come from St. Louis to Springfield. She was liable to give all of them away to authorities by her imprudence. You must recollect that we didn’t know another’s names. It was best not. When a man unloaded one or more Negroes at my house or at any other station in the night (it was always done then) his name was not asked. But this girl had caught the names and would tell them. So George said I must take her and hide her.

"I went home at once and found a girl about sixteen years of age and weighing about one hundred and forty pounds. This man Burreas, you understand, lived right by me, and the girl has been left there by mistake in the excitement. I said, “See here, gal, they say that you’re in danger of giving us all away, and if you don’t do as I tell you, or if you threaten to get us into trouble, I’ll shoot you. She replied that she hoped I’d shoot her if she was about to be recaptured. She said that a brother and a sister of hers had been caught again and burned. She was in earnest, too; but smart as she was, she was a fool. She had no judgment; she wanted to see everything. I sent her into the back part of the house and told her to keep out of sight. I stayed around, and in about an hour I saw three men – one red-headed – coming down the street. As they approached, the girl peeped out of a window and exclaimed, “O, that’s my young master and his father.” I told to go quick the back way to Burreas’ house. She had hardly got out of sight when in came the three inquiring for a wash woman who lived there. As they approached, the girl peeped out of a window and exclaimed, “O, that’s my young master and his father.” I told to go quick the back way to Burreas’ house. She had hardly got out of sight when in came the three inquiring for a wash woman who lived there. I told them there was none there – they must be mistaken in the place. They seemed disappointed, and came on into the kitchen. As they approached, the girl peeped out of a window and exclaimed, “O, that’s my young master and his father.” I told to go quick the back way to Burreas’ house. She had hardly got out of sight when in came the three inquiring for a wash woman who lived there. I told them there was none there – they must be mistaken in the place. They seemed disappointed, and came on into the kitchen. Finding nobody, and having no excuse, they reluctantly went out again at the front door.

"I knew they’d go to Burreas’, and as soon as they left the door I managed to slip back by the back way and come into the kitchen. So, as they entered the house, she left and came into mine. I hustled her into the attic, and told her to go away back and crawl in behind the chimney and stay there till I told her to come out. Well, the men came back and fooled around awhile and left disappointed.

"Now what was to be done was a question. I knew the house would be watched all night. I heard in the afternoon that about thirty men had been engaged about town for that night. A full description of her had been given in the Springfield Register as she looked when she ran away, with an offer of, I think, $500 for her capture. I knew she was a dangerous girl to keep about the place and finally hit on an expedient.
Another girl, almost white, lived near named Hal, who was just about this girl’s size and form, but this runaway was quite black. I went down town and got a pair of white gloves and a white false face, which I knew in the darkness would give the impression of whiteness. I told her what to call me, and what to talk about and instructed her to alter her voice, so that if her master heard he would not know her. I knew that the dog-fennel all around between me and Ninth street would probably be full of men watching who came to or left my house after night.

“When it was dark enough I sallied out with her, talking to Hal loud enough to be heard, and she talking to me about things that happened days before. We started east, I intending to get her into a house in the east of town for awhile. We hadn’t got far when three men passed us, one of whom I recognized as a Springfield man named Emmet. Immediately after passing they had stopped and were holding a consultation. I heard a man say:

“She moves exactly like my girl.”

“No,” said another, “this one’s white.”

“Well, I believe we ought to get her away – I believe it’s the girl I’m after,” was the reply.

“I heard Emmet say, “You’d better be careful not to make a mistake. He carries bowie knife and a shooter that will kill at 150 yards, and he’s the kind that uses them.”

“Well, I won’t risk my life for any nigger,” was the reply.

“They kept at a distance, but still knew where we went. I couldn’t get the girl taken in at the house to which we went, so thought I’d take her up to the timber near the Converse school, hoping to escape pursuit there. I went directly north on Ninth street, but they blocked my game, outflanked me and got there ahead. I began to think it was dangerous to get into the woods with those three against me, so I turned down the C & A track and went over to Third street, and back towards town. The men still followed. Near Carpenter street a bulldog broke his chain and attacked us, catching hold of the girl’s skirts. She screamed. I told her to be still, and placing my revolver to the dog’s head I fired, splattering its brains over my hands. Then I turned to the men who were crowding still closer and shouted that I would kill any four-legged or two-legged dogs that bothered me much more. At this they fell back somewhat. I was going down Fourth street by this time, towards a Methodist church that stood there then, and in which there was a meeting that night. It all at once occurred that I might make this useful. I went to a man at the door and told him I was being followed, and asked him in a few moments to open the door widely and shut it again, while we slipped around the building and out of sight. I thought the men would think we went in and while they were looking we might escape. And sure enough, that worked! They stopped, and while they were finding out that we were not in the house we doubled on our track as fast as possible, crossed the C & A going west, jumped over a fence and made away for the woods and down where the present O & M track is, towards the old West Shaft. I was aiming to get to a Mr. Gardner’s or Lyman’s, one of our stations near the Beardstown road, west of Bradfordton. As I drew near the bridge over the creek west of the city I thought I’d better be cautious, as it might be guarded. So, going off a few rods from the road, I made the girl climb up into the fork of a red-bud tree to wait until I went forward to look for enemies. The woods were full of wild hogs and cows, the latter being quite fierce when they had calves as many of them had, so I told her she must not come down till I came back. Some little distance from the bridge a dog growled at me. I gave it some meat – I always carried a lunch on such occasions – and soon quieted it. Going cautiously forward I found the bridge at the old mill guarded by a dozen with guns. I came back to where the girl was. She said she was afraid and must come down, and in fact did climb down. I made her get up, and again left her, going this time up to the bridge on the Beardstown road. It was guarded. I tried to find a place to cross but could not as the stream was full, so I went back again to where I left the girl. It was now getting on towards daylight. Presently I heard the clatter of horses’ feet and the whole company swept by on horses toward town. They had left for the night. But it was too late for us to go on; daylight would catch us before we could get half way to our destination. I says to the girl, “Get down now, and follow me quick.” And we came into town right behind our pursuers. I went straight for my brother’s house on Carpenter street, and called him up. He said:
“You’d better get in here quick. My house has been watched all night, and I think they just left.”

“So we hustled in, and began to plan how to get the girl out of the city. My brother said that John Stewart was going to take a gang of colored men out to the neighborhood of Lyman’s to go plowing.”

“That’s all right,” I said. “now, let us get her up a boy’s rig and send her out with them as a boy. None but Stewart need know, and he can tell Lyman all about her.” So we rigged her out and sent her to the country in that way in daylight.”

“One of our men down near St. Louis that helped run slaves off got shot about this time, and broke our line for nearly six weeks, during which time she remained at Lyman’s. Finally he sent word that something must be done. She couldn’t be restrained from showing herself, and they were in terror lest she give the whole underground railroad gang away. I sent word to Mrs. Lyman to tell the girl I was going to shoot her. And I did go and hunted the house over for her, shot my pistol off a few times and scared her nearly to death. Of course I couldn’t find her, but she was so frightened that when she was told to go into the basement and remain hid she did so.

“After some time we succeeded in getting her out of the country, off towards Canada.”

“Oh,” said our informant, after relating the above, “I could give you a whole lot of such scrapes. But I’ll never forget the night I spent in trying to get that girl away.”

Fifty years after this event, on August 16, 1908, during the Springfield Race Riot, a mob captured 84 year-old William K. Donnegan, cut his throat and lynched him in a tree in the schoolyard of the Edwards School across the street from his home at the corner of Spring and Edwards Streets. The events surrounding the riot and Donnegan’s murder led to the organization of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

… the mob merely changed direction and proceeded to march across the capitol grounds and headed for the home of William Donnegan. He was an elderly long time resident of Springfield. Donnegan was eighty-four years old and a cobbler by trade; a respected resident of the community who owned his own home outside the Badlands and also owned some adjacent properties which were occupied by members of his family. He was known to be a friend and the cobbler of Abraham Lincoln. Donnegan made a small fortune bringing southern African Americans to Springfield to find jobs. He had never been accused of a crime. He had however, broken the unwritten mores of being married to a white woman for the last thirty-two years. The mob approached Donnegan’s home. When he came out to find what they were up to, they grabbed him, cut his throat, dragged his body across the street, and lynched him in the Edwards School yard. He was still alive when the national guard cut him down, but he died early the next morning. This lynching was the last mob action of the riot.

Rev. Henry Brown

African American Henry Brown was born in Raleigh, North Carolina on April 17, 1823. His father, Staten Brown, died in 1824. It is unknown if his mother also died during his childhood. In 1835 at age 12, Henry moved to Ohio, and one year later to Rush County, Indiana. From 1837 to 1843, age 14 to age 20, he was a bound farm laborer for a Quaker family. The route Brown took and his connection to the Quakers was similar to that of Jameson Jenkins. It makes one wonder if Brown and Jenkins knew one another and were somehow connected before

99 The Springfield Race Riot of 1908 at the following web site address: africanafrican.com/misc%20african%20american%20black%20history%20pages/The%20Springfield%20Race%20Riot%20of%201908.htm
they moved to Springfield. In 1843, Henry Brown married Martha Del Roberts in Rush County, and Martha died during the first year of the marriage. The Roberts family settled in Rush County in the 1820s, and there they were successful farmers and community leaders.

Henry Brown studied to become a preacher in the African Methodist Episcopal Church and was licensed to preach about 1846. He then began an itinerant ministry walking from town to town. He was often refused meals and lodging because of his race. In 1847, he met and married in Paris, Illinois, and shortly thereafter moved to Springfield. Except for four years when he resided at Galena and Quincy, he lived in Springfield. In 1860, he lived at the northeast corner of 10th and Madison Streets and later at 1530 East Mason Street. Henry was of immense physical stature, standing six feet three inches and weighing 250 pounds.

In both Quincy and Springfield, Brown helped runaway slaves move north on the Underground Railroad. On one occasion, he reportedly gave his own coat and vest to a poor black man.

Many a poor slave escaping by means of the underground railway during the civil war, was upheld on his way by Mr. Brown, who acted as a “conductor” at Quincy and Springfield stations. His idea of the golden rule was illustrated by one instance when he gave his own coat and vest to a poor fellow who was without one.

Henry Brown was a great admirer of Abraham Lincoln and served Lincoln in various capacities until he went to Washington as President. When Lincoln’s body was brought back to Springfield in May 1865, Rev. Henry Brown was sent a telegram requesting that he come from Quincy to Springfield for the Lincoln funeral. He and another local minister, Rev. W. C. Trevan, led Lincoln’s old family horse “Bob” in the funeral procession.

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1881 History, p. 736.
Aaron Dyer

African American Aaron Dyer was born a slave in Richmond, Virginia, on November 15, 1818. In 1840 at age 21, Aaron was given his freedom. He came to Springfield, Illinois in 1846.

Aaron “was employed by the underground railway. He drove his horse and wagon at night, taking runaway slaves to the next underground station. When they reached Springfield, where the feeling against slavery was strong, they were fairly safe, although there were times when their masters traced them there and then they would be kept in hiding for as long as three weeks, or until the chase was given up and their masters returned without them. Springfield was a center for the underground railway.”

In Springfield, Aaron worked as a blacksmith and drayman. His family consisted of his wife, Harriet Welden Dyer, who was born a slave in North Carolina about 1827, and three children all born in Illinois: John, Elizabeth and Aaron. Aaron and Harriet lived in a small African American residential cluster on the north side of the 300 block of West Washington Street, “between Rutledge and Klein” and “west of Gas Works.” Maria Vance, the Lincoln maid, was their neighbor.

In 1877, Aaron and Harriet Dyer moved to Lincoln, Illinois, to be near their daughter and have her family’s assistance as they grew older. Aaron and Harriet’s grandson, William, was a neighbor and childhood friend of William Maxwell, who became the noted editor of the New Yorker magazine. In a poignant reminiscence of his boyhood days in Lincoln, Illinois, Maxwell described his friend “Billie Dyer,” and in doing so, Billie’s grandfather, Aaron.

Billie Dyer’s grandfather, Aaron Dyer, was born a slave in Richmond, Virginia, and given his freedom when he turned twenty-one. He made his way north to Springfield, Illinois, because it was a station of the Underground Railroad. ...In Springfield, the feeling against slavery was strong: a runaway slave would be hidden sometimes for weeks until the owner who had traced him that far gave up and went home. Then Aaron Dyer would hitch up the horse and wagon he had been provided with, and at night the fugitive, covered with gunnysacks or an old horse blanket, would be driven along some winding wagon trail that led through the prairie. Clop, clop, clopy clop. Past farm buildings that were all dark and ominous. Fording shallow streams and crossing bridges with loose wooden floorboards that rumbled. Arousing the comment of owls. Sometime Aaron Dyer sang softly to himself. Uppermost in his mind, who can doubt, was the thought of a hand pulling back those gunnysacks to see what was under them.

William Maxwell

1850

Jameson Jenkins Underground Railway Conductor

Since his arrival in Springfield in 1844, Jameson Jenkins was most likely a conductor on the Underground Railroad, using the same wagon and horses in that activity that he used in his dray business. However, the first evidence of Jameson Jenkins being such a conductor came in 1850, when he was living on south Eighth Street, one-half block south of Lincoln’s home. On the

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evening of January 16, 1850, he assisted seven runaway slaves by secreting them from Springfield to Bloomington in a stage coach.

![An Example of a False Bottomed Wagon Used in the Underground Railroad](image)

The “Slave Stampede” in Springfield, Illinois

On January 17, 1850, the Springfield newspaper the *Register* reported that 11 runaway slaves belonging to citizens of St. Louis were captured by Springfield citizens on January 16.

On the same day, another Springfield newspaper, the *Journal*, reported that 14 runaway slaves from St. Louis and Kentucky were discovered in Springfield on the way north. Three men attempted to arrest them, but a fight ensued. Only one slave, a lame negro, was arrested and placed in the City Jail.

On January 18, 1850, the *Register* corrected its January 17 report that 11 runaway slaves had been captured. It reported that only 8 were caught, and that after publication of the January 18 paper, 7 escaped. The remaining slave, the lame negro, was “now in jail.”

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103 A false-bottomed wagon from the Centre Friends Meeting community some 15 miles southeast is the museum’s primary artifact of the Underground Railroad, and it too confirms the importance of the Kanawha route. www.mendenhallplantation.org/Wagon.htm

104 *Register*, January 17, 1850, p. 2, cl. 2.

105 *Journal*, January 17, 1850, p. 3, cl. 1.

The *Register* on January 21, 1850, reported that 8 slaves recently captured had escaped, except for one who was put in jail. The slave was brought before the Supreme Court upon a writ of habeas corpus. The court released the slave.

The following newspaper account of this incident provides the most substantial evidence of Jameson Jenkins’s participation in the Underground Railroad. For what was normally a very secret operation, the account gave quite a splash to Jenkins and his Underground Railroad participation.

On January 23, 1850, the *Journal* reported that the rumor that the runaway slaves had been betrayed by a local African American [Jameson Jenkins] was false. To the contrary, Jenkins had gone north by stage to Bloomington with some of the runaway slaves. The affidavit of J. C. Goodhue, stage coach agent, stated, “This is to certify that Mr. Jenkins left for Bloomington on the 16th day of January, 1850 in the stage.”

Now, in order to correct public sentiment in regard to that man’s conduct in this matter, I would refer them to the following certificate of the agent of the northern line of states:

Springfield, January 22, 1850
This is to certify that Mr. Jenkins left for Bloomington on the 16th day of January, 1850, in the stage.

Signed by J. C. Goodhue, agent
A Friend to “Justice”

If Jenkins’s participation in the Underground Railroad had been secret before publication of this newspaper article, it was now public knowledge. I suspect, however, that Jenkins’s participation in the Underground Railroad was well known by his neighbors long prior to this.
“Don’t ask, don’t tell,” was a good way of describing the unspoken custom of secrecy and the Underground Railroad in Lincoln’s Springfield.  

Jameson’s participation in Springfield’s Underground Railroad was much more than just a casual community public service activity for him. It was a dangerous endeavor that subjected him to much risk. In order to understand the degree of risk, it is useful to know of other African American activities that were occurring in Springfield at about the same time. Some of those activities are illustrated in Appendix E. When you read through the variety of events involving race and the legal status of African Americans in Springfield, you quickly acquire a sense of the dangerous environment in which Jameson Jenkins operated as an Underground Railroad conductor.

Jameson Jenkins was but one of a few brave souls in Lincoln’s Springfield who took enormous personal risks to help runaway slaves move north from Springfield on the Underground Railroad. Lincoln knew these men to be Underground Railroad conductors as surely as he knew that one of them made his boots and another carted his bags to the railroad station for his trip to Washington D.C. and the Presidency. Alas, he did not know that Rev. Brown would lead his horse in his final journey to Oak Ridge Cemetery, but he had to know that his friend Brown was also among those brave souls — African American conductors on the Underground Railroad at Springfield.

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110 Claire Martin has done extensive research and written a fine account of the Springfield Slave Stampede of 1850. Jameson Jenkins Narrative, Final Report, Claire Martin, Illinois State Museum, Landscape History Program, Technical Report 2012-2054-6, November 16, 2012, Section II, pp. 16-22. Ms. Martin has put together a number of additional newspaper accounts of the slave stampede taken from the St. Louis, Bloomington and Chicago newspapers. The stories are about the same, but each has its individual twist.

111 Register, January 23, 1850, p. 2, cl. 2.
James Blanks and the Push for Colored Schools

What was the law of Illinois at this time regarding colored schools?

1850

James Blanks And Other African American Men
Hold Public Supper to Raise Funds For “Colored School”

On June 14, 1850, eight Springfield African American men, the Trustees of the “Colored School,” signed a Journal newspaper announcement of a public supper to raise money for the “Colored School.” James Blanks was one of those eight men.

COLORED SCHOOL.

Whereas the people of color in this place desirous of educating their children, and finding themselves too weak in point of numbers to sustain a school permanently amongst them, therefore we, the Trustees of this the Colored School, in view of our weakness, propose giving a PUBLIC SUPPER, in aid of this School, on Thursday, the 20th of this month, at the Colored Baptist Church, in this city. We have appointed a committee of females to solicit donations among our white friends towards making the Supper, and we hope that their claims will not be disregarded.

Thomas Cox, James Blanks,
Jno. Jackson, Wm. Baker,
Wm. H. Butler, Aaron Dyer,
H. W. Baylor, S. S. Ball.

1852

James Blanks Participates in African American Meeting Regarding Schools

On Monday, November 8, 1852, Springfield African Americans met and adopted a resolution saying “…we must speak in bold terms.” The resolution opposed the Wood River Colored Baptist Association’s proposal for separate, state-funded colored schools. The resolution stated that the colored citizens would not ask for state funded support for separate, colored schools. They asserted “That we, as a portion of the colored population, representing its claims, feel a deep, very deep interest, in our schools, and think it the only sure way to redeem ourselves from the bondage we are now in, sympathize with our race, and will do everything that is in our power to educate our children by our exertions, and without the boldness to ask aid from the people of the State.” The resolution was signed by 20 Springfield African American men, one of whom was James Blanks.

Springfield, Nov. 8, 1852.

At a meeting of the colored citizens of this city, on the 8th instant, after having deliberated over the matter concerning our interests, common schools, etc. had occasion to notice the following, which we must speak of in bold terms; and which, after a vote was taken, was unanimously adopted:

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112 Journal, June 14, 1850, p. 3, cl. 1.
The undersigned having just noticed an article written for the paper entitled, the “Western Citizens,” by the “Wood River Colored Baptist Association,” and also the Minutes of the same, wish to make the following reply:

Whereas the “Wood River Colored Baptist Association,” having met at Jacksonville, Illinois, devised ways and means for the purpose of establishing a system of common school education, under the cloak of the colored people of the State of Illinois;

We, as a portion of the colored people of this State, in Springfield, do not desire any such system of common school education, under the name of one distinct sector denomination; nor will we join in with it; nor give our support to it; but will do everything that is in our power to indemnify ourselves against any of the above proceedings that may have been conjured up in this association;

That we deem it an injury to our present established schools, and that it will hinder the energy of those who are willing to aid, and have already aided in the support of our respective schools; and that we do not wish to give our aid in any measure that will hinder our progress that has already begun;

That we, as a portion of the colored population, representing its claims, feel a deep, very deep interest, in our schools, and think it the only sure way to redeem ourselves from the bondage we are now in, sympathize with our race, and will do everything that is in our power to educate our children by our exertions, and without the boldness to ask aid from the people of the State;

And that in examining the Minutes of the Association, we notice an article proposing to establish a press, which will be attached to the Institution, and put into operation as soon as the amount of funds necessary for its support can be raised. In regard to this we can say, that it reminds us of the bill which was handed into the Legislature two years ago—coming, in part, from the same source; and consequently we do not feel willing to embark in any such enterprize; ner shall we.

After reading the above, what patriot, as he is called, can enlist in the resolutions which that Association have gotten up, without the consent of any persons but themselves?

James Reynolds,  
Gilbert Johnson,  
Michael Millington  
John Handsom  
Aaron Dyer, (Dyer)  
John Lee,  
Andrew Broadwaters,  
William Lee,  
Patterson Bannister,  
Benjamin Williams,  

David Callyhan,  
Isaiah Chambers,  
Wm. McCoslin,  
J. W. Hill,  
A. J. Petete,  
Spencer Donnigan,  
James Hendrix,  
Wm. Donnigan,  
George Burras,  
James Blanks.

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113 Journal, November 11, 1852, p. 3, c.1.
The Baptist Response

An unusual communication was published in the Journal of November 6, 1852, when colored residents of the city protested against the proposal to establish a denominational school for the education of colored children. The proposal originated from a church conference at Jacksonville.

Journal, Monday, November 22, 1852.

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115 Journal, Monday, November 22, 1852, p. 2.
Lincoln’s African American Neighbors

1850

African Americans in 1850 Springfield

In 1850, the population of Springfield was 5,106. Among those 5,106 were 146 African Americans.\

Lincoln’s African American Neighbors in 1850

In 1850, at least twenty African Americans, about 14.4% of Springfield’s African American population, lived within a three-block radius of the Lincoln home.

Families

In 1850, there were at least four African American families living within three blocks of Mary and Abraham Lincoln’s home at the northeast corner of Eighth and Jackson Streets. The map opposite the Table of Contents shows the location of the Lincoln home and those four families — the Jameson Jenkins family, the James Blanks family, the John Jackson family and the David King family. There were a total of 20 African Americans living in these families.

1. John Jackson Family (6)

John Jackson, a 45-year-old cook and Virginia native, lived at 85 S. 9th, on the east side of 9th, between Edwards and Cook. Living with him was his 40-year-old wife Matilda, a Kentucky native. John was listed as having real estate worth $1,000. John and Matilda’s four children were also living with them — Henrietta, age nine, Edward, age five, Georgeanna, age three, and Josephine, age two, all born in Illinois.

2. David King Family (4)

David King, a 22-year-old mulatto barber and Virginia native, lived at 91 S. 9th Street, the northeast corner of Cook and 9th Streets. He lived with his 25-year-old wife Mary who was born in Tennessee, and their son, Benjamin, age two and their daughter, Mary E., age two months, both listed as mulatto and born in Illinois.

The other two African American families lived in the block south of the Lincoln home. One was the Jameson Jenkins family and the other was the James Blanks family.

3. Jameson Jenkins Family (5)

In 1850, the Jameson Jenkins family had been living on the east side of Eighth Street, between Jackson and Edwards, just half a block south of the Lincoln home. They had been neighbors of the Lincoln family for six years.

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117 1850 census, p. 197.
The 1850 census for Springfield, Illinois, listed “Jimison” Jenkins, a 40-(42) year-old mulatto who was born in North Carolina, residing with his wife, Elizabeth A., a 43-year-old mulatto who was born in Virginia, and their daughter, Nancy H., a six-year-old mulatto who was born in Indiana. Jameson’s occupation was listed as drayman, one with a heavy cart or wagon used for hauling for hire. This would be the modern equivalent of a delivery truck driver. Jameson owned real estate having a value of $300. A search of the grantor grantee indexes of the Sangamon County Recorder of Deeds reveals no record of Jameson owning real estate at this time in Sangamon County.

Also living in the Jenkins household were Elizabeth’s two mulatto daughters by her first marriage, 17-year-old, Jane Watkins, who was born in Virginia, and 12-year-old Aquilla (Quilly) Ann Watkins, who was born in Indiana.

In 1850, the Jenkins and Blanks families were living at the same location, 1/2 block south of the Lincoln home. They may have been living in two separate residences located on the same lot. The lot was owned by six-year-old Nancy Jenkins.

4. James Blanks Family (5)

The 1850 census for Springfield, Illinois, listed James Blanks, a 38-year-old laborer, and his wife, Martha Ann, who was 35 years old. Both were listed as mulattos who were born in Virginia. Also living in the Blanks household were the mother of Elizabeth Ann Jenkins and Martha Ann Blanks, Jane Pellum, a 62-year-old mulatto woman who was a native of Virginia. Bellfield Jenkins [sic Watkins], a 14-year-old mulatto who was born in Indiana, and Lydiann Mason, a 13-year-old mulatto born in Indiana, were also living in the Blanks household. Bellfield was the son of Martha Ann Blanks’ sister Elizabeth by her first marriage to Unknown Watkins.

Death of Edward Lincoln

On February 1, 1850, Edward Lincoln, not quite four years old, died of diphtheria after a 52-day illness. Eddie was buried in Hutchinson Cemetery at the west end of Washington Street. Robert Lincoln was then seven years old. Just a half a block down the street in the Jenkins and Blanks households were other minors, Nancy H. Jenkins, six-years-old, Jane Watkins, 17-years-old, and Aquilla (Quilly) Ann Watkins, a 12-year-old, Bellfield Jenkins [sic Watkins], 14-years-old, and Lydiann Mason, 13-years-old.
Seth and Elizabeth Witherbee Sell Lot
at Corner of Ninth and Jackson Streets to James Blanks

On March 4, 1850, Seth and Elizabeth Witherbee sold an unimproved lot (Lot 15) on the southwest corner of Ninth and Jackson Streets to James Blanks (age 40) for $100. In 1842, Blanks had purchased adjoining Lots 13 and 14. These three adjoining lots were catty-corner from the Lincoln home.

Birth of William Wallace Lincoln

On December 21, 1850, William Wallace Lincoln was born at the Lincoln Home.

1851

Jameson Jenkins Cut Off From Second Presbyterian Church

On August 29, 1851, 43-year-old Jameson Jenkins’s membership in the Second Presbyterian Church was terminated due to his having failed to answer charges of licentiousness and not attending church meetings. The definition of licentious is lacking in willpower or moral discipline, or being promiscuous (prone to random sex) or unwilling to conform to accepted rules. A woman or man who has indiscriminate sex without regard to the consequences is an example of someone who might be described as licentious.


Jameson Jenkins a member of the Church was charged with breach of covenant in not attending the meetings of the Church, and also with licentiousness. A copy of the charges was made out, and E. B. Hawley and C.R. Welles, appointed a committee to notify him of this charge & the time for the trial, as the Book of discipline directs.

August 29. The serving of the notice for trial with the charges was duly attended to by the Committee appointed in the case of Jameson Jenkins as above. The time of trial was set & he, not appearing was subsequently notified again. At the time appointed for the second meeting of the session to attend to his case, he did not appear. The session now being convened & deeming it needless to make further attempts to bring said Jenkins before them, it was voted that he be cut off from the Church for contumacy.

Session adjourned. Closed with prayer. Albert Hale stated clerk.

Many church denominations in the mid-19th century were very strict with regard to attendance and personal conduct. The practice of these churches of bringing charges and conducting hearings was not uncommon. In Jenkins’s case, the practice and the resulting

124 Lot 15, Block 11, E. Iles Addition to Springfield. Sangamon County Recorder of Deeds, Deed Record Book DD (NN?), p. 615. See 1842 when they bought the lot from the sheriff. IRAD.
125 Lincoln Home National Historic Site, Lincoln Chronology. http://www.nps.gov/liho/historyculture/lincolnchronology.htm (Hereafter referred to as Lincoln Chronology.)
126 Contumacy is a stubborn refusal to obey authority or, particularly in law, the willful contempt of the order or summons of a court. The term is derived from the Latin word contumacia, meaning firmness or stubbornness.
127 Minutes of the Second Presbyterian Church.
Jameson Jenkins and James Blanks

Lincoln’s African American Neighbors

discipline were not frivolous. At least two other disciplines imposed by the Second Presbyterian Church were upon white members. One was for a lady member beating her servant girl more than was the “custom.” Another was for a member dealing in the sale and trade of humans — slaves. Both of these were serious offenses and worthy of judgment and punishment.

In Jameson’s case the failure to attend church, in and of itself, would probably not have warranted a formal charge and hearing. The charge of licentious conduct was another matter. The specifics of his alleged licentious conduct were not revealed. They must have been a matter of public knowledge and something that the church could not allow to go unpunished without countenancing the conduct and diminishing its moral authority in the community. If the proof against Jenkins failed on the licentious conduct charge, the lesser offense of failure to attend church could easily be established and be grounds for some punishment.

When one considers the men who sat in judgment on the Jenkins charges, it must be concluded that the charges were made with deliberation and upon reasonable grounds. One of the men, Reverend Albert Hale, was a beloved member not only of the Second Presbyterian Church but also of the entire community. He was one of the Yale Band that upon graduation from Yale College came west to found colleges and churches. Illinois College was one of the colleges they founded. Hale also was one of the founders of the Second Presbyterian Church, the church that was organized by former congregants of First Presbyterian Church who withdrew in part over the issue of slavery. The other men — Joseph Thayer, Thomas Moffett, E. B. Hawley, John B. Watson and C. R. Miller were all reasonable burgers of the town. These men would not have been motivated in acting due to any racial prejudice or animosity.

Jameson must have gone far over the line in his conduct. The conduct must have been a severe violation of the community standards regarding sexual conduct.

1853

Birth of Thomas Tad Lincoln

On April 4, 1854, Thomas (Tad) Lincoln was born at the Lincoln Home.

The Lincoln Home was remodeled once again in 1853. It appears that the barn was added at this time.128

1854

James and Martha Ann Pellum Blanks Sell Lots to Charles Arnold

On February 22, 1854, James and Martha Ann [Pellum] Blanks, Elizabeth Pellum Jenkins’s sister, sold three lots at the southwest corner of Ninth and Jackson Streets to Charles Arnold for $1,000.129 Martha signed with an “X.” The lots were catty-corner from the Lincoln home. In 1849, Arnold purchased the lot and house west across the alley at the southeast corner of 8th and Jackson streets.

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128 Lincoln Chronology.
129 Lots 13, 14 and 15, Block 11 E. Iles Addition. Sangamon County Grantor’s Index [Accession No. 4/0266/01], Vol. 3. Deed Record Book NN, p. 337-338. IRAD.
James and Martha Ann Pellum Blanks Move to Chicago

Sometime in about 1854, James, age 42, and Martha Ann Pellum Blanks, age 39, moved to Chicago, Illinois. What prompted them to move to Chicago remains unknown.

The Lincoln Family

May 30 - The Kansas-Nebraska Act was passed. The passage of this act brought Lincoln back into politics.

November 7 - Lincoln was re-elected to the Illinois legislature, but withdrew from office 20 days later to pursue a run for the US Senate, a race he eventually quit. Lincoln dropped out of the race so that the Republican Party would be guaranteed a win for the Senate seat. He directed his support to Lyman Trumbull.  

1855

Jameson Jenkins and Family in Springfield’s 1855 Census

In the 1855 Illinois census, the Jameson Jenkins family was still living on Eighth Street, a half a block south of the Abraham Lincoln family. Jameson made his living as a drayman or delivery man. The household consisted of one male age 40-50 (Jameson, but called James in the census), one male 10-20 years of age (Bellfield Watkins), one female under age 10 (Nancy) and two females 10-20 years of age, one female age 20-30 and one female age 40-50. Robert Lincoln, their neighbor, was 12 years old in 1855.
Thomas J. Wood, archivist at the University of Illinois Springfield, provided the following account:

Also, just last year, I found a 1901 obituary for Eliza Wood that includes a delightful story involving Lincoln.

During Mrs. Wood’s residence in Springfield she lived in the same block with Abraham Lincoln and she was acquainted with the martyr president. At the time both Springfield and Decatur were small inland towns with but little promise of becoming the important cities they have grown into. The families of Lincoln and Wood were well acquainted and Mrs. Wood frequently told of an incident in the life of the president that is interesting. A relative was ill and the physicians had prescribed oak bark as the remedy. Mrs. Wood visited the neighbors in the hope of securing some oak bark but was unsuccessful and finally went to the home of the Lincolns.

Mr. Lincoln accompanied her to the home of an old negro across the street where with an axe he soon peeled off more than enough oak bark.

Who was the "old negro?” I wonder if it was Jameson Jenkins, who lived just on the south side of Jackson Street. [Jenkins would have been 45 years old in 1855.]

Jameson Jenkins and Family and Jane Pellum Listed in the 1855 Springfield City Directory

The Springfield City Directory (Sangamon County, Illinois) and Sangamon County Advertiser for 1855-1856 listed “Jonathan” Jenkins as a drayman. A drayman was one with a heavy cart or wagon used for hauling for hire.

The same Directory listed Jane Pellum as residing at 8th Street near Edwards. Her occupation was “washing.” Jane would have been about 67 years old and was most probably living with Jameson Jenkins.

In 1886, Margaret Ryan, a live-in domestic in the Lincoln household recollected that a:

“...black women Jane Jenkins colored woman did not live there (at Lincoln’s home)—in next block…”

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133 Oak bark is the bark from several types of oak trees. It is used to make medicine. Oak bark is used as a tea for diarrhea, colds, fever, cough, and bronchitis; for stimulating appetite; and for improving digestion. Some people apply oak bark directly to the skin in a compress or add it to bath water for pain and swelling (inflammation) of the skin, mouth, throat, genitals, and anal region; and for red itchy skin due to cold exposure (chilblains). How does it work? Oak bark contains tannins, which might help treat diarrhea and inflammation. [www.webmd.com/vitamins-supplements/ingredientmono-498-OAK%20bark.aspx?activeIngredientId=498&activeIngredientName=OAK%20bark]

134 Thomas J. Wood, University Archivist, Archives/Special Collections, University of Illinois at Springfield, One University Plaza, Springfield, Illinois 62703-5407.

135 Springfield City Directory (Sangamon County, Illinois) and Sangamon County Advertiser for 1855-1856, Springfield, Birchall & Owen, 1855, p. 158. (Hereafter referred to as 1855-1856 City Directory.)

136 1855-1856 City Directory, p. 152.

“Jane Jenkins” was most likely Jane Pellum. There has been speculation that she worked in the Lincoln home from time to time and also did laundry for the Lincoln family. It does seem probable that this is the case, but there is no primary evidence of either of these assertions.

The Lincoln Family

February 8 - Lincoln loses bid for Senate seat.

The most noticeable remodeling of the Lincoln Home took place in 1855. It was at this time that the front of the home was raised from 1 1/2 stories to 2 full stories. The bedroom was moved to the upstairs portion of the home, allowing for the creation of the rear parlor. The wood folding doors were added to the parlor at this time and the front parlor windows were permanently closed.  

1856

Jane Pellum, A Mulatto, Member of The First Methodist Church

In 1856, Jane Pellum, a 68-year-old mulatto woman known as Aunt Pellum, was a member of the First Methodist Church where she was assigned the back seat on the north side of the church. The Church also provided a load of wood for her. Two histories of the First Methodist Church give the following account of Aunt Pellum.

...The back seat on the north side was given to Aunt Pelham. Shortly thereafter the preacher was directed to purchase a load of wood for her, or else pay her $3.00 from the Poor Fund so that she might buy her own.  

There were several sisters who were a great help in the church. ...efficient workers for the Savior, and always ready for every good word and work. There was a colored sister too who was a very devote Christian, Aunty Pelham. She was a woman of strong faith, always in her place in the sanctuary when her infirmities would permit, and though very poor and a great suffering, bearing all without a murmur.

This raises the point of nomenclature when addressing African Americans in the mid-19th century. Today the terms “Aunt,” “Aunty,” “Sister,” etc. may be considered as racially insensitive, but this was not the case at the time. It seems more a term of affection and friendship and compassion beyond the ordinary and approaching that of family.

138 Lincoln Chronology.
There is a story, perhaps apocryphal, that a family living on South Second Street was in their parlor one evening when they heard very loud conversation in front of their house. The lady of the house opened the front door and went out onto the porch where she could see Abraham Lincoln and Aunt Jane Pellum walking down the street together in very loud conversation. She came back inside and told her family what she had seen and added, “Why of course it makes sense that they would talk so loudly. Aunt Jane is nearly deaf!”

**The Lincoln Family**

The fifth remodeling of the Lincoln Home took place in 1856. The rest of the home was raised to 2 full stories. The iron railing was added to the second floor porch and a wall was put in place to separate the kitchen and dining room.

1857

**Jameson Jenkins Listed in 1857 Springfield City Directory**

The *Springfield City Directory and Sangamon County Advertiser for 1857-1858* listed “James” Jenkins as colored, residing in a house located on the east side of 8th near Edwards. Jane Pellum was not listed.

1858

**Lincoln Runs For United States Senate**

June 16 - After the Illinois State Republican convention unanimously selects him as their Senate candidate, Lincoln delivers his “House Divided Speech.”

In 1858, Lincoln made another run for the US Senate, running against Stephen Douglas. The campaign for this seat in 1858 sparked the famous Lincoln-Douglas Debates. There were 7 debates.

On November 2, 1858, Lincoln lost the Senate race to Stephen Douglas. The Republicans received 125,000 votes and the Democrats received 121,000 votes. However, due to legislative apportionment and thirteen holdover Senators, the Democrats have a majority of Senators in the State Legislature which chooses the next United States Senator from Illinois.

1859

**Jameson Jenkins Listed in the 1859 Springfield City Directory**

The *Springfield City Directory and Sangamon County Advertiser for 1859* listed J. Jenkins as a colored drayman living on the east side of 8th between Jackson and Edwards.

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141 Lincoln Chronology.
143 Lincoln Chronology.
Bellfield Jenkins Wins First Premium Award at Sangamon County Fair for Roadster and Stallions

In October 1859, Bellfield Watkins, age 24, (referred to as Bellfield Jenkins in the Register newspaper article) was awarded the Sangamon County Fair first premium in the category of “Roadsters and stallions four years old and upward.”

Illinois legislature chooses Douglas for the U.S. Senate over Lincoln by a vote of 54 to 46.

The final alterations of the Lincoln Home took place in the latter part of 1859 and the beginning of 1860. The backyard washing house was torn down and the woodshed was added to the existing Lincoln barn.

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145 Register, Friday, October 7, 1859, p. 3.
146 Lincoln Chronology.
Lincoln's Neighborhood in 1860

Lincoln Home National Historic Site, Springfield, Illinois. Thanks to Tim Townsend, Historian for the Lincoln Home National Park for sharing this wonderful depiction of 1860 Springfield.

147
1860

Lincoln’s African American Neighbors in 1860

By early twenty-first-century standards, the Lincoln family lived in an integrated neighborhood. In 1860, there were 290 African Americans living in Springfield and at least 21, about 10% of Springfield’s African American population, lived within a three-block radius of the Lincoln home. Of those 21, 18 lived in three African American families and three worked as live-in domestic servants in white households. 148

African American Families Living in the Lincoln Neighborhood

In 1860, there were at least three African American families living within three blocks of Mary and Abraham Lincoln’s home at the northeast corner of Eighth and Jackson Streets. The map on the back of the second page shows the location of the Lincoln home and those three families: John Jackson, Jameson Jenkins, and David King.

The Jackson and King families lived two blocks to the southeast of the Lincoln home and appear to have had little contact with the Lincolns.

1. John Jackson Family (7)

John Jackson, a 50-year-old whitewasher and Virginia native, lived at 85 S. 9th (on the east side of 9th, between Edwards and Cook. 608 S. 9th Street) Living with him was his 40 year-old wife, Matilda (a Kentucky native) and their four children, Henrietta, Edward, Georgeanna and Josephine. John is listed as having real estate worth $1,000. Also living with the Jackson family was Diana Tyler, an 80-year-old Virginia native. 149

John Jackson next obtained the job of cleaning the chamber pots in the basement. He also whitewashed the latrine walls. His services began by 1859.

Some wag with a knowledge of English history noted in the Auditor’s record that John Jackson was paid $28 for services as a “privy Councillor”. 150

148 For a full account of African Americans in Lincoln’s Springfield see Lincoln’s Springfield – The Early African American Population, Richard E. Hart, 2008. The book may be found in the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library (ALPS-ZDE) F896 S76 H3267Li; Lincolniana L2 H326Li. Appendix L of the book contains a list of the African Americans living in Springfield in 1860. 66 Blacks were engaged in 13 different occupations as reported to the census taker or determined from newspaper advertisements. Those occupations and the number engaged in each are as follows:

Barber 12
Bill Poster 2
Cook 5
Domestic/Servant 12
Drayman 2
Farm Laborer 2
Hostler 1
Laborer 12
Laundress 8
Minister 2
Osler 1
Shoemaker 4
White-Washer 3

149 1860 census, p. 112. 1881 History, p. 737.
2. David King Family (6)

David King, a 26-year-old barber and Virginia native, lived at 91 S. 9th Street, the northeast corner of Cook and 9th Street. He lived with his 25 year-old wife Mary who was born in Tennessee, and their children, Elizabeth A., age 10, James, age nine, Virginia, age five, and seven month old John, all born in Illinois. David was listed as having real estate valued at $2,000.  

3. Jameson Jenkins Family (5)

The Jameson Jenkins family had lived on the east side of Eighth Street, between Jackson and Edwards in the Lincoln neighborhood since about 1848, a total of 12 years as the Lincolns’ neighbor.

The 1860 census for Springfield, Illinois, listed Jameson “Jarkins,” a 50-(52 if born in 1808) year-old mulatto drayman who was born in North Carolina. Residing with him were his wife, Elizabeth, a 45-(53 if born in 1807) year-old mulatto who was born in Virginia, and their daughter, Nancy H., a sixteen-year old mulatto who was born in Indiana in 1844 and whose occupation was “washerwoman.”

Elizabeth Jenkins owned real estate having a value of $800 and personal property having a value of $45. Jameson had no assets. Perhaps this is a scrivener’s error and the property should have been listed opposite Jameson’s name. If not, it is a continuation of the strange situation where assets were not held in Jameson’s name. In any event, the real question is where was the location of the real estate having a value of $800. A search of the grantor-grantee indexes of the Sangamon County Recorder of Deeds discloses no record of either Elizabeth or Jameson owning real estate at this time in Sangamon County. They resided on the east side of 8th, between Jackson and Edwards Streets, one half block south of the Lincoln Home, and even though title to that property was in the name of their daughter, Nancy, perhaps Elizabeth considered it hers for answering the census questioner.

Also living in the Jenkins household was 20-year-old mulatto “Quintian” [Aquilla Ann] Watkins, who was born in Indiana. This was Elizabeth Jenkins’ daughter by a prior marriage. In 1867 she would marry William Wright.

The 1860 census listed Jane Pellum as a separate head of household immediately above the listing for Jameson Jenkins. Perhaps there was a small second house on the Jenkins lot where Jane Pellum lived. Jane was a 75-year-old mulatto who was born in Virginia. Aunt Jane, as she was called, was a washerwoman. Was she boarding with her daughter, Elizabeth, and son-in-law, Jameson Jenkins? She owned no real estate and had a personal estate valued at $30.

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151 1860 census, p. 112 (Va.)(26). $2,000/$100. 1860 and 1863 City Directories: 91 S. 9th, between Edwards and Cook.
153 1860 census, p. 122.
154 1860 census, p. 122.
The *Springfield City Directory and Sangamon County Advertiser for 1860-1861* listed Jameson Jenkins as a “teamster” residing in a house located on the east side of 8th near Edwards. Mrs. Jane Pellum (“Pallam”) is listed as boarding with J. Jenkins, who was her son-in-law.\(^{155}\)

**African American Servants Living in the Lincoln Neighborhood**

In 1860, three African American servant women lived in the homes of their employers within a three-block radius of the Lincoln home.

1. **Lucy Butcher**, a 26-year-old Virginia native, was a servant at the residence of Isaac A. Hawley at the northwest corner of 9th and Market (Capitol) Streets.

2. **Rebecca Smith**, an 18-year-old mulatto and Illinois native, was a servant at the Jacob Bunn residence at the southwest corner of Sixth and Jackson Streets. (on the west side of 6th street between Market and Jackson.)

3. **Charlotte Sims**, a 40-year-old District of Columbia native, was a servant at the John A. McClernand\(^{157}\) residence at the northwest corner of Edwards and 7th Streets.\(^{158}\)

**Celebration of Lincoln’s Nomination**

In 1860, the Jenkins family had been the Lincolns’ neighbor since about 1848, a total of 12 years. On May 18, 1860, Lincoln was nominated for president, and on November 6, 1860, was elected President of the United States. No doubt Jameson and his family witnessed the attention given to the Lincolns and their home during this exciting period.

Lincoln was chosen by the Republican National Convention in Chicago to represent the party in the 1860 Presidential election. The nomination was announced on May 18, 1860.


\(^{156}\) Original photograph from the Sangamon Valley Collection, Lincoln Library, Springfield, Illinois.

\(^{157}\) 1860 census, p. 120 (f)(Mu.)(D.C.)(40).

\(^{158}\)
October 19 - Lincoln received the famous Grace Bedell letter. Grace was an 11-year old girl from Westfield, New York. After apparently taking Grace's advice, Abraham Lincoln became the first bearded President.

On August 8, 1860, participants in a Republican rally paraded past the Lincoln home on their way to the state fairgrounds. They stopped in front of the Lincoln Home for a photograph. The parade included a wagon that carried 33 ladies dressed in white, representing the states in the Union. A lone lady, also in white, is following them in a small buggy representing Kansas with a sign that reads “Won’t you let me in.”

![The Abraham Lincoln Home on Wednesday Morning, August 15, 1860](image)

A description of the Springfield celebration of August 15, 1860 follows:

**The Great Springfield Rally**
A MASS MEETING of 80,000
“OLD ABE” AT HOME!

The train at last reached Springfield at a little after nine o’clock in the morning, making the trip from Chicago to Springfield in twelve hours. The thunder of the cannon and the continued cheering, announced that the Northerners had arrived. We found the streets in every direction a complete mass of people, and crowding our way through we booked ourselves at the Chenery House, and by good fortune secured a nicely furnished room in an adjoining building for the accommodation of the entire delegation. We then sallied forth in quest of adventure, and accordingly crowded through to the State House. This is a fine building, similar to the Chicago Court House… From there we adjourned to Old Abe’s residence where for three mortal hours a procession of almost countless numbers passed by, every wagon load or company cheering Mr. Lincoln enthusiastically, that distinguished gentleman standing on his door steps, gracefully acknowledging their compliments. The procession is acknowledged to be the most striking political demonstration of the kind ever made. Among its principal features were 22 companies of Wide Awakes, ten beautifully decorated caravans of young ladies, a full rigged schooner, with sailors, a huge wagon drawn by six horses, on which was a small power loom driven by a live steam engine; the next feature was an immense wagon drawn by 26 yoke of oxen, on which was represented almost every department of mechanical labor; there were quite a number of wagons on which men were splitting rail, &c.; among the ingenious

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159 Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library, Springfield, Illinois. (Hereafter referred to as ALPL.)
and numberless devices and banners, were several representing Mr. Douglas as imbibing “My Great Principle” from the mouth of a stone jug, &c.

After the procession we were introduced to, and shook hands with Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln. Our readers well know how Old Abe looks, so to suffice it to say of Mrs. Lincoln that she is a very accomplished lady, and will grace the White House, which we were told she was to inevitably occupy, very becomingly.160

Abraham Lincoln Elected President

Abraham Lincoln was elected President on Tuesday, November 6, 1860.

November 6 - Abraham Lincoln was elected the 16th President of the United States defeating Stephen Douglas (Northern Democratic Party), John C. Breckinridge (Southern Democratic Party), and John Bell (Constitutional Unionist Party). His Vice President was Hannibal Hamlin of Maine.161

Lincoln Speaks From Residence

On the evening of November 20, 1860, the Wide-Awake torchlight procession was quite large. It halted in front of the Lincoln home and cheered for Abraham Lincoln until he appeared and spoke. Can anyone believe that Jameson and Elizabeth Jenkins and Aunt Jane Pellum were not present for this event?

November 30, 1860, Philadelphia newspaper. Journal, November 21, 1860.162

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160 Woodstock Sentinel.
161
James Blanks Listed in Chicago’s 1860 Census

Sometime between 1854 and 1860, James and Martha Ann Pellum Blanks moved from Springfield to Chicago. In the 1860 census, James Blanks, age 47, and his wife, Martha Pellum Blanks, age 35, were living in Chicago. Martha’s half sister Jane Watkins, a 24-year-old seamstress, was living with them. James was a janitor having real estate valued at $8,000 and personal property worth $150.  

In comparison, Abraham Lincoln was listed in the 1860 census as having property worth $18,000, $5,000 in real estate and $13,000 in personal property.

1861

Jameson Jenkins Drives Lincoln’s Carriage to Railroad Depot for Departure From Springfield

At about 7:30 a.m. on Monday, February 11, 1861, Abraham Lincoln, age 52, left the Chenery House at the northeast corner of Fourth and Washington Streets in Springfield for the Great Western Railroad depot to start his trip to Washington, D. C.  

Jameson Jenkins, age 53, drove Lincoln’s carriage from the Chenery House to the Great Western railroad depot. Jameson Jenkins drove Lincoln in his carriage to the Great Western railroad depot. Jameson Jenkins drove Lincoln’s baggage in his wagon to the Great Western railroad depot. Jameson Jenkins drove Lincoln and his baggage in his wagon to the Great Western railroad depot. I don’t know which of these is correct. One is apparently correct and is an indication of the trust and friendship Lincoln had for Jameson Jenkins.

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Life After Lincoln

1861

Marriage of Nancy Jenkins and William La Rue Florville

On April 9, 1861, William La Rue Florville, the 21-year-old son of William “Billy the Barber” and Phoebe Florville, married 17-year-old Nancy H. Jenkins, the daughter of Jameson and Elizabeth Pellum Jenkins. 165

James Blanks Listed in the 1861 Chicago City Directory

In the 1861 Chicago City Directory, James Blanks was listed as a porter 166 living at 129 Buffalo, Chicago, Illinois.

1862

James Blanks Listed in the 1862 Chicago City Directory

In the 1862 Chicago City Directory, James Blanks was listed as a colored porter living at 129 Fourth Ave., Chicago, Illinois. 167

Richard M. Hancock Moves to Chicago

In 1862, Richard M. Hancock moved to Chicago and shortly after was given employment as a pattern maker in the shops of the Eagle Works Manufacturing Company. On June 6, 1867, Jane Watkins, the daughter of Elizabeth Pellum Watkins Jenkins, married Richard M. Hancock. 168

1863

Birth of Aquilla Lillian Florville

(1863-1894)

On May 5, 1863, Aquilla Lillian Florville, the daughter of William La Rue and Nancy H. Jenkins Florville, was born. Aquilla was the granddaughter of Jameson and Elizabeth Pellum Jenkins and William “Billy the Barber” and Phoebe Rountree Florville.

Jameson Jenkins Fined for Fighting and Disturbing the Peace

In early May, 1863, Jameson Jenkins, age 53, was fined $5 for fighting and disturbing the peace.

165 Illinois Statewide Marriage Index, 00001245 Sangamon. William La Rue Florville was the son of William Florville, Abraham Lincoln’s barber and friend.
166 A porter is:
   1. a person hired to carry burdens or baggage, as at a railroad station or a hotel.
   2. a person who does cleaning and maintenance work in a building, factory, store, etc.
   3. an attendant in a railroad parlor car or sleeping car.
167 1862 Chicago City Directory.
168 Illinois Statewide Marriage Index, June 6, 1867, Book 001, Cook County.
Bellfield Watkins Fined For Immoderate Driving

On October 27, 1863, Bellfield Watkins, age 28, pled guilty to a charge of “immoderate driving” and was fined $3 by Judge Adams.

Bellfield Jenkins (Watkins) Plans to Race His Horse

Horse racing was popular in Springfield in the 1860s. On December 4, there was a race between Red Rover and Irish Mare. The race was a distance of 300 yards. Red Rover won. A second race between the same horses was a mile race for $25. The Irish Mare won by almost a quarter mile. In the afternoon there was a race between Mr. Cone’s Dick and a horse owned by Bell Jenkins. The race was for $250, was two miles in length and was on Cone’s track in the south part of the city.

The newspaper uses the last name “Jenkins” rather than “Watkins.” Perhaps because Bellfield lived with Jameson and his mother, Elizabeth, the surname of Jenkins was sometimes given to him by the public.

169 *Journal*, Wednesday, May 6, 1863, p. 3.
170 *Register*, Wednesday, October 28, 1863, p. 3.
171 *Register*, Friday, December 4, 1863, p. 3.
Bellfield Jenkins (Watkins)  
Forfeits Horse Race

On December 4, 1863, Bellfield Watkins forfeited a race scheduled for Cone’s track. He paid the forfeit fee of $70.

Register, Saturday, December 5, 1863

James Blanks Listed in the 1863 Chicago City Directory

In the 1863 Chicago City Directory, James Blanks was listed as a colored porter living at 129 Fourth, Chicago, Illinois.

Richard M. Hancock Listed in the 1863 Chicago City Directory

In the 1863 Chicago City Directory, Richard M. Hancock was listed as a patternmaker living at 154 State, Chicago, Illinois.

Emancipation Proclamation and Watch Night

On December 27, 1863, William Florville, originally a Haitian who settled in Springfield and had been Lincoln’s barber, wrote a poignant letter to President Lincoln. Florville was the father of William La Rue Florville, the husband of Nancy Jenkins. Florville’s letter also extended his belated sympathy to the Lincoln family following the death of William “Willie” Lincoln, who died on February 20, 1862—almost two years earlier. In that letter, Florville mentioned that his son, William, had married. William had married on April 9, 1861.

The Shackels have fallen, and Bondmen have become freeman to Some extent already under your Proclamation. And I hope ere long, it may be universal in all the Slave States. … and for that reason, I hope and trust, that you may be chosen for a Second term to Administer the affairs of this Government. And When these troubles Shall end, the Nation will rejoice. the Oppressed will Shout the name of their deliverer, and Generations to Come, will rise up and call you blessed.

172 Register, Saturday, December 5, 1863.
173 1863 Chicago City Directory, Halpin and Bailey, p. 198.
174 1863 Chicago City Directory.
I was Surprised at the announcement of the death of your Son Willy. I thought him a Smart boy for his age, So Considerate, So Manly: his Knowledge and good Sense, far exceeding most boys more advanced in years. yet the time Comes to all, all must die. I should like very much, to See you, and your family. but the privilege of enjoying an interview, may not soon, if ever come.

My family are all well. My son William is Married and in business for himself. I am occupying the same place in which I was at the time you left. Tell Taddy that his (and Willys) Dog is a live and Kicking doing well he stays Mostly at John E Rolls with his Boys Who are about the Size now that Tad & Willy Ware When they left for Washington

Your Residence here is Kept in good order. Mr. Tilton has no children to ruin things. Mrs. Tilton and Miss Tilton are very Strong Union Ladies and do a great deal for the Soldiers who are Suffering So Much for us & to Sustain the Government

your obt Servant
William Florville the Barber

1864

Jameson Jenkins Listed in the 1864 Springfield City Directory

The Springfield City Directory for 1864 listed “J. S. Jenkins” as “colored,” residing in a house located on south Eighth Street.

James Blanks Listed in the 1864 Chicago City Directory

In the 1864 Chicago City Directory, James Blanks was listed as living in Chicago, Illinois.

1865

Death of Abraham Lincoln

Abraham Lincoln died on April 15, 1865, and his Springfield funeral was held on May 3 and 4.

Abraham Lincoln’s Springfield Funeral

Abraham Lincoln’s funeral was the largest in human history, and over 100,000 people were said to have come to Springfield for the event. Jameson Jenkins was living just down the street from the Lincoln Home and there can be little doubt that he witnessed the various funeral events in the neighborhood as well as elsewhere in the city. On May 4, the Funeral Procession passed Jameson’s home. Did he walk with the colored folks at the end of the funeral procession?

175 American Memory, Library of Congress, Reel 64, Abraham Lincoln Papers, pp. 118-120.
176 Springfield City Directory and Business Mirror for 1864, compiled by Julius Babeuf, Springfield, Johnson & Bradford, Booksellers and Printers, West Side of Public Square, 1864. (Hereafter referred to as 1864 City Directory.)
177 1863 Chicago City Directory, Halpin and Bailey, p. 198.
Yesterday and this morning the house where Mr. Lincoln lived fifteen years ... has been the centre of interest to all the strangers in the city. It is situated four or five squares to the southeast of the State House, and is at present the residence of S. Tilton, President of the Great Western Railroad. The house has been often described. You remember that it is an unpretending two-story frame house with a one-story ell, which, the house being on a street corner, fronts another street than the main building. It is, or rather was some years ago, painted a very yellow straw-color, is plainly furnished, and contains but eight rooms altogether. In the small yard are several quite large apple-trees, now in full blossom, and there is some shrubbery. The favorite chair in which he sat and the desk at which he wrote are still there, as are many other of his old personal surroundings. Today the hundreds of visitors are begging everything available as souvenirs, sprigs from the shrubbery, blossoms from the trees, even palings from the fence for canes.

During the day upward of five thousand persons have visited the former residence of President Lincoln. It is a plain frame house, about thirty-six feet front and eighteen high; two stories, with a heavy bracket-cornice, painted drab, and finished with green blinds. 179

The old residence of Mr. Lincoln was the center of mournful interest. The house, which was occupied by Lucien Tilton, was very heavily draped in mourning. The windows were curtained with black and white, the corner posts wreathed with evergreens, the cornice hidden by festoons of black and white looped up at intervals, and the space between the cornice of the door and the central window filled with the American flag gracefully trimmed. 180

Large numbers of citizens and strangers visited the former residence of the late President, at the corner of Eight and Jefferson [Jackson] streets. It was most tastefully decorated with the national mourning colors and evergreens. The delegation of one hundred from Chicago repaired to the house and had their photographs taken in connection with the house, as a memorial of a solemn occasion and visit. 182


180 Lincoln Memorial: The Journeys of Abraham Lincoln: from Springfield to Washington, 1861, as President Elect; and from Washington to Springfield, 1865, as President Martyred; Comprising an Account of Public Ceremonies on the Entire Route, and Full Details of Both Journeys, William Turner Coggeshall, Ohio State Journal, 1865, p. 295.


182 Journal, Thursday, May 4, 1865.
Recent history detectives have attempted to identify a single individual in a photograph of a multitude of people attending a famous historic event such as the Gettysburg Address. Let’s take it one step further and ask you to look at the photograph above and in particular the man standing to the right of the horse’s nose and near the retaining wall with his hands on his hips. Is he an African American? If so, who more than Jameson Jenkins would be the logical person to have been there with the horse and his friend Henry Brown. The horse would have needed a place to stay while in Springfield for the funeral. Jenkins still lived down the street and had a barn and yard. Did he take care of Old Bob, and is it Jameson’s presence in this photo? The reader is left to decide.

**Jameson Jenkins Listed in the 1865 Illinois Census**

Jameson “Jenkens” was listed in the *1865 Illinois State Census for Springfield*. The census recorder listed two white males and one white female at the residence. Was it merely a scrivener’s error in recording the Jenkins family as white or were the Jenkinses “passing as white”?

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184 GS Film number 972765 Digital Folder Number: 004679640 Image Number: 00080. familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.1.1/XCK8-RSG
William La Rue Florville Purchases Lots at Southwest Corner of 14th and Adams

On March 2, 1865, William La Rue Florville purchased three lots (Lots 1, 2, and 3) at the southwest corner of 14th and Adams for $700, or $233 per lot.\(^{185}\) This price would indicate the lots were vacant and unimproved.

Nancy Jenkins Florville and William La Rue Florville Sell South Eighth Street House,
The Jameson Jenkins House

On September 1, 1865, Nancy Jenkins Florville and William La Rue Florville sold their house on South Eighth Street to Abner Jones Allen for $1,200.\(^{186}\) In the 1860 census, Allen was the jailor at the County Jail.\(^{187}\) This was the house where Jameson Jenkins had lived for about 17 years, from about 1848 to about October 14, 1865.\(^{188}\)

William La Rue Florville
Sells Lot at Southwest Corner of 14th and Adams to Elizabeth Jenkins

On October 14, 1865, William La Rue Florville sold Lot 1 at the southwest corner of 14th and Adams to his mother-in-law, Elizabeth Jenkins, for $1,200. The lot and improvements were for the use of Elizabeth during her life and then the property was to pass at Elizabeth’s death to her daughter, Nancy Jenkins Florville. Jameson was again left out of the chain of title to the home where he lived.\(^{189}\) Why? The price of $1,200 would indicate that the lot purchased by Florville in March 1865 had been improved with a new house over the summer.

Jameson Jenkins Moves to Southwest Corner of 14th and Adams Streets

In October 1865, Jameson Jenkins and his family moved from South Eighth Street to a new residence at the southwest corner of 14th and Adams Streets.

The house depicted in the 1867 Reuters Map at the southwest corner of 14th and Adams was a one-story frame house facing Adams Street. It appears to have an addition on the east side midway on the long east side of the house. It also had an outbuilding at the southeast corner of the back yard.

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\(^{185}\) Crosby’s Addition, Block 2. *SVC*. Information provided by Curtis Mann, Lincoln Library, Springfield, Illinois.

\(^{186}\) Sangamon County Recorder of Deeds, Deed Book 23, p. 378. Warranty Deed dated September 1, 1865. Abner J. Allen was listed in the 1860 Springfield City Directory. He was a jailor living at the southwest corner of Jefferson and Seventh. In the 1863 City Directory, he was listed as with Crowder & Co. and living at 64 S. Eighth.


To Lorenzo Thomas
Adjutant General, Executive Mansion
My dear Sir

Washington, June 18, 1862.

Please see Gov. Yates and Gov. Wood, and if it be consistent with regulations, do what they desire about mustering officer at Springfield, Illinois. Yours truly

A. Lincoln

The following endorsement is signed on the bottom of the letter by Richard Yates, John Wood, and William Kellogg: “We recommend A. J. Allen.” Allen was nominated assistant quartermaster with rank of captain on June 19 and confirmed by the Senate on June 30, 1862.

\(^{189}\) *SVC*. Information provided by Curtis Mann, Lincoln Library, Springfield, Illinois.
James Blanks Listed in the 1865 Chicago City Directory

In the 1865 Chicago City Directory, James Blanks was listed as a porter living at 129 Fourth Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.

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191 *Bird’s Eye View of Springfield Illinois,* Augustus Koch, 1872. ALPL.

192 *1865 Chicago City Directory.*
1866

Jameson Jenkins Messenger at Sangamon County Court House

The *Springfield City and Sangamon County Directory For 1866* listed Jameson Jenkins as a messenger at the Sangamon County Court House at 6th and Washington Streets. For the first time, he was listed as living in a house at the southwest corner of 14th and Adams Streets.

Photograph of the Illinois State House Showing the Sangamon County Court House to the Left Background

Jameson Jenkins Fined for Depositing Filth in Streets

On Thursday, June 28, 1866, Jamison (Jameson) Jenkins was fined $3 and costs for depositing filth in the street. The *Journal* opined that the event was “somewhat singular, to say the least, that only one man has been arrested, during the last five months, for throwing foul matter into the streets, when one can hardly pass around the public square without seeing something thrown from various localities, to offend the senses.” So why was Jenkins singled out for punishment?

*Journal, Friday, June 29, 1866.*

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193 City Directories of Springfield and Jacksonville, compiled and published by John C. W. Bailey, issued at the office of John C. W. Bailey, Springfield and Chicago, Illinois, 1866, p. 139. (Hereafter referred to as *1866 City Directory Springfield and Jacksonville.*

194 ALPL.
Foreclosure on Property Owned by William L. and Nancy H. Florville

On October 1, 1866, William L. and Nancy H. Florville borrowed money and signed two promissory notes. They gave a mortgage on Springfield property to secure the notes. In December they had not paid the notes, and the holder of the notes filed to foreclose on the property pledged.

Journal, Monday, December 3, 1866.\(^{106}\)

1867

In 1867, the two Watkins sisters, Aquilla Ann and Jane, each were married.

Marriage of Aquilla Ann Watkins and William Wright

On March 25, 1867, Aquilla (Quilly) Ann Watkins, the daughter of Elizabeth Pellum Watkins Jenkins, married William Wright in Sangamon County, Illinois.\(^{197}\)

Marriage of Jane Watkins and Richard M. Hancock

On June 6, 1867, Jane Watkins, the daughter of Elizabeth Pellum Watkins Jenkins, married Richard M. Hancock of Chicago.\(^{198}\) This was Richard’s second marriage. He had two children by his first wife, who predeceased him.

\(^{195}\) Journal, Friday, June 29, 1866, p. 4.

\(^{196}\) Journal, Monday, December 3, 1866, p. 4.

\(^{197}\) Illinois Statewide Marriage Registry, 00002526 Sangamon. 1881 History, pp. 733, 739, and 738. In 1856, Thomas J. Wright, a 36 year-old African American man born in Kentucky (Virginia?? 1860 Census), and his 31 year-old wife, Sarah Fortune, born in Virginia, moved to Springfield with their daughter Matilda, born in Huntsville, Missouri, on February 11, 1847. Other children were Frances V., born in Missouri circa 1840, William H., born in Missouri circa 1843, G. M., born in Missouri circa 1848, Garthur, born in Missouri circa 1854 and Willis T., born in Illinois in 1860. They were members of the African Methodist Episcopal Church. Matilda would marry John Edward Jackson. In 1860 they resided at the northeast corner of 13th and Mason Streets and the census of that year lists Thomas as a “farm laborer” with real estate having a value of $400 and personal property worth $150.

James Blanks Listed in 1867 Chicago City Directory

In the 1867 *Chicago City Directory*, James Blanks was listed as a colored janitor living at 89 Fourth Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.\(^{199}\)

Richard M. Hancock Listed in 1867 Chicago City Directory

In 1867, Richard M. Hancock was listed as the foreman of the Eagle Works patternmaker shop. Richard and his wife Jane, the daughter of Elizabeth Pellum Watkins Jenkins, lived at 306 Clark, Chicago, Illinois.\(^{200}\)

Death of Jane Pellum

(1787-1867)

Jane Pellum died in Springfield, Illinois, on November 9, 1867, at age 80, and was buried there in the “Colored Section” of Oak Ridge Cemetery. The lot where she was buried was purchased by her grandson, Bellfield Watkins, on November 11, 1867.\(^{201}\)

Grave of Jane Pellum
Oak Ridge Cemetery

1868-69

Jameson Jenkins Listed in 1868-69 Springfield City Directory

The *Springfield City Directory for 1868-69* listed J. Jenkins as a colored drayman, residing in a house located at the corner of Adams and 14th Streets.\(^{202}\)

Richard M. Hancock Listed in 1869 Chicago City Directory

In 1869, Richard M. Hancock “(col’d)” was listed as foreman of the Eagle Works patternmaker shop. He and his wife Jane, the daughter of Elizabeth Pellum Watkins Jenkins, lived at 366 Clark, Chicago, Illinois.\(^{203}\)

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\(^{199}\) *1867 City Directory for Chicago, Illinois.*
\(^{200}\) *1867 City Directory for Chicago, Illinois.*
\(^{201}\) *Oak Ridge Cemetery Records,* Springfield, Illinois, Lot 16, Block 5.
\(^{202}\) *Holland’s Springfield City Directory, for 1868-69,* Chicago, Western Publishing Company, Publishers, 146 S. Water Street. (Hereafter referred to as *1868-69 City Directory.*)
\(^{203}\) *1869 City Directory for Chicago, Illinois,* Edwards and Co., Publisher.
Jameson Jenkins Listed in 1869-70 Springfield City Directory

The *Springfield City Directory* for 1869-70 listed J. Jenkins as a colored laborer, residing in a house located at the corner of Adams and 14th Streets.  

1870 Census

Jameson and Elizabeth Jenkins Listed in Springfield’s 1870 Census

In the 1870 census, Jameson Jenkins was listed as a 69-year-old black man who was born in North Carolina in 1801. He was living in Springfield with his wife, Elizabeth, who was a 64-year-old “black” lady who was born in Virginia.

James Blanks Listed in Chicago’s 1870 Census and City Directory

In the 1870 *Chicago City Directory*, James Blanks was listed as a colored janitor living at 89 Fourth Ave., Chicago, Illinois.  

The 1870 census of Chicago listed James Blanks as a 58-year-old mulatto who was born in Virginia. He was a janitor with real estate valued at $7,000 and personal property at $800. Living with him was Martha, his 55-year-old mulatto wife who kept house. Martha was born in about 1815 in Virginia. Also living with the Blankses were William Jackson, a 45-year-old mulatto policy broker who had been born in Kentucky, and James Selph, a 25-year-old mulatto conductor on the railroad who was born in Ohio.

Richard Mason Hancock Listed in 1870 Census

In the 1870 census, Richard Mason Hancock was listed as a 36-year-old mulatto who was born in North Carolina about 1834. He was living in Chicago with his 28-year-old wife, Jane née Watkins, and two children, Fanny, age 12, and George, age 10. Also in the household were Elias Hawkins, age 24, and George Lee, age 30.

1871

**Great Chicago Fire: October 8-10, 1871**

The Great Chicago Fire was a conflagration that burned from Sunday, October 8, to early Tuesday, October 10, 1871. The fire killed up to 300 people, destroyed roughly 3.3 square miles of Chicago, Illinois, and left more than 100,000 residents homeless. It apparently destroyed the homes of James and Martha Blanks and Richard and Jane Watkins Hancock as they are at new addresses in the Chicago City Directory after the fire.
1872-73

Jameson Jenkins Listed in 1872-73 Springfield City Directory

The Springfield City Directory for 1872-73 listed Jameson Jenkins as a laborer, residing in a house located at the corner of Adams and 11th [14th] Streets. Jameson had lived at this address since October 1865.

1873

Death of Jameson Jenkins
(1806-1873)

On the morning of February 4, 1873, Jameson Jenkins, age about 65, died. His funeral was conducted from his residence at 14th and Adams and he was buried in the “colored section” of Oak Ridge Cemetery, Springfield, Illinois.

1874

Richard M. Hancock Living in Chicago

In 1874, Richard M. Hancock was a patternmaker, living at 143 Fulton, Chicago, Illinois with his wife Jane, the daughter of Elizabeth Pellum Watkins Jenkins. They appear to have moved after the Chicago Fire.

James Blanks Living in Chicago

In 1874, James Blanks was a janitor at 128 Clark Street and was living at 11 Union Avenue, Chicago, Illinois. It appears that Blanks also moved after the Chicago Fire.

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209 Wiggins’ City Directory of Springfield, Illinois. For 1872-73, Joseph Wiggins, Publisher, Cleveland, Ohio. (Hereafter referred to as 1872-73 City Directory.)

210 Register, February 4, 1873, p. 4. Provided by Linda Garvert at Sangamon Valley Collection, Lincoln Library, Springfield, Illinois.


213 1874 City Directory for Chicago, Illinois, Richard Edwards, Publisher.
1875

James Blanks Listed in 1875 Chicago City Directory

In 1875, James Blanks was living at 11 Union Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.214

1876

Death of James Blanks
(1812-1876)

James Blanks, the husband of Martha Ann Pellum Blanks, died in Chicago in April 1876. On April 20, his funeral took place at the African M. E. Church between Madison and Carpenter streets in Springfield. James was buried in the “colored section” of Oak Ridge Cemetery.216 His name “J. Blanks” is engraved on the side of the Jameson Jenkins monument.

Within three years of one another, Jameson Jenkins and James Blanks died, were buried in the same grave lot, and used a common grave marker to record their names for the ages.

Obelisk marker for graves of Jameson Jenkins and James Blanks in the “Colored Section” of Oak Ridge Cemetery, Springfield, Illinois.217

1877

Bellfield Watkins Listed in 1877 Springfield City Directory

In 1877, Bellfield Watkins was living at 311 North 10th Street in Springfield and was listed as a horse dealer.218

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214 1875 City Directory for Chicago, Illinois.
215 Journal, Thursday, April 20, 1876, p. 4.
217 This photograph was taken on September 30, 2012, by Donna Catlin on the occasion of the rededication of the restored grave marker.
218 1877 City Directory for Springfield, Illinois.
1879

Death of Jane Watkins Hancock
(1832-1879)

Jane Watkins Hancock died on April 20, 1879, at age 47 and was buried in the “colored section” of Oak Ridge Cemetery, Springfield, Illinois. Jane, a mulatto who was born on July 27, 1832 in Virginia, was the daughter of Elizabeth Pellum Watkins who later married Jameson Jenkins. In 1850, she was living with the Jameson Jenkins family in Springfield. In 1867, she married Richard M. Hancock, and they lived in Chicago until her death.

1880

1880 Census

Bellfield “Bell” and Lyda Watkins Living in Springfield

In the 1880 census, Bellfield Watkins was listed as a 44-year-old head of household who operated a livery stable in Springfield. He was listed as having been born in Indiana in about 1846. His parents, Elizabeth A. Pellum Watkins Jenkins and unknown Watkins, were both born in Virginia. Bellfield’s wife, Lyda, was a 41-year-old white female who was born in Mississippi. Both her mother and father were born in Kentucky. Also living in the household was 18-year-old Allie Hall.

Martha Ann Pellum Blanks Living in Chicago

In the 1880 census, Martha Ann Pellum Blanks, the 64-year-old widow of James Blanks and the daughter of Jane Pellum, was listed as living in Chicago. She was born in Virginia circa 1815. Her parents were born in Virginia. Others living in her household were: Clinton Artist, age 40, Willis Artist, age 16, William Curd, age 35, William Yancey, age 30, Benjamin Johnson, age 50, and James Howard, age 23.

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222 United States Census, 1880.
Aquilla Ann Watkins Wright Living in Chicago

In the 1880 census, Aquilla (Quilly) Ann Watkins Wright was a 37-year-old white female widow who was born in Indiana in about 1843. She was living in Chicago with her 11-year-old son, Frank. Aquilla was the daughter of Elizabeth Pellum Watkins Jenkins by her first marriage. Also living in the household were Lily Johnson, age 21, R. M. Hancock, age 48 (her sister’s widower), and George Hancock, age 17. Both her mother and father were born in Virginia.

Death of Elizabeth Ann Pellum Jenkins
(1807-1880)

On November 22, 1880, Elizabeth Ann Pellum Jenkins, the widow of Jameson, died and was buried in the “colored section” of Oak Ridge Cemetery. She had lived at the corner of Fourteenth and Adams streets and died on her 73rd birthday. Her grave is unmarked, but is probably next to her husband, Jameson Jenkins, in Oak Ridge Cemetery.

Death of Martha Ann Pellum Blanks
(1815-1880)

Martha Ann Pellum Blanks, James Blanks’s widow, died on December 16, 1880, in Chicago, Illinois, at age 65. She was born about 1815 in Virginia, the daughter of Jane Pellum. Martha was the last to die of the Jenkins-Blanks settlers who had come to Illinois from the south. She was buried in Springfield.

1881

Belle Watkins: Horse Trainer

In the 1881 City Directory, “Belle” was listed as a horse trainer residing at 311 North 10th Street.

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224 Journal, Tuesday, November 23, 1880, p. 4.
225 Cook County, Illinois, Deaths Index, 1878-1922, search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?rank=1&new=1&MSAV=0&msT=1&gss=angs-g&gsln=Blanks&mswpn__flps=Rush%20County,%20Indiana,%20USA&mswpn=2567&mswpn_PInfo=7-jj01652393j02324717e25670j0&msbndy=1812&uidh=000&pcat=ROOT_CATEGORY&h=16129173&rc=8&db=FSCookILDeath&kindiv=1&requrl=294913&ur=0 Film File Number 1031430 (familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.1.1/N788-WZ5: accessed 07 Apr 2013), Martha Ann Blanks, 16 Dec 1880. GS Film number: 1031430 Digital Folder Number4004256 Image Number952 Reference cn 9999 ID.
**Illinois Timeline**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1842</td>
<td>James &amp; Martha Blanks arrive in Springfield</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>James Blanks buys lots at 9th &amp; Jackson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>James &amp; Elizabeth Jenkins arrive in Springfield</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1844</td>
<td>Lincoln move to 8th &amp; Jackson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1845</td>
<td>Jameson Jenkins records Certificate of Freedom in Sangamon County</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1846</td>
<td>James Blanks buys lot south of Lincoln home to Nancy Jenkins</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>James Blanks sells lot south of Lincoln home to Nancy Jenkins</td>
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<tr>
<td>1847</td>
<td>James Blanks sells lot south of Lincoln home to Nancy Jenkins</td>
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<tr>
<td>1848</td>
<td>James Blanks sells lot south of Lincoln home to Nancy Jenkins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>Jameson Jenkins kicked out of 2nd Presbyterian Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1851</td>
<td>James Blanks Trustee for colored school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1854</td>
<td>James Blanks sells lots at 9th &amp; Jackson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>James &amp; Martha Blanks move to Chicago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1855</td>
<td>Lincoln elected President</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1856</td>
<td>Jameson Jenkins drives Lincoln to train station for trip to Washington</td>
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<tr>
<td>1857</td>
<td>Lincoln assassinated</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lincoln assassinated</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Death of Jane Pellum Jenkins</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Death of Nancy Jenkins</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Jameson Jenkins sells house on 8th Street</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Jameson Jenkins moves to 14th &amp; Adams</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Jameson Jenkins moves to 14th &amp; Adams</td>
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<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td>Death of James Watkins</td>
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<td>1880</td>
<td>Death of Martha Ann Pellum Blanks</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Death of Elizabeth Ann Pellum Jenkins</td>
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**Death of Jane Watkins Hancock**
Those Who Followed

Forty years after coming to Springfield, the Jameson Jenkins family had flourished. In the next one hundred years the family would continue to do so and be an important part of Springfield. What follows is a mere summary of the lives of the descendants of Jameson and Elizabeth Ann Pellum Jenkins.

1882

Richard M. Hancock Listed in 1882 Chicago

In 1882, Richard M. Hancock, foreman, was living in Chicago, Illinois.226

Death of William Wright

(____-1882)

William Wright, the husband of Quilly (Aquilla) Ann Watkins, died on September 9, 1882, at the home of his parents at the corner of Thirteenth and Mason Streets in Springfield. He was a resident of Chicago and was in Springfield visiting his parents when he caught typhoid pneumonia. His funeral was conducted from the Fourth Street African Methodist E. Church. He was buried in Oak Ridge Cemetery.

Nancy H. Florville Deserts Husband

On November 21, 1882, Nancy H. Florville, the daughter of Jameson and Elizabeth Ann Pellum Jenkins, was alleged to have deserted her husband, William L. Florville.228

Marriage of Aquilla Lillian Florville and Samuel La Rue Willis

Aquilla Lillian Florville, age 20, and Samuel La Rue Willis, age 26, were married on November 22, 1882, by Rev. Albert Hale.229 Aquilla was the daughter of William La Rue Florville and Nancy H. Jenkins Florville and the granddaughter of Jameson and Elizabeth A. Pellum Jenkins and William “Billy the Barber” and Phoebe Florville.

226 1882 City Directory for Chicago, Illinois.
227 Register, Sunday, September 10, 1882, p. 4.
228 Register, Friday, April 10, 1885, p. 3.
229 Illinois Statewide Marriage Index, 1763–1900, 005/0421, Sangamon.
1883

Marriage of Bellfield Watkins and Ann Elizabeth Dick

On August 2, 1883, Bellfield Watkins married Ann Elizabeth Dick (Pollard) in Macoupin County, Illinois. Bellfield was the son of Elizabeth Pellum.

1885

William La Rue Florville Files For Divorce From Nancy H. Florville

On April 9, 1885, William La Rue Florville filed for divorce from Nancy H. Florville. His lawyers were Murray & Herndon.

Register, Friday, April 10, 1885.

Birth of Euretta Willis

(1885-1968)

On September 26, 1885, Aquilla Lillian Florville Willis and Samuel La Rue Willis, had their first child, a daughter named Euretta Willis.

1886

Divorce of Nancy and William La Rue Florville

Nancy and William’s divorce proceedings lasted from April 10, 1885 until October 1886.

Journal, Thursday, May 20, 1886.

Journal, Thursday, October 21, 1886.

Journal, Tuesday, October 26, 1886.

230 Illinois Statewide Marriage Registry, 001-0124-00011136, Macoupin.
231 Register, Friday, April 10, 1885, p. 5.
232 Journal, Thursday, May 20, 1886, p. 3.
233 Journal, Thursday, October 21, 1886, p. 4.
William La Rue Florville
Transfers Title to Lot at Southwest Corner of 14th and Adams to Nancy Florville

On October 26, 1886, William La Rue Florville transferred all of his interest in Lot 1 at the southwest corner of 14th and Adams to his wife, Nancy. This must have been done as a part of the divorce settlement. Nancy inherited the property upon the death of her mother Nancy Jenkins.

Marriage of William La Rue Florville and Eva N. De Costa

On November 11, 1886, William La Rue Florville married Eva N. De Costa in Sangamon County, Illinois. They had five children: Oakland, William, Phoebe, Deleon, and Eva Irene. Eva N. De Costa was a Portuguese lady who had come to Springfield in the 1840s seeking refuge with 200 others from the religious persecution on the Island of Madeira.

1888
Richard M. Hancock Listed in 1888 Chicago City Directory

In 1888, Richard M. Hancock, foreman, was living at 127 Fulton, Chicago, Illinois.

In private life Mr. Hancock is a public-spirited and progressive citizen; a member of several societies, in some of which he holds a high rank, notably the Masonic fraternity; a vestryman of St. Thomas’ Episcopal church, and an interesting talker at the literary sessions of the Prudence Crandall circle. He has a cozy home on Fulton street, where, assisted by his wife, an amiable and intelligent lady, his many friends are made welcome.

Marriage of Euretta Florville and James H. Woodford
In June 1888, Euretta Florville, the daughter of Nancy H. and William La Rue Florville, and the granddaughter of William and Phoebe Florville and Elizabeth and Jameson Jenkins, married James H. Woodford, a tobacconist of Buffalo, New York. The marriage took place in the home of Euretta’s parents at 118 South Eleventh Street, Springfield, according to the newspapers, even though they divorced in 1886. Euretta’s sister, Lizzie was then living with her parents where she was sick and confined to her bed in the Florville residence.

Journal, Tuesday, October 26, 1886, p. 4.

SVC. Information provided by Curtis Mann, Lincoln Library, Springfield, Illinois.

1888 City Directory for Chicago, Illinois.


Register, Thursday, June 21, 1888, p. 3.

87
Death of Elizabeth “Lizzie” Florville

Elizabeth “Lizzie” Florville, the youngest daughter of William La Rue and Nancy Florville, died at her home at 118 South Eleventh Street on July 24, 1888. She was only 15 years old. Lizzie was buried in Lot 16 of the “colored section” of Oak Ridge Cemetery, the same lot where Jane Pellum, Sarah Wright, Jameson Jenkins, James Blanks, Jane Watkins Hancock and Nancy Jenkins were buried.

Obituary of Lizzie Florville

Register, Wednesday, July 25, 1888.

1891

Bellfield Watkins Seriously Ill

Register, Friday, August 7, 1891.

Death of Bellfield Watkins

(Circa 1835-1891)

Bellfield Watkins died on October 8, 1891, at age 56 at his home at 1211 East Adams. Bellfield was a mulatto born in May 1835 in Indiana, the son of Elizabeth Pellum Watkins and

239 Register, Wednesday, July 25, 1888, p. 3.
240 Register, Friday, August 7, 1891, p. 5.
Unknown Watkins. His father and mother were born in Virginia. In 1860 Bellfield was living with his mother and her second husband “Jameson Jarkins” [Jenkins], his stepfather, on the east side of 8th, between Jackson and Edwards Streets.

In 1880, Bellfield was listed as operating a livery stable. In the 1881 City Directory, “Belle” was listed as a horse trainer residing at 311 North 10th Street. His obituary states that he was a member of the firm of McWherter & Watkins, horse buyers. He was married to “Lyda” or “Lida,” who died on March 1, 1895.\(^{241}\) His funeral was the largest African American funeral experienced in Springfield to that date. It was conducted by the minister from the First Methodist Church. He was buried in the “colored section” of Oak Ridge Cemetery, Springfield, Illinois.\(^{242}\)

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\(^{241}\) 1880 Census, Springfield, Sangamon, Illinois; Roll: T9_249; Family History Film: 1254249; page: 188.1000; Enumeration District: 227; Image: 0665.

\(^{242}\) Oak Ridge Cemetery Records, Springfield, Illinois. South ½ of Lot 78, Block 5, purchased by Mrs. Ann E. Watkins on October 9, 1891.

\(^{243}\) Register, Friday, October 9, 1891, p. 5.
Obituary of Bellfield Watkins

Register, Sunday, October 11, 1891.\textsuperscript{244}

1892

Death of Estella Wright

(____-1892)

Obituary of Estella Wright

Register, Thursday, November 3, 1892.\textsuperscript{246}

1894

Death of Aquilla Lillian Florville Willis

(1863-1894)

Aquilla Lillian Florville Willis, the wife of Samuel La Rue Willis, died on March 7, 1894, and the funeral was at St. Paul’s A. M. E. Church on north Sixth Street. She was buried in the “colored section” of Oak Ridge Cemetery. Samuel La Rue Willis was born in 1856. Aquilla Lillian Florville was born on May 5, 1863, the daughter of William La Rue and Nancy H. Jenkins Florville and the granddaughter of William “Billy the Barber” and Phoebe Rountree Florville and

\textsuperscript{244} Register, Sunday, October 11, 1891, p. 5.
\textsuperscript{245} Journal, Monday, October 12, 1891, p. 5.
\textsuperscript{246} Register, Thursday, November 3, 1892, p. 5.
Elizabeth Ann and Jameson Jenkins. Aquilla married Samuel T. Willis in Sangamon County on November 22, 1882. Aquilla Lillian Florville Willis and Samuel L. Willis had two children, Samuel La Rue and Euretta. The 1887 Springfield City Directory lists Samuel as working at Doul’s restaurant and residing at 1320 Adams Street. Samuel La Rue Willis died on April 5, 1920.

1895

Death of Lida Watkins
(Circa 1839-1895)

Lida Watkins, widow of Bellfield Watkins, died of consumption at age 56 at her home at 1211 East Adams Street, on March 1, 1895. She was buried next to her husband in the “colored section” of Oak Ridge Cemetery, Springfield, Illinois.
Death of James H. Woodford
(1857-1896)

James H. Woodford, born in 1857, married Euretta E. Florville on June 20, 1888, in Sangamon County, Illinois. Euretta was the daughter of Nancy Jenkins and William La Rue Florville and the granddaughter of Phoebe and William “Billy the Barber” Florville and Jameson and Elizabeth Pellum Jenkins. They had two children, Edward (Ernest) Woodford (1893-1896) and Bellfield Woodford (1889-1890 Chicago). James H. Woodford died at age 38 on March 18, 1896, at his residence at 508 South Eighth Street. He was buried in Oak Ridge Cemetery.

Death of Ernest Woodford
(1893-1896)

Ernest Woodford was born in 1893. On April 16, 1896, just a month after James’ death, his infant son, Ernest, died of pneumonia.

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252 Journal, October 9, 1891, p. 5.
253 Register, Thursday, March 19, 1896, p. 7.
254 Illinois Statewide Marriage Index.
256 Register, Friday, April 17, 1896, p. 5.
Richard M. Hancock Living in Chicago

In 1896, Richard M. Hancock, pattern maker, was living at 2939 Armour, Chicago, Illinois.  

1898

Richard M. Hancock Living in Chicago

In 1898, Richard M. Hancock, pattern maker, was living at 2939 Armour Street, Chicago, Illinois, with his wife Jane, the daughter of Elizabeth Pellum Watkins Jenkins.

1899

Death of Richard Mason Hancock
(1832-1899)

On June 4, 1899, Richard M. Hancock, 63-year-old pattern maker, died in Chicago and was buried there in Oak Woods Cemetery. See Appendix F.

1907

Euretta Willis Attends Radcliffe College

Register, Monday, May 20, 1907.

1916

Marriage of Emmet E. Perkins and Euretta Willis Goodman

Register, Sunday, May 14, 1916.

257 1896 City Directory for Chicago, Illinois.
258 1898 City Directory for Chicago, Illinois.
260 Register, Monday, May 20, 1907, p. 6.
1918

Samuel La Rue Willis Visits Relatives in Springfield

Samuel L. Willis, for many years owner of a restaurant in Springfield, and one of the best chefs the city has had, is visiting his son-in-law and daughter, Emmett Perkins, messenger in the governor’s office, and wife, until Wednesday. He is now residing in Cheyenne, Wyo., and is chef on the private car of the officials of the Union Pacific railroad.

Register, Sunday, May 26, 1918. 262

1920

Death of Samuel La Rue Willis

(1856-1920)

Samuel La Rue Willis died on April 5, 1920, and the funeral was at St. Paul’s A. M. E. Church on north Sixth Street. He was buried in Oak Ridge Cemetery next to his wife, Aquilla Lillian Florville Willis, who died on March 7, 1894. Samuel was born in 1856. Aquilla was born on May 5, 1863, the daughter of William La Rue and Nancy H. Jenkins.

Register, Monday, April 5, 1920. 263

Graves of Samuel La Rue and Aquilla Lillian Florville Willis

261 Register, Sunday, May 14, 1916, p. 5.
262 Register, Sunday, May 26, 1918, p. 6.
263 Register, Monday, April 5, 1920, p. 2.
Florville and the granddaughter of William “Billy the Barber” and Phoebe Rountree Florville and Jameson and Elizabeth Pellum Jenkins. Samuel and Aquilla were married in Sangamon County on November 22, 1882. They had two children, Samuel La Rue, Jr. and Euretta. The 1887 Springfield City Directory lists Samuel as working at Doull’s restaurant and residing at 1320 Adams Street.

1921

Death of Nancy H. Jenkins [Florville]
(1841–1921)

Nancy H. Jenkins died on February 5, 1921, at age 80, and was buried in the “colored section” of Oak Ridge Cemetery. Nancy was the daughter of Elizabeth Ann Pellum and Jameson Jenkins and was born in Indiana in 1841. On April 9, 1861, Nancy married William La Rue Florville who was born on March 10, 1840, in Springfield, the son of William “Billy the Barber” and Phoebe Roundtree Florville. They had three children, Aquilla, Euretta (Mrs. Croker of Chicago) and Elizabeth who died at age 15. William and Nancy were divorced on October 26, 1886.

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264 Journal, Wednesday, April 7, 1920, p. 7.
265 Illinois Statewide Marriage Index, 1763–1900, 005/0421.
266 Oak Ridge Cemetery Records, Springfield, Illinois. Block 5, Lot 23 N. ½ was purchased by S. L. Willis on March 7, 1894.
267 The birth year calculated by the information listed in census data leads one to a birth year of 1844.
268 Oak Ridge Cemetery Records, Springfield, Illinois. South ½ of Lot 78, Block 5, purchased by Mrs. Ann E. Watkins on October 9, 1891.
269 Power, p. 303.
270 Sangamon County Circuit Clerk, Divorce Records, vol. 16, p. 129. IRAD.
271 Register, Monday, February 7, 1921, p. 2.
272 Journal, Monday, February 7, 1921, p. 5.
William La Rue Florville was born on March 10, 1840, in Springfield, the son of William “Billy the Barber” and Phoebe Roundtree Florville. On April 9, 1861, he married, Nancy H. Jenkins. They had three children, Aquilla, Euretta and Elizabeth, and lived in Springfield.

In the 1880 census, William La Rue Florville was listed as a 40 year-old barber living with his wife Nancy who was keeping house. William and Nancy were divorced on October 26, 1886. Nancy died on February 21, 1921.

William La Rue Florville died at his home at 1201 East Adams on March 15, 1921, at age 81. On November 11, 1886, William La Rue Florville married Eva N. De Costa in Sangamon County. Eva was born in June 1865, the daughter of John and Mary De Costa. They had five children, Oakland L., William John, Phoebe C., Eva Irene and DeLeone Florville. The 1887 City Directory lists William as a barber living at 118 North 11th.

Eva N. De Costa Florville died on May 25, 1943.

Florville, William L.—Died at 6:30 p.m. March 15, 1921 at the family residence, 1201 East Adams street, of complications, age 81 years.

Surviving are his wife, Mrs. Eva Florville, three daughters, Mrs. Amos Duncan, Mrs. Irene Hennington, and Mrs. Euretta Croker; two sons, Oakland L. and William; and six grandchildren. Funeral announcement later.

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275 Illinois Statewide Marriage Index, 006/0132.
276 *Oak Ridge Cemetery Records*, Springfield, Illinois. Lot 30 N ½, Block 5 was purchased by “Pheby” Florville Coleman on October 13, 1897.
277 Illinois Death Certificate # 0000539.
278 *Journal*, March 18, 1921, p. 11.
William La Rue Florville Estate Sale of Real Estate

Eight Pieces of Property of W. L. Florville Estate Are Sold for Nearly $50,000

The estate of William L. Florville, who was one of the richest negroes in the middle west, netted close to $50,000 at a sale conducted Thursday afternoon by Master-in-chancery Charles G. Briggs. Mr. Florville died March 15 at the age of 51 years. He was a lifelong resident of Springfield.

The sale was made in the portion suit brought by Eunice Florville, the widow; Oakland L. Florville, William J. Florville, and Eula Hennings, against Euretta Crocker, Phoebe Duncan, Euretta Perkins, and Samuel Willis, all heirs of the decedent.

Property sold as follows:
1. 807 East Jefferson street, $4,600; 1201 East Adams street, $3,600; all purchased by Mrs. Eva M. Florville.
2. 110 South Eighth street, $3,000; 1017 East Washington street, $2,800; East Mason street, $3,000; all purchased by Oakland Florville.
3. 1201 East Monroe street, $3,175; 1131 East Washington street, $2,900; purchased by Amos Duncan.
5. Five acres of land on East Washington street, purchased by Euretta Crocker, $3,000.
6. Two lots on Amos avenue, purchased by William Florville, $105.
7. Two lots in Riverton, purchased by William Florville, $295.

Register, Friday, June 24, 1921.279

Marriage of Samuel La Rue Willis, Jr. and Fannie Day

For a Short Vacation.

Samuel L. Willis, jr., of Cheyenne, Wyo., and Miss Fannie Day of Alton were united in marriage at the county court house at 4 o'clock this afternoon. The ceremony was performed by Justice J. A. Crum and was witnessed by C. W. Liggins and Bertha Liggins. The groom is the son of Mr. and Mrs. Samuel L. Willis of Springfield and the bride is the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. William Day of Alton. The couple will live in Cheyenne, where the groom is employed.

Journal, Tuesday, August 30, 1921.280

279 Register, Friday, June 24, 1921, p. 17.
280 Journal, Tuesday, August 30, 1921, p. 4.
Euretta Florville Woodford Croker died in Chicago on March 20, 1943, and was brought to Springfield where she was buried in the “colored section” of Oak Ridge Cemetery. She was the daughter of William La Rue Florville and Nancy H. Jenkins Florville and the granddaughter of Phoebe and William Florville and Jameson and Elizabeth Jenkins.

James H. Woodford, born in 1859, married Euretta E. Florville on June 20, 1888, in Sangamon County, Illinois. Euretta was the daughter of Nancy Jenkins and William La Rue Florville and the granddaughter of Phoebe and William Florville and Jameson and Elizabeth Jenkins. James Edwards was born in 1859. He died on April 10, 1905. Bellfield Woodford was born in 1889. He died in Chicago on April 14, 1890, of convulsions. He was “removed” to Lot 22 of the “colored section” of Oak Ridge Cemetery on April 24, 1896. Ernest Woodford was born in 1893. He died on April 15, 1896.
Samuel La Rue Willis, Jr. died on March 12, 1978. He was born in Springfield on February 11, 1889, the son of Aquilla Lillian Florville and Samuel La Rue Willis. He was a Springfield fireman.

Obituary of Samuel La Rue Willis, Jr.

2006

Jameson Jenkins Script For Oak Ridge Cemetery Tour

Oak Ridge Cemetery Tour, Sangamon County Historical Society, 2006
Researched by Richard E. Hart
Performed by Robert Davis

Afternoon to ya all. I’m Jameson Jenkins. I’s born over in North Carolina bout the same time Mr. Lincoln was born in Kantuck. We stepped along many of the same paths and he was my friend.

The old census called me a “mulatto.” Back along my line I have white kin. I knew my Mama, Nancy, but not much about my Pap. Shucks, if Pap was white, maybe that’s what made me a freeman in the old North State. But let me tell you, a freeman in North Carolina didn’t have much freedom.

I was 25 when I married little Miss Gilley Evans of Wake County. She was a little younger than me and a sweet thing. We was married in Wake and lived on there for a few years. But Gilley passed on. I was lost after that.

Oh, there was so much a stirrin mongst the slaves bout that time in Virginia and Carolina. Lots of slaves runnin away and following the star north up to Canada. Things was changing and lots of the Quakers were movin outa Carolina an on up to Ohio and Indiana.

Bout that time, I figured to get out of that old slave state and go up north to a better life. So, I got me a travelin pass from ole Judge Gill to get me started with the Quakers over in Guilford County—just a little piece from where I lived. That pass was the best piece of paper I ever had.
Not much is recollected bout ole Guilford now. Lots of Quakers in North Carolina and most were about ole Guilford. It was the Quakers’ place. They was good at helpin out the slaves and free blacks gettin out and goin on north across the Ohio River and on up into Indianee and Ohio. It was all secret. Only whispers and mouth to mouth. They set up a regular Underground Railroad. Now it weren’t like the railroad you see with the big steam engines and tracks. It were just routes from one house to another—one good person to another—who helped out the runaway slaves. The route might just run cross the country through the thickets and brambles. Let me tell you, it was mighty dangerous cuse the slave catchers might get you and send you back south or worse.

Well, when I got to Guildford with my pass, the Quakers helped me get outa Carolina and on north across the Ohio River and into Indianee where I stayed for awhile.

I found me a good woman in Indianee. Name—Elizabeth Pelham. We called her Lizzy. Her Mama’s buried right there. We got married and had us a beautiful little girl—Nancy.

We finally came on over to Illinois at Springfield bout the time Mr. Lincoln moved to his house on 8th Street. Bout the first thing I did when I got to Springfield was take that old paper Judge Gill give me way back when and put it of record at the Springfield Court House. That way it would always be there. No questions asked.

Now my Lizzy was a religious woman. She churched at the Colored Methodist Church of Springfield. But she got a hankerin to go to that new Presbyterian Church. The one that Rev. Hale ministered and had a lot of abolitionists folk tendin. I finally went on over too—just to please my Lizzy.

It weren’t long after that we had what the folk called a “Slave Stampede” right here in Springfield. Oh, it was quite somethin. Eleven runaway slaves from St. Louis showed up here. The newspapers was full of it for days. Slave catchers run after those runaways and caught one old lame slave and put him in the City jail. But seven of em I got out of town on a stage coach going north without gettin caught. For a few days, nobody knew what happened, until old Goodhue, the stage agent, fessed up and told the paper that I had took the runaways on north. Yessum, I was a conductor on the Springfield Underground Railroad and mighty proud of it.

Well, it weren’t long after that old Slave Stampede that the Second Presbyterian Church cut me off. Mr. Thayer and Mr. Moffett and Mr. Hawley and the pastor, they wanted me to come and tell um why I missed so much church and said I was guilty of “licentiousness”. They cut me off for “contumacy.” Heck, I don’t even know what them words means. I figured I was doin the work of the Lord, helping out my brothers goin north on the underground railroad. So, I didn’t miss no Church. I was the Lord’s conductor on Springfield’s Underground Railroad.

Now, Lizzy and me, we had a good life in Springfield. I was what was called a drayman—means I hauled stuff in my cart. We lived in a little house just down the street from Mr. Lincoln and his folks. Our Nancy was growin and Lizzy helped out a heep by takin in wash for folks—even Mrs. Lincoln.

That same old wagon that I used to haul runaway slaves on the Underground Railroad finally got its most famous baggage on the morning of February 11, 1861. Mr. Lincoln was stayin over at the Chenery House before he left for Washington. He asked me to pick up his trunks there and haul them over to the Great Western Railroad depot. I remember him standin on the back of that train and gavin us all a good farewell. I saw that old train head down the tracks on east to Washington. We was all sad to see him go on that rainy morning. That’s the last time I saw Mr. Lincoln alive.

The happiest day of my life was when Mr. Lincoln freed the slaves. But then he was shot and came on back to Springfield on a sad train. I stood all day in a long line at the State House to see him and joined the colored folk in his funeral procession from there to Oak Ridge.

Well, thanks for stopping by the Colored Section of Oak Ridge. Your welcome any time. I’ll always be here—at least til judgment day—long with all my family and friends and just cross the way from my good friend, Mr. Lincoln.

I bid you good day.
African American friend of Abraham Lincoln is buried in Springfield’s Oak Ridge Cemetery.

SPRINGFIELD – The restored grave marker for Jameson Jenkins, an early African American Springfield citizen and friend of Abraham Lincoln, will be rededicated Sunday, September 30 at 4 p.m. in Springfield’s Oak Ridge Cemetery. The rededication is sponsored by The Abraham Lincoln Association (ALA).

The ceremony at the grave in the “Colored Section” will begin with a blessing and remarks, including those of ALA Board Member Robert Davis, who portrays Jameson Jenkins. The event is free and open to the public.

The ALA continues its leadership in the restoration of grave markers of those who knew Lincoln and are buried in Springfield’s Oak Ridge Cemetery. Previous restorations have included markers for Judge Samuel H. Treat and Lincoln photographer Christopher Smith German.

Several other organizations in addition to the ALA have contributed to the Jameson Jenkins marker restoration project. The Arnold Monument Company restored the grave marker, and Oak Ridge Cemetery poured the grave marker foundation and will assist in the rededication. Others assisting include the Lincoln Home National Historic Site, Oak Ridge Cemetery Association, Sangamon County Historical Society, and Springfield and Central Illinois African American History Museum.

Jameson Jenkins was a mulatto born in North Carolina about 1810. Even though he was a “freeman,” he had to have permission to travel. In the summer of 1835, he was given a permit to travel to Guilford County, North Carolina, a Quaker settlement and an important Underground Railroad station for southern runaway slaves. Jameson traveled north from there on the Underground Railroad to Indiana, where he married Elizabeth Pelham and had a daughter, Nancy.

In the mid-1840s, Jameson, Elizabeth and Nancy moved from Indiana to Springfield, where Jameson earned his living as a drayman, someone who carries goods on a two wheeled cart drawn by a horse. In 1848, the Jenkins family moved to a house on the east side of Eighth Street, between Jackson and Edwards Streets, one-half block south of the Lincoln home. They lived here until at least 1864. In 1848, Elizabeth and Jameson joined the Second Presbyterian Church, now Westminster Presbyterian and then known as the abolitionist church.

Jameson was an active conductor on the Underground Railroad at Springfield. Newspaper accounts in 1850 record his helping runaway slaves move north from Springfield to Bloomington.

On February 11, 1861, Jameson Jenkins drove Lincoln’s carriage from the Chenery House at the northeast corner of Fourth and Washington Streets to the Great Western Railroad depot where President-elect Lincoln departed Springfield on his trip to Washington.

On February 3, 1873, at age 65, Jameson died and was buried in the “Colored Section” of Oak Ridge Cemetery, Springfield, Illinois.
The following photographs were taken at Oak Ridge Cemetery on September 30, 2012, by Donna Catlin on the occasion of the rededication of the restored grave marker for Jameson Jenkins and James Blanks.
Blanks Family Genealogy

**James Blanks Before 1850-Martha Ann Pellum**
(1812-1876)
Virginia
James and Martha had no children.
Buried in Oak Ridge Cemetery

(1815-1880)
Virginia
Mulatto
Buried in Springfield

Florville Family Genealogy

**FIRST GENERATION**

1.1 William Florville July 28, 1832-Phoebe Roundtree
(1806-April 13, 1868? Age 81)
Cape Haytien, West India
Barber
Home: 1201 East Adams
Buried in Calvary Cemetery

(2/4/1822-10/1897)
Near Glasgow, Kentucky
Married Reuben Coleman
May 5, 1873, after death of William.

Buried in Oak Ridge Cemetery on the North ½ of Lot 30, Block 5.

**SECOND GENERATION**

2.1 William La Rue Florville -April 9, 1861-Nancy H. Jenkins
(March 10, 1840-March 15, 1921) Divorced October 26, 1886 (Daughter of Jameson & Elizabeth A. Pellum Jenkins)
Home: 1201 East Adams
Buried in Oak Ridge Cemetery
on the North ½ of Lot 30, Block 5 on March 15, 1921.

After his divorce from Nancy, William La Rue Florville married Eva N. De Costa and they had five children: Oakland, William, Phoebe, DeLeon and Eva Irene.

**THIRD GENERATION**

3.1 Aquilla Lillian Florville -November 22, 1882-Samuel La Rue Willis
(May 5, 1863-March 7, 1894) Born in Salem, Roanoke County, Virginia
109 North Fifth
Buried in Oak Ridge Cemetery

(1858(6)- April 5, 1920/1921)
Restaurant. In the alley north of Monroe Street- Commercial Alley
Home: 110 E. Reynolds
Buried in Oak Ridge Cemetery:
North ½ of Lot 23 Block 5.
Samuel was working at Doul’s restaurant and residing at 1320 Adams Street.

---

285 Illinois Statewide Marriage Index, 1763–1900, 005/0421, Sangamon.
286 Oak Ridge Cemetery Records, Springfield, Illinois. Lot 23 N. ½, Block 5 was purchased by S. L. Willis on March 7, 1894.
### 3.2 Euretta E. Florville \(^{287}\)
June 20, 1888, in Sangamon County \(^{288}\)
James H. Woodford (1859-1896)

508 S. Eighth Street
Buried in Oak Ridge Cemetery

4.1 Edward (Ernest) Woodford
(1895(3)-April 15, 1896) age 9 months
Home: 508 S. 8th Street
Buried in Oak Ridge Cemetery

4.2 Bellfield Woodford
(1889-April 14, 1890 Chicago)
Convulsions
He was “removed” to Lot 22 of the Colored Section of Oak Ridge Cemetery on April 24, 1896. \(^{289}\)

### 3.3 Elizabeth Florville
(1873-1888)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>5.1 Frank Perkins</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5.2 Jacqueline Perkins</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### FOURTH GENERATION

### 4.1 Euretta Willis-May 13, 1916-Emmet E. Perkins
(September 26, 1885-October 26, 1968)
Home: 805 North Third

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>5.1 Norman Willis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5.2 James Willis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 4.2 Samuel La Rue Willis, Jr. Fannie Day
(2/11/1889-3/12/1978) \(^{290}\)
Fireman. 1926
Home: 1330 East Adams Street.

Daughter of Louis Day. (July 2, 1891-June 3, 1976) \(^{291}\)

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\(^{287}\) *Oak Ridge Cemetery Records*, Springfield, Illinois. Lot 22 N. ½, Block 5, was purchased by Mrs. Sinette Woodford on April 16, 1896.

\(^{288}\) *Illinois Statewide Marriage Index*.

\(^{289}\) 9156 2 195 Belfield, Woodford, 11 Convulsions 5 16, Late Residence Chicago, Illinois (Colored); Removed to Lot 22, N1/2, Block 5, April 24/96.

\(^{290}\) *Oak Ridge Cemetery Records*, Springfield, Illinois. Lot 23 N. ½, Block 5, was purchased by S. L. Willis on March 7, 1894.

\(^{291}\) *Directory of Sangamon County’s Colored Citizens*, Springfield Directory Company, 1926.
**Jenkins Family Genealogy**

1.1 **Nancy Jenkins** - March 12, 1838—Wake County, North Carolina **Stephen Harris**  
(Pre-American Revolution – After 1870) \(\text{Circa 1780 N. C. - Circa 1860}\)

*First Marriage*

2.1 **Jameson Jenkins** - 1831 **Gilley Evans**  
(1808-2/1/1873) \(\text{1810- -}\)  
Wake County, North Carolina  
Buried in Oak Ridge Cemetery

*Second Marriage*

2.1 **Jameson Jenkins** - October 6, 1840 **Elizabeth A. Pellum**  
(1808-2/1/1873) \(\text{11/22/1807-1880}\)  
Wake County, North Carolina  
Richmond, Virginia  
Drayman  
Mulatto  
Jameson, Elizabeth and Nancy arrived in Springfield sometime between 1844 and 1848.  
Buried in Oak Ridge Cemetery

3.1 **Nancy H. Jenkins** - April 9, 1861 **William La Rue Florville**  
(1841-2/27/1921) Divorced October 26, 1886 \(\text{March 10, 1840-March 15, 1921}\)  
Indiana  
Mulatto  
Washerwoman  
Home: 1201 East Adams. They had three children: Aquilla, Euretta and Elizabeth  
Buried in Oak Ridge Cemetery on the North ½ of Lot 30, Block 5 on March 15, 1921  
See the Florville Family Genealogy

**Pellum Family Genealogy**

1.1 **Jane Pellum** Unknown  
(8/8/1787-11/9/1867)  
Virginia  
Buried in Oak Ridge Cemetery

2.1 **Elizabeth Ann Pellum**  
First Marriage **Unknown Watkins**  
(1807-1880) \(\text{ -circa 1840}\)  
Richmond, Virginia  
Mulatto  
See Watkins Family Genealogy

2.1 **Elizabeth Ann Pellum**  
Second Marriage **Jameson Jenkins**  
October 6, 1840, Rush County, Indiana  
See the Jenkins Family Genealogy

2.2 **Martha Ann Pellum** Before 1850 **James Blanks**  
(1815-1880) \(1812-1876\)  
Mulatto  
Virginia  
See the Blanks Family Genealogy
Watkins Family Genealogy

1.1 Elizabeth Ann Pellum *First Marriage*—Unknown Watkins
   (1807-1880) (____-circa 1840)
   Richmond, Virginia
   Mulatto

   2.1 Jane Watkins June 6, 1867—Richard Mason Hancock
      (1832-1879) (1832-1899)
      Born in Virginia
      Mulatto
      Resides with Jameson Jenkins. 1850
      Buried in Oak Ridge Cemetery

   2.2 Bellfield Watkins—August 2, 1883—Lida _____
      (1835-1891) (1839-1895)
      Born in Indiana
      Born in Mississippi
      Buried in Oak Ridge Cemetery
      Buried in Oak Ridge Cemetery

       3.2.1 Alice Hall
          (1862-____)

   2.3 Aquilla (Quilly) Ann Watkins—March 25, 1867—William H. Wright
      (1843 (1838?)-____) (Circa 1843-18____)
      Birth place: Indiana
      Missouri
      Race: Mulatto
      Home in 1850: Springfield, Sangamon, Illinois

       3.3.1 Frank Wright
          (1869-____)
Appendix A

Free African American Population of North Carolina and Virginia: 1790-1860

The following summary of the United States census reports show the free negro population of North Carolina, beginning with 1790 through 1860.292

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Free Black Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1790</td>
<td>4,975</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1800</td>
<td>7,043</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1810</td>
<td>10,266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820</td>
<td>14,612</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1830</td>
<td>19,543</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1840</td>
<td>22,732</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>27,463</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>30,463</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Free African American Population of Wake County, North Carolina: 1790-1860293

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>1790</th>
<th>1800</th>
<th>1810</th>
<th>1820</th>
<th>1830</th>
<th>1840</th>
<th>1850</th>
<th>1860</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wake</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>324</td>
<td>519</td>
<td>734</td>
<td>833</td>
<td>1,009</td>
<td>1,306</td>
<td>1,446</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NC Totals</td>
<td>5,041</td>
<td>7,073</td>
<td>10,266</td>
<td>14,612</td>
<td>19,543</td>
<td>22,732</td>
<td>27,463</td>
<td>30,463</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Wake County Population 1790-2011

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Census</th>
<th>Pop.</th>
<th>%±</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1790</td>
<td>10,192</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1800</td>
<td>13,437</td>
<td>31.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1810</td>
<td>17,096</td>
<td>27.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820</td>
<td>20,102</td>
<td>17.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1830</td>
<td>20,398</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1840</td>
<td>21,118</td>
<td>3.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>24,888</td>
<td>17.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>28,627</td>
<td>15.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>35,617</td>
<td>24.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>47,939</td>
<td>34.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>49,207</td>
<td>2.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>54,626</td>
<td>11.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>63,229</td>
<td>15.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>75,155</td>
<td>18.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>94,757</td>
<td>26.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>109,544</td>
<td>15.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>136,450</td>
<td>24.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>169,082</td>
<td>23.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>228,453</td>
<td>35.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>301,327</td>
<td>31.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>423,380</td>
<td>40.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>627,846</td>
<td>48.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>890,993</td>
<td>43.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Est. 2011</td>
<td>929,780</td>
<td>3.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

292 The Free Negro in North Carolina.
Free People of Color Population of Virginia: 1790-1860

The following summary of the United States census reports show the free people of color population of Virginia, beginning with 1790 through 1860.294

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Virginia</th>
<th>(now) West Virginia</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1790</td>
<td>12,254</td>
<td>612</td>
<td>12,866</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1800</td>
<td>19,598</td>
<td>526</td>
<td>20,124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1810</td>
<td>29,292</td>
<td>1,278</td>
<td>30,570</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820</td>
<td>35,470</td>
<td>1,413</td>
<td>36,883</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1830</td>
<td>45,181</td>
<td>2,167</td>
<td>47,348</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1840</td>
<td>46,809</td>
<td>3,033</td>
<td>49,842</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1850</td>
<td>51,251</td>
<td>3,082</td>
<td>54,333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>55,269</td>
<td>2,773</td>
<td>58,042</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

294 The Free Negro in North Carolina.
Appendix B

Kanawha Trace

I've been researching my church history (Obannon/Stonelick Church of the Brethren, near Goshen OH -1795) and have found ... a Waybill ("Kanawha Way") across the southern part of the state -c1806 -from North Carolina to Richmond IN -which I traced out and drove. This was a Quaker Waybill, used by many Dunkers from So Virginia.

Merle C Rummel
Church Historian
criff@infocom.com

Mr Argus Ogborn was a Quaker Historian in Richmond, Indiana. He gave me a copy of his copy of the Bill of the Road, which he had found in a collection (unspecified) some years ago. He saw it for what it was, the mile by mile progress a Quaker settler would walk with team and wagon to travel to Richmond, .... From this I drew up and gave him a map tracing the path of the Trace. ... I recognized that the Brethren used this as a major path from Virginia to Ohio. ... I had frequently asked myself a question about the route of the Dunkers in Virginia to Ohio and the West, since I had early found that most of them did not use Daniel Boone's Wilderness Road. ... Only a few of the Carolina Brethren who followed the Wilderness Road into Kentucky, came up into Ohio. I've followed Forbes' Road and Braddock's Road in Pennsylvania, ... Maryland and Pennsylvania Brethren, including some in the upper part of the Valley, would have used those routes and come down the Ohio on flatboats. But many early Dunkers lived much farther south in the Valley, and there was a major early settlement of the Brethren below Roanoke, on the front of the Blue Ridge in Franklin and Floyd Counties, the old Carolina Road, who came from there to western Ohio. The Kanawha Trace was their route.

The Kanawha Trace Bill of the Road, or Waybill, begins in the north central part of North Carolina where the Moravian Brethren, Friends (or Quakers) and German Baptist Brethren (Dunkers, Church of the Brethren) had major settlements.

The Waybill that we have, begins at New Garden Friends Church on the Northwest side of Greensboro, near Guilford Battlefield. ...

Clemmons was likely at Guilford, a small town on NC 66. By distance, Beesons would be the town of Colfax; and Kernersville, east of Winston Salem, is Kerners. Continuing on NC 66 to US 52, Bittings would likely be at Stanleyville or Rural Hall, Gordings would be at Pilot Mountain, and Unthans at Mount Airy. Following the route of US 52 into Virginia, Perkins would be at Cana, VA. and Mankins at Ward’s Gap might be the modern Fancy Gap on US 52 at the Blue Ridge Parkway. Going west the Trace went to Road’s Fork at modern Hillsville on top of the ridge, where US 52 and VA 100 each continue their own route down into the New River Valley. The Trace followed VA 100 down Little Reed Island Creek through Popular Camp Mountain. It crosses Reed Island River at Patterson and then the New River (Fugat’s Ferry, now a bridge). VA 100 does not cross Draper’s Mountain to Pulaski, and John Feeley’s would be at McAdam or possibly Draper. Crossing Walker Mountain, VA 100 comes to Poplar Hill, which would be Shannons and comes back to the New River, which has taken a big loop, at Pearisburg, old Giles Court House, and US 460. Peter’s Ferry could be located at Narrows, where they could recross the New River. (It must be remembered that in these early days, the lack of bridges in the frontier areas meant that obstacles that we now ignore drastically affected travel patterns. A Traveler sometimes went longer, or worse, routes, because there was no way they could cross a River. This is true of the routes here, and across West Virginia.)

Across West Virginia, the Kanawha Trace, by tradition, followed the Shawnee Indian War Path close to the New or Kanawha River. Peteirstown is just in West Virginia at US 219 and WV 12. Christian Peter’s home would have been out of Peterstown on WV 12. There Bozoo Road goes left and down into the old river bottom, a shorter route than WV 12. Bluestone Lake floods this area, but the Indian River enters the New below Indian Mills, coming down the valley from the Northeast. The Blue Stone River comes up the valley from the Southwest about 15 miles down stream and Pack’s fork would have been out in the lake, between them (before Wolf Creek Mountain). Unless there was a bottom land route (now flooded), the mountains push in close to the New River and the Trace would have followed a trail up to Pipe Stern, and followed the Pipestem Creek down to the Blue Stone River crossing. Following up another trail out of the Blue Stone, Pack’s could possibly be at Nimitz and Jumping Branch, where another old road (WV 3) goes to Shady Spring. There modern US 19 shows sections of an old road near it. US 19 goes to Beckley, Mount Hope and Glen Jean (with Harvey just beyond) and on to Fayetteville on the downriver side of the New River Gorge. This is possibly “Road’s Fork,” where the Trace did not try to recross the New River, but took WV 16 to Beckwith where it took the very rugged Falls Creek Road over Cotton Hill. The creek and trail come out at the Falls of the New River, now Kanawha Falls (where the Kanawha River Dam now is). The Gauley River enters the New River at Gauley Bridge above the Dam, and the River changed, it is larger, and has a more constant flow. The valley widens. It is now called the Kanawaha. Here below the falls, early settlers built flat boats and floated down the River to Point Pleasant, then down the Ohio to Kaintuck or Cincinnati.

The Trace followed a country road along the south bank of the Kanawaha River. It is pressed closely by high rugged mountains, the only level areas are where mountain streams enter the river. A couple of these have become towns, Deep Water, Eagle. Benjamin Morris probably lived where Montgomery is, where WV 61 comes down off the mountain. There is a better roadway, and towns of
Appendix B  The Kanawha Trace

Crown Hill and Cabin Creek. At Chelyan the West Virginia Turnpike and US 119 come down to the River. Leonard Morris had a fortified log house (“fort”) at Marmet, on the south side of the River just above Charleston, where the Toney’s and others fled during the Indian raids of 1794. Venables would have been in the eastern area of South Charleston called Kanawha City, where there used to be a second branch of the Kanawha River by that name. Cobb’s would also be in South Charleston near Vandalia. The Coal River enters the Kanawha at St Albans, where US 35 comes in from downstream and Ohio. There is quite a ridge, actually a mountain, between the two nearly parallel rivers for many miles. Hanley’s, McCollister’s and Grece’s would have been stops on the lower river before crossing to Gallipolis, Ohio. The Trace followed the bank of the Kanawha River clear to the Ohio, then down the bank of the Ohio to across from Gallipolis, because of high ridges along both rivers. At Gallipolis, they would have rafted over the Ohio, landing at the old town dock area, today’s City Park.

At Gallipolis, the Kanawha Trace followed Gen. Lewis’ Army Road to Chillicothe (after the Battle of Point Pleasant, 1774, he pushed the Indians back to their main city, building a road for his cannon, now US 35: remnants of Old 35, and likely the Trace, are seen in various places through the valleys either side of the new road). The Army Road, and the Trace, started in downtown Gallipolis. Old 35 goes out of Gallipolis north of the old city and goes along Chincamauga Creek inland almost to Mills before it crosses the creek. This probably was the original route. (The creek enters the Ohio River south of Gallipolis, but swings north behind most of the city before it turns inland. It is quite swampy. Chillicothe Road, a street in the south part of Gallipolis, crosses the swamps with a bridge and goes west till it junctions with OH 588 going on to Rodney. OH 588 starts in Gallipolis at the city park and bridges the top end of the swamp.) At Rodney, the Jackson Road is Old 35. Crossing Raccoon Creek at Adamsville, Woods was certainly Wood’s Mill. The Trace then went on to Rio Grande, where the Adamsville Road is north of US 35, actually the back drive on Bob Evans farm. Judge Poor’s (or Squire Poor) was at Winchester, south of 35 at OH 327. This is the original Old 35, or Gallipolis Pike, now called Dixon Run Road. Jackson is still a major Ohio town, the town and trace are both south of modern US 35. Richmond is now called Richmond Dale, and is on a stretch of the old road north of modern US 35. Kilgore’s Ferry over the Scioto River is at the bridge on US 35/50, north of the mouth of Paint Creek. The Trace angled into Chillicothe on Eastern Ave (Jackson or Gallipolis Road). It then turned up Hickory Street to Main Street, and went west past the State Capitol. Chillicothe was the first Capitol of the State of Ohio. It had been a major Shawnee Indian center and is still noted for its Hopewell Indian mounds (Mound City).

Leaving Chillicothe, the Kanawha Trace followed the Zane Trace out of town on the Limestone Road (now Western Ave; Limestone was the original name for Maysville, KY, the destination of the Zane Trace). They went west along Paint Creek (US 50). Elijah Johnson’s would be north of Bourneville, and the Trace followed an old Indian trail that went west up a wide valley. The road is called Lower Twin, and goes to South Salem. From the Covered Bridge on Lower Twin, just west of So Salem, the Trace went north off the present road and kept to the highlands (going directly in front of Robt Smalley’s house, which now sits far back a lane from the road) to Greenfield, where it forded Paint Creek on the rocky bottoms, just south of town (the old Fall Creek Church was farther south, west of Paint Creek on Fall Creek). From there, the Trace turned westward and crossed Rattlesnake Creek at Monroetown (East Monroe, on OH 28), to Leesburg (US 62 and OH 28), and on west to Joel Willis’, now Highland, where the old Lexington Church was just south of town. In Highland, the Trace turned north on Wilmington or Antioch Rd. This is the same old winding Trace until it gets to Wilmington, where the Antioch Road met old 73, which turned west on the trace into town. Old 73 now dead ends at the Airport, heading directly toward the control tower.

The Trace went westward from Wilmington to Waynesville, along OH 73. It crossed Todd Fork Creek and at Caesar’s Creek State Park went north at the Y, going through Harveysburg, where it wound down to Caesar’s Creek (now under the reservoir). The Trace went to Winonah where it forded the Little Miami into Waynesville. Corwin is north of 73, the Trace separated at the Cemetery. It went up into the north part of Waynesville, and came back out on OH 73 on the west side of town. The Trace (and OH 73) continue on west to Springboro and Franklin along the present route (the Old Upper Springboro Pike to Waynesville coming into Franklin on 2nd Street). In the 1870’s the ferry was replaced by a suspension bridge on 4th Street, later by the present Lion Bridge on 2nd Street.

At Franklin, the Trace forded the Great Miami River below the 6th Street RailRoad Bridge, then William Barkalow started a ferry at his house in 1804 (at the Tressell). The Trace went back north along the river and turned west, OH 123, past Rev Tapscott’s house (in front of his Primitive Baptist Church), just east of the town of Carlisle. The Trace continues on from Carlisle, until it crossed Twin Creek, there it turns on Sugar Street to Sunbury and stayed south of Germantown and Big Twin Creek. At the five points, it went ahead (to the right) on the Mudlick and Sigel Road to where Henry Moyer lived, and where it met the road going west out of Germantown (OH 725). The Trace continues along 725 to Gratiot. Keep right at the Y into Gratiot, and OH 122 is the old winding Trace angling northwest to Eaton, where St Clair’s Fort still stood from the Indian Wars. From Eaton, US 35 follows the Trace to Richmond IN. Whitewater Meeting was founded 1809, in a log church at a cemetery that stood almost directly under the US 27 overpass, just beyond the railroad tracks (200 feet west of the old brick church at North G street).

The Kanawha Trace is very important to the settlement of Southern Ohio. The Quakers and Dunkers, and many others from Southern Virginia and North Carolina, followed it as they came to Ohio Country. It was probably the most used land route for migration into Southern Ohio in the years before the Old National Road (c1827).

295 files.usgwarchives.net/oh/misc/merle.txt
Appendix C

North Carolina Black Laws Pertaining to Free Persons of Color

An Act Concerning Slaves and Free Persons of Color (Revised code, 1855).

39. If any free person shall join in any conspiracy, rebellion or insurrection of the slaves, or shall agree to join in any such conspiracy, rebellion or insurrection, or shall procure, or persuade others to join or enlist for that purpose, or shall knowingly and wilfully aid or assist any slave or slaves in a state of rebellion, or engaged in a conspiracy to make insurrection, as by furnishing, or agreeing or promising to furnish such slave with arms, ammunition or any other article for their aid and support, every free person so offending, and being thereof legally convicted, shall be adjudged guilty of felony, and shall suffer death without benefit of clergy. 18 2 c 618 s 3 Free persons joining insurrection, how punished.

60. Any emancipation, granted to any slave or slaves, as herein directed, shall be upon the express condition that he, she or they will leave the State within ninety days from the granting thereof, and never will return within the State afterwards. 1830 c. 9 s 2 Emancipated slaves to leave the state in 90 days.

72. All sums of money which may arise under the provisions of this act, from the hire of free negroes, or mulattoes, shall be paid to the county trustee for county uses. 1826 c 21 s 6 Money arising from the hire of free negroes &c. to be paid to the county trustee.

67. No free negro &c. to migrate into this state, 20 days after notice to remove from the State, or to be held to labour for 10 years or pay $500. It shall not be lawful for any free negro, or mulatto to migrate into this State: and if he or she shall do so, contrary to the provisions of this act, and being thereof informed, shall not within twenty days thereafter, remove out of the state, he or she being thereof convicted in manner hereinbefore directed, shall be liable to a penalty of five hundred dollars; and upon failure to pay the same, within the time prescribed in the judgment awarded against such person or persons, he or she shall be liable to be held in servitude, and at labor for a term of time not exceeding ten years, in such manner and upon such terms as may be prescribed by the court awarding such sentence; and the proceeds arising therefrom, shall be paid over to the county trustee for county purposes: Provided, That in case any free negro or mulatto shall pay the penalty of five hundred dollars, according to the provisions of this act, it shall be the duty of such free negro, or mulatto to remove him or herself out of this state within twenty days thereafter, and for every such failure, he or she shall be subject to the like penalty, as is prescribed for a failure to remove in the first instance. (1826 c 21 s 1)

68. How to proceed against a free negro &c. coming into this State. If any free negro, or mulatto, shall come into this State as aforesaid, he or she may be arrested upon a warrant from any justice of the peace, and carried before any justice of the peace of the county in which he or she may be arrested; who is hereby authorised and required to examine into the case; and if, upon such examination, it shall appear to him that the said free negro, or mulatto has come into this State contrary to the provisions of this act, he shall bind him or her over to the next county court of said county which shall happen thereafter, taking such security for his or her appearance as may be reasonable; and upon neglecting or refusing to give such security, the said justice shall commit such free negro or mulatto to the jail of the county, there to be confined until the next county court, unless, in the mean time, he or she shall give security as aforesaid: and at the said court, it shall be the duty of the said court, to inquire into the case; and if it shall appear to them that the said free negro or mulatto has migrated into this state contrary to the provisions of this act, they shall enter judgment against him or her for the aforesaid penalty, and may award execution thereon; and if he or she shall have no property, or not sufficient to satisfy the said debt, the said court shall adjudge, that the said free negro or mulatto shall be hired out for a term of time not exceeding that prescribed in the 67th section of this act, in such manner and upon such terms as may seem expedient to the said court. (1826 c 21 s 2)

71. Vagabond free negroes &c. how to be dealt with. If any free negro, or mulatto, in any county of this State, who is able to labour, shall be found spending his or her time in idleness and dissipation, or having no regular or honest employment or occupation which he or she is accustomed to follow, it shall and may be lawful for any citizen to apply to a justice of the peace of said county; and upon affidavit to obtain a warrant to arrest such person and bring him or her before some justice of said county; and if upon examination of the cause, it shall appear to said justice that the said free negro or mulatto comes within the provisions of this act, the said Justice shall bind him or her with reasonable security to appear at the next county court of said county; and in case he or she shall fail to give security, such free negro or mulatto shall be committed to the jail of the county until the next county court thereafter; and it shall be the duty of the said said court, if upon examination of the case, he or she shall come within the meaning of this act, to require such free negro or mulatto to enter into bond with sufficient security, in such sum as may be considered by the court reasonable, payable to the State of North Carolina, conditioned for his or her good behaviour and industrious, peaceable deportment for one year: and in case he or she shall fail to give such security, or shall not pay the costs and charges of the prosecution, it shall be lawful for the said court, and they are hereby required to hire out such free negro, or mulatto for a term of time to service and labour, which to them may seem reasonable and just, and calculated to reform him or her to habits of industry and morality, not exceeding three years for any one offence. (1826 c 21 s 5)

76. Who shall be esteemed free negroes &c. All free mulattoes descended from negro ancestors, to the fourth generation inclusive, though one ancestor of each generation may have been a white person, shall come within the provisions of this act. (1826 c 21 s 10)

78. Free negroes &c. going from this State to other States to return in 90 days. If any free negro or person of colour who may be a resident of this State, shall migrate from this State and go into any other State, and shall be absent for the space of ninety days or more, it shall not be lawful for such free negro or person of colour to return to this State; and if any free negro or person of colour shall violate this section, he shall be liable to the same penalties as are prescribed for the punishment of free negroes and persons of
Jameson Jenkins and James Blanks

Appendix C

North Carolina Black Laws

colour who migrate to this State: Provided, that no person shall incur the penalties or disabilities prescribed in this section, if he or she shall have been prevented from so returning to this State by sickness or other unavoidable occurrence. (1830 c 14)

79. **Free negroes not to inter marry with slaves.** It shall not be lawful for any free negro or free person of colour to intermarry or cohabit and live together as man and wife with any slave; and any free negro or person of colour so intermarrying or cohabiting and living as man and wife with a slave, shall be liable to indictment, and upon conviction shall be fined and imprisoned or whipt at the discretion of the court; the whipping not to exceed thirty-nine lashes: Provided, That this section shall not extend to any case where an intermarriage or cohabiting or living together took place before the passing of this act. (1830 c 4 s 3)

80. **Assault by a free person of colour with intent to commit a rape on a white woman punishable with death.** Any person of colour convicted, by due course of law, of an assault with intent to commit a rape upon the body of a white female, shall suffer death without benefit of clergy. (1823 c 1229)

81. **Free negroes &c. not to gamble with slaves.** It shall not be lawful for any free negro, mulatto or person of mixed blood, descended from negro ancestors to the fourth generation inclusive (though one ancestor of each generation may have been a white person) to play at any game of cards, dice, nine pins, or any game of chance or hazard, whether for money, liquor or any kind of property, or not, with any slave or slaves; and any free negro, mulatto or person of mixed blood as aforesaid, so offending, shall, upon conviction before any court having jurisdiction, receive a whipping, not exceeding thirty-nine lashes on his or her bare back. (1830 c 10 s 2)

82. **Free negroes, &c. not to suffer slaves to gamble, in their houses &c.** If any free negro, mulatto or person of mixed blood as aforesaid, shall knowingly suffer any slave or slaves to play at any game of cards, dice, nine-pins or any game of chance or hazard, whether for money, liquor, or any kind of property, or not, in his or her house, or in the yard, field or garden attached or belonging to his or her house, he or she shall be liable to indictment in any court having jurisdiction; and upon conviction, the free negro, mulatto or person of mixed blood as aforesaid, shall receive a whipping on his or her bare back, not exceeding thirty-nine lashes. (1830 c 10 s 3)

83. **Free negroes &c. not to entertain slaves in their houses at certain times.** If any free negro or mulatto, shall entertain any slave in his or her house during the sabbath, or in the night between sun set and sun-rise, he or she shall, for entertaining such slave, be subject to a fine of two dollars for the first offence, and four dollars for every subsequent offence, to be recovered on conviction before any one justice of the peace, and applied to the use of the poor of the county in which the offence shall be committed, saving to the party the right of appealing. (1787 c 287 s 2)

84. **Slaves not to trade with other slaves in prohibited articles.** Penalty. If any slave shall buy or receive from any slave or slaves, or shall sell or deliver to any slave or slaves any of the property prohibited to be bought by or received from, or to be sold or delivered to any slave by any free white person, by the laws of this State, he or she, on conviction thereof before any justice of the peace, shall receive on his or her bare back, not exceeding thirty-nine lashes, well laid on by any constable of said county, or other person appointed for that purpose. (1826 c 13 s 4)

85. **Free negroes, &c. not to trade with slaves in prohibited articles.** Penalty. If any free negro, or mulatto, shall trade with any slave, either by buying from, or selling to him or her any article of property prohibited to be sold to or bought from a slave by any white free person by the laws of this State, he or she may be presented by indictment in the county or Superior Courts; and on conviction, shall receive not less than thirty-nine lashes on his or her bare back. (1826 c 13 s 5 1828 c. 32 s 2)

86. **Parties entitled to an appeal.** Either of the parties or master of the slave convicted under either of the two preceding sections shall be entitled to an appeal from the judgment of the justice or of the county court; and no indictment shall be prosecuted for so trading with a slave, unless the indictment be commenced within twelve months from the time of the offence committed. (1826 c 13 s 7 1828 c 32 s 3)

87. **Free negroes &c. not to peddle &c. without license.** It shall not be lawful for any free negro, mulatto, or free person of color, to hawk or peddle within the limits of any county in this State, without first obtaining a license from the court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions of the county in which they propose to hawk or peddle; which license shall be granted for one year only, and only when seven or more justices are present, and upon satisfactory evidence of the good character of the applicant, to be approved by said court; and for issuing such license the clerk shall be entitled to demand and receive from such applicant the sum of eighty cents: Provided nevertheless, That nothing in this act shall be construed so as to allow such person coming from another State to peddle in this State; and if any free negro, or free person of color shall offend against this section of this act, he or she shall be subject to indictment. (1831 c 28 1830 c 7)

88. **Fines on free persons of colour unable to pay how to be enforced.** When any free person of colour shall be convicted of any offence against the criminal laws of the State, and sentenced to pay a fine, and it shall appear to the satisfaction of the court, that the free person of colour so convicted is unable to pay the fine imposed, the court shall direct the sheriff of the county where such fine is imposed to hire out the free person of colour so convicted to any person who will pay the fine for his services for the shortest space of time. (1831 c. 13 s 1).

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Appendix D

Black Codes Passed by Illinois Legislature

In 1853, the Illinois Legislature passed what were known as the Black Codes. The Codes made it a crime to bring a free African American into Illinois and imposed fines against illegal African American immigrants. The labor of those unable to pay the fine could be sold at public auction. The Black Codes were not invalidated until 1864, toward the end of the Civil War.

On January 29, 1853, John A. Logan of the House Judiciary Committee introduced an act to prevent the settlement of free Negroes in Illinois. When the bill was to be read for the third time prior to enactment, H. W. Blodgett, a dissident member of the Judiciary Committee, expressed his contempt for racial discrimination by moving that the state’s entire black code ought to be repealed. Blodgett’s amendment, however, was decisively defeated a few minutes later by a vote of 58 to 7. Lacking sufficient strength to block the bill, the opponents of Negro exclusion were defeated 45 to 23. Within six days, the state Senate approved the Logan bill 13 to 9. The 1853 exclusion law clearly reflected the “spirit” of Article XIV. Any Negro or mulatto who entered the state with the intent of establishing residency, the act declared, was subject to a fine of fifty dollars.

Lincoln’s Illinois was hardly committed to racial equality. An 1853 state law kept African Americans out. Its legal code forbade interracial marriage, kept African Americans off juries and out of the state militia, banned black testimony against whites, denied them the vote, and had no provision for black schools. Especially in its southern half, predominately settled from slaveholding states, racism was a powerful and practically unchallengeable notion.

To prevent the further immigration of Negroes into the state, the legislature in 1853 established a policy prohibiting free African Americans from settling in Illinois. To enforce the policy, the law authorized the sale of any black who entered the state after 1853 and failed to pay a stiff fine. The celebrated Compromise of 1850 had implicitly encouraged such racist legislation by strengthening the fugitive slave law, which held Northern states responsible for illegal Negro immigration.

The Register strongly supported the fugitive slave law. The paper admonished citizens to obey the law by apprehending and returning Negroes who had escaped Southern slavery. Central Illinois largely avoided the onus of enforcing the law. The area’s citizens seemed to have taken a narrowly legalistic point of view, disregarding the larger moral questions but insisting that a Negro be proven a slave before being returned to the South. ...The Journal kept unusually silent, unwilling to break the law or abrogate the fragile compromise that held the Union together.

Any Negro or mulatto who entered the state with the intent of establishing residency, the act declared, was subject to a fine of fifty dollars. If the black person upon conviction was unable to pay the fine, the law instructed the Justice of the Peace to auction the unfortunate black to the bidder who would agree to pay the cost of the fine for the shortest period of labor. The act, then, established a system of black convict labor that strongly resembled involuntary servitude. The failure of the black person to leave the state within ten days after his “time of service” had expired, moreover, rendered him liable to a second prosecution. The penalty for the second offense, however, was to be raised from fifty to one hundred dollars, and for a third offense from one hundred to one hundred and fifty dollars. If the offender was unable to pay the increased fine, he was again to be sold into labor.


298 Zucker, pp. 313-314.


301 Zucker, pp. 313-314.
Appendix E

African American Activities in Springfield in 1840s and 1850s

Runaway Slave, James Foster, Living in Springfield

In 1839, James Foster, a runaway slave, settled in Springfield and lived there for two years. In 1841, an Arkansas man claimed Foster. He applied to Springfield Judge Samuel Treat, who kept an African American servant in his own home. The Judge demanded proof of ownership and then surrendered Foster to his master and his fate in Arkansas.

James M. Shelby Runs Away from Indenture to Henry B. Truett

Sometime in November of 1840, James M. Shelby, the indentured servant of Henry B. Truett, must have run away from Truett. Truett complained to the Circuit Court and Judge J. Adams issued a warrant for James’ arrest. H. B. Truett maketh oath on complaint sayeth that James M. Shelby a bound apprentice to me the said H. B. Truett has left ___ run away from his the said H. B. Truett service and is now absent from the service of H. B. Truett without his leave.

H. B. Truett
Sworn this 28th Nov. 1840
J. Adams J. P. S. C.

Indenture to Henry B. Truett
the Sangamo Journal

Order to Bring James M. Shelby Before Court to Answer Complaint of Henry B. Truett

On November 28, 1840, Judge Adams ordered the sheriff to “take the body” of James M. Shelby and bring him before the Judge to answer the complaint of Henry B. Truett that James, his indentured servant, had run away and to be dealt with according to law.

State of Illinois
Sangamon County
People of the State of Illinois to the Sheriff or any Constable of said County greeting:
Whereas H. B. Truett made complaint on his oath as follows Towit James M. Shelby a bound apprentice to him the said H. B. Truett has left or run away from his the said H. B. Truett service and is now absent from the said H. B. Truett service without his the said H. B. Truett leave
These are therefore to command you to take the body of the said James M. Shelby and bring him forthwith before me at my office in the City of Springfield to answer the said Complaint and be dealt with according to law
Nov. 28, 1840
Springfield
J. Adams P.J.P.S Co.

Luther Ransom Moves to Springfield and Opens Boarding House

In 1840, Luther moved to Springfield and by October 18, 1841, he operated an underground railroad station there at his boarding house near the Globe Tavern.

Sidney McIntry, “A Mulatto Girl,” Indenture To Nathaniel A. Rankin

On March 3, 1841, Nathaniel A. Rankin entered into an indenture with 9-year-old Sidney McIntry, a mulatto girl. She was to be taught “the art and mystery of housekeeping” and was to serve until she reached the age of eighteen on June 15, 1859. At the expiration of the term of service, Rankin was to give her a new Bible and two new suits of clothes “suitable to her condition.”

Abraham Lincoln Represents Mary Shelby in Divorce From Mack Shelby

On March 8, 1841, Mary Shelby, Mack’s wife, filed for divorce in the Circuit Court of Sangamon County. Abraham Lincoln was Mary’s attorney. The petition stated that until two years ago (1839), Mary lived with Mack, “though not in the highest state of connubial felicity.” Mary asserted that they had since gone their separate ways and charged that Mack was a habitual drunkard and had contributed nothing to her support. Mary later dismissed the case.

William Lewis May Pays Debt By Delivering African American Bernice and Her Child

In May of 1841, William Lewis May was elected mayor of Springfield. Kane v. May & Eastham- May and Eastham gave Kane a promissory note but failed to pay. Kane sued May and Eastham in an action of assumpsit to recover the debt. William Lewis May and Eastham retained Logan and Lincoln and pleaded not guilty. May and Eastham later withdrew their pleas, and the court ruled for Kane and awarded $112.50 in damages. The parties agreed that in lieu of paying in cash May would deliver the African American girl Bernice and her child to Kane to satisfy the judgment.
Jameson Jenkins and James Blanks

Appendix E

African American Activities in 1840s and 1850s Springfield

Thomas Cox Advertises for Apprentice Barber

On July 2, 1841, Thomas Cox, the African American, advertised in the Sangamo Journal for a journeyman barber and an apprentice.

Josephine, “A Girl Of Color,” Indenture to James F. Owings

On August 5, 1841, James F. Owings, Clerk of the United States District Court at Springfield, entered into an indenture with 8-year-old Josephine, a girl of color. She was to be taught “the household duties of a female, such as cooking washing & etc.” and was to serve until she reached the age of eighteen on August 1, 1851. At the expiration of the term of service Owings was to give Josephine a new Bible and two new suits of clothes “suitable to her condition.” The indenture was witnessed by Jacob Bunn.

African American Ben Henderson Takes Runaway Slave From Jacksonville to Springfield

At dawn one morning in the mid-1840s, Ben Henderson of Jacksonville began preparing to deliver some cradles to Springfield. Henderson, a black man, was a former slave who paid his master $250 for his freedom before settling in Jacksonville. But before Henderson had loaded his wagon, two runaway slaves—a man and a woman—came to his home and asked for help on their journey to freedom. A bounty of $1000 had been offered for the man. Henderson put some hay in the bottom of his wagon and had the couple lie on it. He spread a wagon cover over them, then put more hay and his cradles on top. During the day, Henderson drove around the Springfield city square, stopping and talking to people, before apparently taking the slaves to the home of a Springfield area man who could help them continue their daring journey to freedom. No one ever suspected Henderson was risking his own freedom by breaking federal and state laws against harboring or assisting runaway slaves. His role was documented by Jacksonville author Julia Wolcott Carter in “The Underground Railroad”, a story of abolitionist activity in the area. Henderson was just one of the hundreds of free African Americans, Indians and whites who were allies in what came to be known as the “underground railroad”—an informal system that helped slaves flee to freedom.

The Illinois State Colonization Society Organized

By 1845, the colonization movement was strong enough to support a statewide organization, the Illinois State Colonization Society, organized in Springfield. Its purpose was to establish a colony of free African Americans on the west coast of Africa, as envisioned by the national society. The group intended to meet annually, with members paying annual dues of one dollar to support the venture. Colonization was a bipartisan effort but generally attracted more Whigs than Democrats. On January 3, 1845, a meeting was held in the Hall of the House of Representatives at the State Capitol to form a State of Illinois Colonization Society. A proposed constitution was presented and a speech was given by Rev. Finley, agent for the Missouri Colonization Society, on the commercial advantages from establishing a “Christian Republic in Africa.” It was reported that there were 65 members. Elizabeth Jones, “A Girl Of Colour,” Indenture To Robert Irwin. On February 17, 1845, Robert Irwin entered into an indenture with Elizabeth Jones, a 17 year-old girl of colour. Elizabeth was to be taught the art and mystery of domestic housewifery. She was to serve until the age of 18, or August 25, 1846. At the expiration of her term she is to be given a new Bible and two new suits of clothes suited to her condition. Elizabeth signed the indenture with an “X.” In 1841, Robert Irwin purchased a residence at the southeast corner of Sixth and Cook Streets now known as the Iles House.

Certificate of Freedom: Thomas Roundtree

On March 20, 1845, Thomas Roundtree, a 21-year-old African American of “copper color,” filed a certificate of freedom with the Sangamon County Circuit Clerk. Thomas was the son of Lucy Roundtree and a brother of Feba (Phoebe), who married William Fleurville.

In the Matter of the application of Thomas Roundtree, a mulatto Application for Freedom,

And now at this day came Thomas Roundtree, and application having been made to the Court. It is ordered, that the original certificate of freedom of said Thomas be entered upon the records of this Court by the Clerk thereof and that he endorse a certificate on said original certificate stating the time the same was entered and the name and description of the person producing the same and that the following evidence of their freedom be entered upon the records of this Court and a copy thereof be granted to him when applied for. To wit: Barren County Kentucky This day I have sold Lucy to herself for twenty years work done by her to be free and eight of her children Free them and all their future increase from this day until the end of the world to wit Feba, Betsy, Isaac, Nancy, Daniel, Judah, Thomas and Sophia I do relinquish all my right and title to the above nine slaves to themselves from me my heirs and all other persons forever as witness my hand and seal this 13 day of August 1826

Henry Roundtree

303 The Young Eagle, Kenneth J. Winkle, Taylor Trade Publishing, Dallas Texas, 2001, p. 255. (Hereafter referred to as Winkle.)
304 Power, pp. 405-406.
305 Elizabeth Jones was born on August 25, 1828.

115
Rhoda Clark Received Into Membership of Second Presbyterian Church

On July 6, 1845, African American Rhoda Clark was received into membership of the Second Presbyterian Church from the Colored (African) Baptist Church of Springfield.  

Abraham Lincoln Represents Marvin B. Pond Indicted for Harboring Slave

On June 11, 1845, Lincoln and Harris appeared in the Menard County Circuit Court as attorneys for Marvin B. Pond in the criminal case of People v. Pond. Pond was indicted for harboring John Hauley, a fugitive slave from Kentucky, and posted a $300 bond to guarantee his appearance at the next term of Court. William Hauley of Kentucky claimed ownership of John Hauley. The court quashed the first count of the indictment, and Pond pleaded not guilty to the second count. The jury found Pond not guilty. Lincoln and Herndon received $5 for their legal services. Marvin was the 38-year-old son of Billious Pond, the Farmington abolitionist.

“This was the only time such a charge was made in Menard (County),” wrote Laura Isabelle Osburn Nance in her book “A Piece of Time (In Lincoln County).” The Pond family believed the indictment resulted from information given by Mentor Graham, Abraham Lincoln’s teacher in New Salem, she says. Although no proof exists, Nance suggests that Lincoln himself, one of only two defense attorneys in Menard County at the time, may have moved to quash the case. The only document filed was a motion to dismiss the indictment signed by either Lincoln or the other defense attorney, and it is missing. In November 1845, Pond was acquitted for lack of evidence. "Undoubtedly Mr. Lincoln could have heard the Pond case, because it drew so much attention," Nance wrote. “Perhaps he received impressions from there concerning the question of abolition which helped him decide (his stance on the slavery) question in later years.”

Illinois Constitutional Convention Proposal Excluding Immigration of Free African Americans to Illinois

In 1847, the Illinois constitutional convention adopted a proposal to be submitted separately to the voters on March 6, 1848, which excluded immigration of free Negroes to Illinois. Voters approved both the constitution and this provision.

Samuel S. Ball Departs Springfield for Liberia

“Ball left Springfield for New Orleans in February, only to be stopped by ice on the Mississippi River. He made a second “successful” attempt to reach Liberia via Baltimore in May.”

The 1848 Constitution and the Prohibition of Free Negro Immigration to Illinois

In 1847, the Illinois constitutional convention adopted a proposal to be submitted separately to the voters which excluded immigration of free Negroes to Illinois. On March 6, 1848, voters approved both the constitution and this provision, Article XIV. The final vote on the Constitution itself was 49,060 to 20,083 while the tally on Article XIV was 50,261 to 21,297. The Sangamon County vote was 1,817 for the new constitution and 200 against. “Sangamon County…returned a total of 1,483 votes in favor of excluding African Americans and only 148 opposing their exclusion.” The 1848 Constitution specifically denied the rights of suffrage and militia service to free Negroes. The 1848 Constitution formally banned slavery in the state, but the state did not repeal the Black Laws until 1865.

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306 Minutes of the Second Presbyterian Church.


308 Power, p. 576: Marvin B. Pond, born Nov. 3, 1807, in New York, married there twice, came to Sangamon County in 1837, and in 1839 moved to Menard County, where he died in July 1871, leaving a family. His widow’s name was Jane Beerup.

309 The Underground Railroad, How the College Played A Role In Helping Runaway Slaves, Anthony Hebron. www.laddcenter.com/ugrr/IUunderground%20Railroad.doc

310 Winkle, p. 256.


312 1881 History, p. 274.

313 Zucker, p. 311.
Illinois Supreme Court Invalidates Law Providing For Return of Fugitive Slaves

In 1849, the Illinois Supreme Court invalidated the state law providing for the return of fugitive slaves. The ruling by Justice Samuel Hubbel Treat was a victory for an African American from Missouri who claimed that his arrest in Sangamon County was unconstitutional. The law had held that an African American coming into Illinois without a certificate of freedom could be jailed on the presumption that he was a runaway. Treat said that the state could not legislate on a matter within the exclusive jurisdiction of Congress.

The Fugitive Slave Law

On September 18, 1850, President Millard Fillmore signed the Fugitive Slave Law. It turned out to be one of the most vulnerable measures ever passed by Congress; the storm of protest it aroused never subsided. By denying the testimony of the alleged runaway and by assuming that he was guilty rather than innocent, the measure immediately became a powerful propaganda weapon for the reformers. The abolitionist press referred to it as “the Man-Stealing Law” and “the Bloodhound Bill.”

Young Boys Harass Violet Musick, a Colored Woman

Even when they were permitted to remain in Springfield, African Americans suffered harassment at the hands of local whites. In 1851, a gang of white boys mounted a campaign of intimidation against a black woman in the city. “The house occupied by Violet, a colored woman,—who minds her own business and interferes with no one,—has been assailed night after night, by a parcel of half-grown boys, for the mere purpose of distressing her, until she is now nearly a maniac,” a witness reported. “On Friday night last some of these persons actually entered her house, while she, frantic stood by and did nothing. Rather than condemning the episode as an instance of racist violence, however, the local newspaper simply cautioned that Violet’s impending insanity would add another pauper to the city’s welfare rolls. “if the corporation do not want the support of another individual,” ran the warning, “they had better see to this thing in time; if it is not now too late.” In the 1850 United States Census, Violet Musick is listed as a 65-year-old woman who was born in Virginia.

Illinois Supreme Court Voids Contracts for Sale of African Americans

In 1852, the Illinois Supreme Court voided contracts for the sale of African Americans.

Lincoln and the Illinois Colonization Society

In 1852 Lincoln said that he imagined he might become “something of a leader against slavery encroachments.” In fact, he became a manager of the Illinois State Colonization Society, addressed their annual meetings in 1853 and 1855, contributed money to the society, and enjoyed speaking with its agents. During the Civil War, he continued to promote colonization (a pet scheme of his “beau ideal of a statesman” Henry Clay) despite criticism from some Radical Republicans.

Confrontation Between “Negro girl” and Drunken Irishman

The following article appeared in the September 9, 1854, Weekly Capitol Enterprise.

Race.—Near the C. & M. R. R. depot, last evening, a drunken Irishman said something to a Negro girl, which seemed to displease her, and she answered him back rather saucily, and started off on a run. The Irishman then gave chase, and held his own for about a hundred yards, when his toe struck some object, and he was brought from the perpendicular to the horizontal in the twinkling of an eye, much to the discomfiture of his nose, which struck the ground first, leaving its mark in the dust.

Fugitive Slave Kidnappers Taken From Chicago to Springfield and Released by Judge Samuel Treat

Chicago Daily Tribune, Sept. 21, 1854.

Two colored men, on their way to Chicago, were seized and taken from the cars at LaSalle, Illinois, by three men, who said they were not officers. The colored men were known to be free; one was “a respectable resident of Chicago.” Some of the passengers interfered; but it being night, and very dark, and the cars starting on the colored men were left in the hands of their kidnappers. Chicago, Illinois. Three men from Missouri, with a warrant from the Governor of that State, to take a certain fugitive slave, seized a man whom they met in the street, bound him with a handkerchief, and to quicken his steps beat him with the butt of a pistol. He succeeded in shaking off his captors and fled, a pistol-bullet being sent after him, which did not hit him. He made good his escape.

316 Winkle, p. 264.
318 Weekly Capitol Enterprise, September 9, 1854, p. 2, cl. 5.
The men were arrested and held to trial for assault with deadly weapons. By an extraordinary conspiracy on the part of District Attorney Hoyne, Sheriff Bradley, and others, these men were taken from jail to be carried to Springfield, Illinois, two hundred miles distant, to appear before Chief Justice Treat, that he might inquire “whether said alleged kidnappers were justly held to bail and imprisoned.” It was so suddenly done that the counsel for the kidnapped man and for the State of Illinois had not time to reach Springfield before the men were discharged and on their way to Missouri. The Grand Jury of the County (in which Chicago is) had found a true bill against them, of which the Sheriff professed to be ignorant, (which was deemed hardly possible,)—under which bill they would probably have been convicted and sentenced to the State Prison. Thus the omnipotent Slave Power reaches forth its hand into our most Northern cities, and saves its minions from the punishment which their lawless acts have justly merited. —

*Chicago Daily Tribune*, Sept. 21, 1854.

The Abolitionists: Summer of 1854

Illinois became a sort of battleground in the summer and fall of 1854, with vigorous campaigning by both sides. Springfield attracted half a dozen of the nation’s most prominent abolitionists that summer — Salmon P. Chase, Joshua R. Giddings, Cassius M. Clay, Ichabod Coddington, and others — yet neither Herndon nor Lincoln spoke at any of these meetings.

Dred Scott Decision

In March of 1857, the United States Supreme Court’s Chief Justice Taney rendered the Dred Scott decision holding that: (1) a Negro could not be a citizen of the United States; and (2) the Missouri Compromise was not and never had been constitutional. The antislavery agitation had an unfortunate effect on Herndon’s personality. He lost something of that exuberance and versatility that had made him a worthy example of the Aufklärung in the Middle West. Now all his emotions were squeezed through one wine press and the juice was bitter. In his calmer moments Herndon himself realized what was happening. “My colored brethren here,” he wrote in joshing style to a Democratic friend, “say ‘shy Good Lord-a-massy Billy de Nigger am the great object of the American Globe... dey am always de talk ‘Can’t legislate for mail bags; but that the nigger am in the threads...’” But for the most part Herndon had the intolerance of a man whose knowledge comes entirely from books. He knew all about slavery, about the number of Negroes, and slave insurrections, and the value of Southern crops. He could give a disquisition on European forms of servitude and denounced the Inquisition and the Bastille. He could detail the legislative history of the Missouri Compromise and the Kansas-Nebraska bill. But did he really know slavery? He left Kentucky an infant, and, except for one hasty visit in 1858, probably never returned to a slave state. Lincoln was bound by birth and marriage to the Southern tradition; Douglas had firsthand knowledge of slavery in actual practice; Herndon knew it only from books. It was a thing to be pointed at from a distance to be censured, to be feared. It never occurred to him that slavery was something more than organized oppression, that the plantation was a way of life.

Fugitive Slave Case at Springfield

PAUL M. ANGLE

A month later slavery was lifted from the realm of political argument and placed squarely on Springfield’s doorstep as a living, human problem. Late in July, a few miles south of the city, the United States Marshal arrested a negro who was alleged to be a fugitive slave from Missouri. As it was Springfield’s first case of the kind since the passage of the fugitive slave law of 1850, interest was widespread. When the U. S. Commissioner, S. A. Corneau, heard the case a few days later, the courtroom was crowded; but there were no threats of violence, and the general attitude was that if a fair trial should show the fugitive to be a slave, he should be returned to his owner. After W. H. Herndon and John E. Rosette had argued the case for the defendant, and E. B. Herndon and John A. McClernand had appeared for the claimant, the commissioner took it under advisement. A few days later he decided that the negro should be returned to Missouri. The crowd which had gathered to hear the decision quietly dispersed.

DAVID DONALD

Late in July Springfield was shocked to learn that a Negro in Logan County, a few miles north, had been arrested as a fugitive slave and was to be hauled before the United States Commissioner at the state capital. ...Though there was much interest there was little excitement in the state capital. The Negro was, of course, poor, and Herndon “freelyquickly as well as freely” volunteered his legal services for the defense, securing also the assistance of John E. Rosette, a better Republican than he was a lawyer. For the slave’s owner appeared Herndon’s brother, the crabbed and crippled Elliott.

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320 Lincoln, David Donald, Simon & Schuster, New York, 1995, p. 75. (Hereafter referred to as Donald.)
321 Donald, pp. 103-104.
322 Angle, p. 226.
Jameson Jenkins’s stepdaughter, Jane Watkins, married Richard Mason Hancock on January 6, 1867. Hancock was an active and early participant in the African American civil rights movement.

Richard M. Hancock: Secretary of New Haven Negroes Against Colonization


The colored people and the American Colonization Society. According to public notices, the colored people of New Haven assembled in the Temple St. Church, Monday evening, June 21, 1856, for the purpose of protesting against the American Colonization Society, especially as it is reveted in the spirit and action of its friends in Connecticut. 

Mr. Robert J. Cowes was called to the Chair, and Richard M. Hancock appointed Secretary. On motion, a committee of five was appointed to draft resolutions, expressive of the sentiments of the people convened—who, having retired unconsulted, reported the following preamble and resolutions, which, after thorough discussion, were unanimously adopted:

Whereas, Continuous efforts are made to procure funds from the people of this State, and from the Legislature thereof, by the friends and supporters of the American Colonization Society, for the purpose of sending us from the State, under the misguided belief, that as a people we are not opposed to the principle and spirit of the said Society. Therefore,

Resolved, That we cordially approve of and re-adopt the united testimony against the American Colonization Society, which the colored people have given, as individuals, and in all their State and National Conventions ever since the first organization of that Society.

Resolved, That we are opposed to any appropriations being made to the funds of that Society, by the Legislature, because, as a people, we have no intention of ever emigrating to Liberia, or to any other part of the continent of Africa.

Resolved, That as our ancestors were brought here by violence and wrong, and compelled to assist in redeeming and cultivating the soil, and to fight the battles of freedom, we their descendants shall resist here and improve our condition, and ever seek for the full enjoyment of all our civil rights as American citizens.

Resolved, That whenever, as a people, we wish the aid of the citizens of this State or of the Legislature, to transport us to any new locality, we will make the fact known to the public by some one or more of our number duly authorized to speak for us, and until such agent or agents shall appear, we hope none will listen to emissaries, whose zeal for our interests, their knowledge—whom we have never chosen to speak for us in matters pertaining to our rights and interests, and who continually mislead the public mind by misrepresenting our real condition, and our deliberate purpose to remain in this country.

Resolved, That these resolutions be published as the sentiments of the colored people of New Haven in 1856, as the colored people of this city resolved in 1831, “that we will resist all attempts to remove us from this our native country.”

R. J. Cowes, Chairman.

R. M. Hancock, Secretary.

Liberator, Boston, Massachusetts, Friday, June 20, 1856.

Richard M. Hancock Recognized


To speak of one who has made a success in this department is indeed a pleasure, for in this work he has had the honor of showing Negro talent and also overcoming those obstacles that defeat success in many men. It used to be that only white men could do the “bossing,” but the bottom rail is on the top, and Mr. Hancock is now doing such work as guides over seven hundred white employees and gives satisfaction to his generous employers. We have said elsewhere that brains will tell, and here is an indisputable evidence. Do you think he would be employed if he could not do the work? No, indeed, not a bit of it. He is competent, and that indeed is the reason. Why should the firm trust him with the disposition of their thousands unless he could make them thousands? The truth is they do not know his superior, and hence employ him. It is a praiseworthy thing that his employers could see the man, the artist, the draughtsman, and be influenced neither by the color of his skin nor the drops of blood that may be in his veins attributable to black parents. 

I am indebted to a sketch, which appeared in the columns of the Detroit Plaindealer, May 14, 1886, for many of the facts which appear here.

Mr. Hancock was born of free parents at Newberne, North Carolina, November 22, 1832. His father, William H. Hancock, is a hale old gentleman, still alive, residing at Chicago, Illinois. At an early age Richard was sent to a private school in his native town, the public schools of which, and indeed the laws of the “Old North State,” being then opposed to the education of Negro children. Here he mastered the rudiments of a common school course, and when thirteen years old began as a carpenter’s apprentice under his father. He worked nine years at the bench; by that time having gained a thorough knowledge of the trade, and attained his majority, he left North Carolina and went to New Haven, Connecticut. He soon found employment at his trade with Messrs[,] Atwater & Treat and Doolittle &

325 Liberator, Boston, Massachusetts, Volume: XXVI, Issue: 25, Friday, June 20, 1856, p. 99.
326 Freeman, Indianapolis, Indiana, Saturday, July 3, 1897, Volume: 9, Issue: 27, p. 2.
Company, two white firms that were not slow in recognizing him as an efficient workman. “Joinering” was the particular branch of the trade at which he had been engaged up to this time.

He finally drifted to Lockport, New York, where he followed ship carpentry two years, building canal boats, after which he was taken into the employ of the Holly Manufacturing Company, with whom he remained four years. While with them he learned pattern-making, a branch of the trade that requires first of all a complete mastery of carpentry, besides an acquaintance with higher mathematics, a knowledge of draughting and the constant exercise of the very best judgment. For four years he worked and studied to make himself proficient, and at the end of that period had mastered all the theory and much of the practical details of that branch of the trade.

In 1862 he came to Chicago, and shortly after was given employment as a pattern-maker in the shops of the Eagle Works Manufacturing Company, whose president, Mr. P. W. Gates, was a true and tried friend of the Negro, when all the law and nearly all the public sentiment of the land was in favor of keeping him in slavery. At that time this company had the largest machine and boiler shops and foundry that was in operation in the West.

After working as a journeyman two years, he was promoted to the foremanship of the pattern department, and had in his charge fourteen men, all of whom were white. To serve under a Negro foreman, no matter if he did know more about the business than they did, was too much for their Northern blood, so they “struck.” For three days Mr. Hancock was “monarch of all he surveyed.” But the prospect was not a pleasing one, for the shop was crowded with orders and there was more work to get out than he could perform unaided. So fearing that its delayed execution might injure him with his employers, he went before the president and tendered his resignation. After hearing him through, Mr. Gates quietly said: “Oh! go back to work. It will all come right in a hundred years.” He obeyed. Other pattern-makers to fill the places of the strikers were soon engaged, and ten years subsequent service with the same firm showed that less than a century could make all things right.

While with the Eagle Works Company, he was instrumental in teaching two colored young men tradesMr. Beverly Meeks as a machinist, and Mr. John Johnson as a pattern-maker. The former is now in the employ of the C. & N. W. Railroad Company at their shops in Detroit, while the latter is plying his trade at Denver, Colorado. He also used his influence with good effect to secure work at their trades for other colored men in the foundry and blacksmith shops of the works.

In 1873 the firm for which he worked went out of business, and a new firm, composed of two of his former superintendents, Messrs. Fraser and Chalmers, started the Liberty Iron Works in this city. They showed their confidence in his ability by immediately placing him at the head of their pattern shops. Their business soon reached large proportions, requiring now the constant services of over seven hundred skilled employees, fifteen of whom are kept busy making patterns. The firm makes a specialty of manufacturing intricate mining machinery, and in the course of a year gets out an almost infinite variety of indescribable work, for most of which new patterns have to be made. All of the work must conform strictly to the drawings in every particular. This will show the importance of the position held by Mr. Hancock in the second largest establishment of the kind in this country. He has been with his present employers fifteen years, commands a good salary, and is held in high esteem by them and his fellow-workmen. In the same shop with him is his son George, who is also regarded as an efficient pattern-maker.

In private life Mr. Hancock is a public-spirited and progressive citizen; a member of several societies, in some of which he holds a high rank, notably the Masonic fraternity; a vestryman of St. Thomas’ Episcopal church, and an interesting talker at the literary sessions of the Prudence Crandall circle. He has a cozy home on Fulton street, where, assisted by his wife, an amiable and intelligent lady, his many friends are made welcome.327

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327 Simmons, pp. 405-409.
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The two settlements, Beech and Roberts, share many commonalities. Anthony Roberts migrated from North Carolina in 1830 and farmed at Beech Settlement. The Settlement has a rich history and was an early farming community of “free” African-American migrants from the South. Descendants gather at Beech in August for an annual reunion in celebration of their ancestors’ legacy … … “the Old Beech Church” is the remaining landmark for the Beech Settlement.