

THE QUARTO

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THE BITTER, ENDURING LEGACY OF SLAVERY IN AMERICA



In August 1791 the slaves of the plantations on the northern plain of St. Domingue (Haiti) rose up and took revenge on their masters. The prosperity of France's richest colony had been enabled by a culture of wealthy planters, often-brutal overseers, and a large labor force of enslaved Africans. This edifice came crashing down with the French Revolution. The slaves set the sugar plantations afire as seen here in a view to the eastward from the port city of Cap Français.

By the time early abolitionist George Bourne wrote, “*the detention of men in bondage indefinite, should receive unmitigated execration*” in 1834, slavery had been part of the American scene for more than two centuries. First in the British colonies, beginning with the importation of some twenty African captives to Virginia in 1619, and then in the United States after the American Revolution, slavery had enormous social, political and economic impact. As Americans struggled with the stark divide between the rhetoric of individual

rights and the reality of keeping others in chains based on ethnicity, opponents and defenders of slavery battled in print to win adherents to their side of the struggle. For every John Woolman, George Bourne or William Lloyd Garrison in the antislavery camp, defenders of slavery like William Harper, James Henry Hammond and Thomas Dew wrote passionately of slavery as a positive social good and a mainstay of American economic prosperity. When Hammond declared, “I firmly believe that American slavery is not only not a sin, but especially commanded by

God through Moses, and approved by Christ through his disciples,” he spoke for a significant number of antebellum white Americans. While the conclusion of the Civil War and the ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment in 1865 brought a legal resolution to the issue of slavery in America, the unbridgeable philosophical gap over “the peculiar institution” and its legacy has influenced society, law and policy in the United States to the present day.

In this issue of *The Quarto*, our curators provide glimpses of the Clements Library’s remarkable holdings



of primary sources on American slavery. Associate Director and Map Curator Brian Dunnigan's essay details the existence of African American and Native American enslavement in the Great Lakes region during the eighteenth century. Recent recipient of a U-M School of Information graduate degree Noa Kasman, who for two years as a Joyce Bonk Fellow has worked on digitizing our collections, writes about the fascinating information about slavery contained in antiquarian maps, especially Edwin Hergesheimer's 1861 *Map Showing the Distribution of the Slave Population of the Southern States of the United States*. Mary H. Parsons, longtime volunteer in the WLCL Manuscripts Division, uses an 1838 letter from Nancy Adams in our Weld-Grimké Papers as the basis for her evocative article, "Documenting the Life of Nancy Adams, a Fugitive Slave." Our photographic and other images of

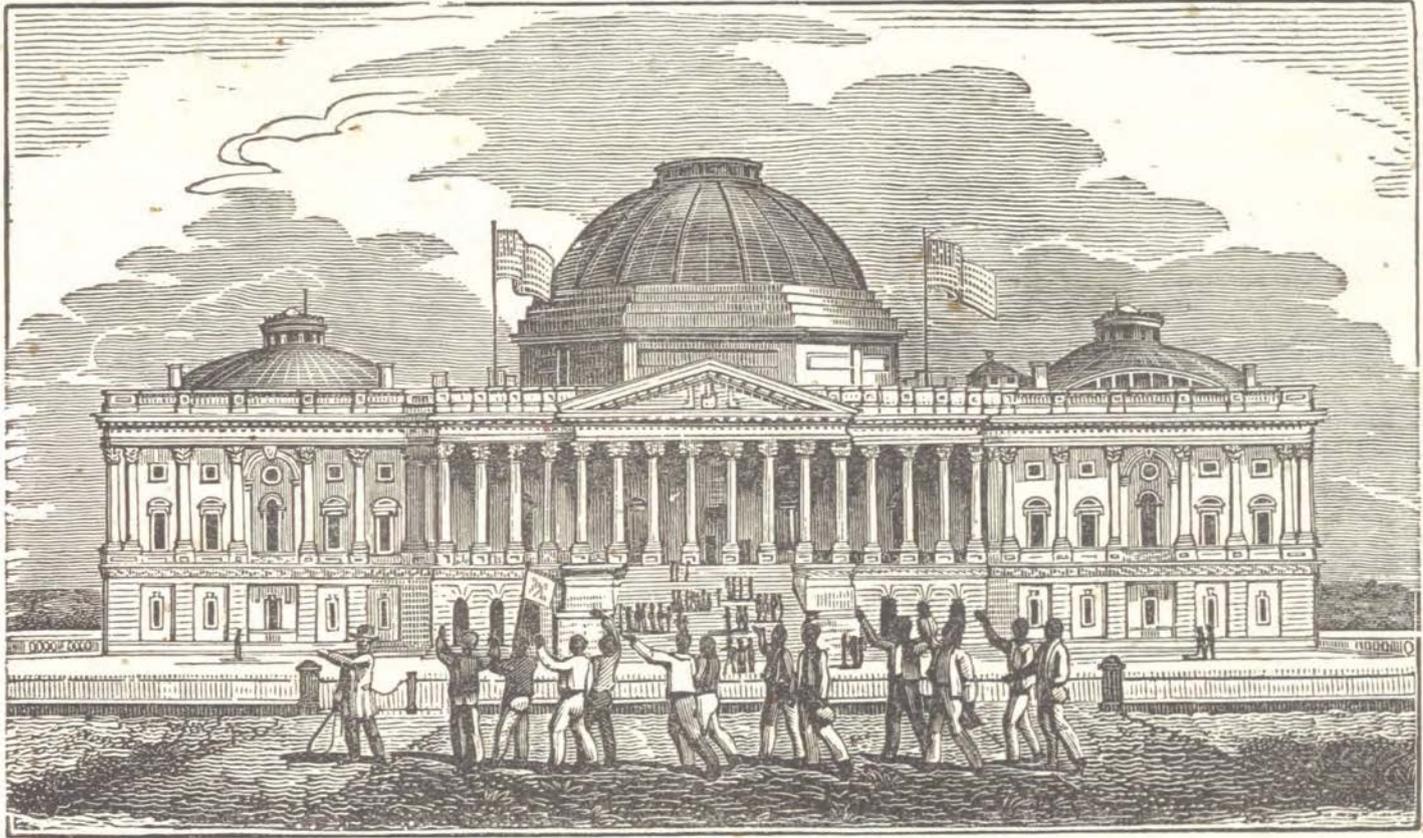
slavery are rich and compelling pictorial sources for researchers in this field, as Graphics Curator Clayton Lewis makes clear in his illustrated essay. For space reasons we did not focus attention in this issue on our holdings of books, pamphlets, and newspapers with slavery content, but I can assure you that they are both numerous and full of interesting material on all aspects of the subject.

I regard slavery and segregation as regrettable proof that freedom and equality have always been elusive, shifting targets for Americans. Too often at various times in our history our noble, even inspiring words have led to action on behalf of some rather than all. Although our lengthy individual and collective history of striving to build a better society on this continent merits genuine respect, our failure in many cases to include large portions of our population in the results requires honest assessment and a renewed commitment

to do better. While reading the Library's primary sources on slavery can be painful, it's essential to understanding where we've come from on race issues and to realizing how far we still have to go. Here at the Clements we believe in the value of history to help build a better future, the "applied history" approach that Benjamin Shambaugh and others articulated a century ago during the Progressive era. "Where did we come from" and "how did we get here" are important questions to pose in formulating answers to "where do we go from here" and "how do we get there." Understanding the history of American slavery and its powerful effects on our nation is a prime example of that reality, and it's one my WLCL colleagues and I are eager to help our researchers explore.

— J. Kevin Graffagnino
Director

"THE HOME OF THE OPPRESSED."



CAPITOL OF THE UNITED STATES. "HAIL COLUMBIA."

SLAVERY ON THE LAKES

Summer has come to Michigan and to the Great Lakes that enfold the state's two peninsulas. It is unlikely that many of us have ever given much thought to the practice of human slavery as a part of daily life here during the eighteenth century. The seaward flow of the waters over Niagara Falls and through the heart of New France (later British Canada) passed colonial towns and Native villages where one was almost certain to encounter persons in bondage. In later years the establishment of the Northwest Territory and Upper and Lower Canada would end the practice, but until that time slavery was a fact of life.

Discovering details of slavery on the Great Lakes is a bit more complicated than it is farther to the south, where the overwhelming majority of enslaved persons were of African or part-African descent. In the northern forests of the Great Lakes and Laurentian region many slaves were Native Americans, people usually described under the generic term *panis*. This name is generally supposed to be a corruption of "Pawnee," a nation residing on the eastern Great Plains. *Panis* were generally captives taken during the incessant conflict and raiding between Native nations or between Native Americans and European colonists.

The distinction between African and *panis* slaves is often difficult to discern. Surviving church records, such as the ledger of births, marriages, and burials at Ste. Anne de Michilimackinac, usually identify *panis* as such, and occasionally note slaves of African descent as well. *Panis* were much in evidence—and in demand—at the military and fur-trading posts scattered around the lakes. In 1768, for example, Surgeon John Graham and his wife Isabella searched in vain for domestic help among the wives of Fort Niagara's soldiers because most already worked for other officers. The solution? Dr. Graham resolved to go to Detroit to purchase two young *panis* girls to assist his wife with household chores and the care of their cow.

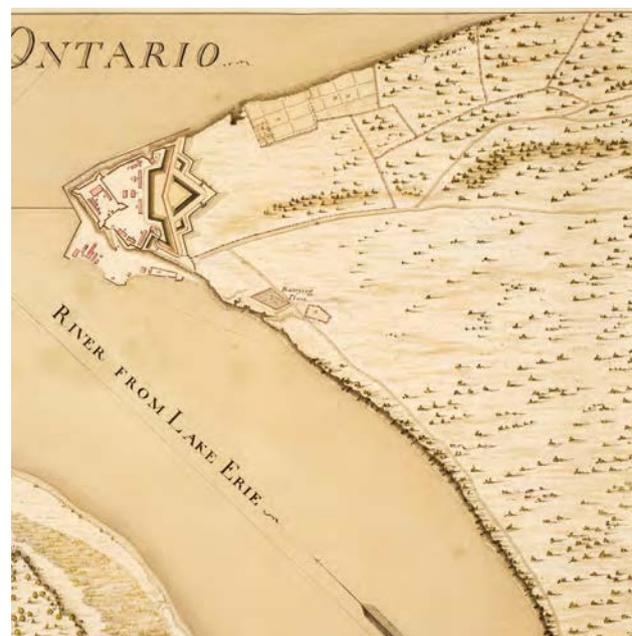
Both Michilimackinac and Detroit had substantial numbers of *panis* within

their populations. A *panis* woman assisted trader Alexander Henry in evading Ojibwa warriors when they surprised and captured Michilimackinac in 1763. Many prosperous traders, such as John Askin, owned both *panis* and African Americans. Askin held two black men, Pompey and Jupiter, during his years at Michilimackinac. *Panis* appear in a variety of contexts during the French régime, including the fur trade. In 1737 for instance, Detroit traders Beaubien and Germain obtained a *congé* (trading license) that recorded the names of their crew of voyageurs. The document listed one of the four men as "Pierre Panis de Nation."

The relative numbers of the two types of slaves is more difficult to determine. Censuses taken at Detroit from 1750 through 1782 distinguish only the categories of female and male "slaves." It appears that African slaves were found at Detroit at least by the late 1730s, and merchant James Sterling held two black men in 1764. As a general observation, it seems likely that *panis* made up the majority of the enslaved population during the town's early years, but the ratio gradually shifted to reflect an increase in the number of slaves of African descent. Some of the growth probably reflects slaves taken as booty during British and Indian raids from Detroit against the Kentucky settlements during the War for Independence. Many were carried to Detroit by the British-allied Indians and then traded or sold. The warriors who accompanied Captain Henry Bird on his successful raid against the Kentuckians in 1780 presented him with a female slave named Esther to thank him for his capable leadership.

The slave population grew slowly at eighteenth-century Detroit—from 33 in 1750 to 179 by 1782. Slaves numbered 85 in 1773; 127 in 1778; 142 in 1779; and 175 in 1780. The number of slave-holders increased as well, from 25 in 1750, to 68 in 1779, to 91 in 1782. No Detroit slave-owner of this period appears to have surpassed Charles Gouin's tally of 9 slaves in 1779. Most held one or two with a slight majority of the slaves being women.

The establishment of Upper and



This detail from Francis Pfister's 1771 "Plan of Niagara" shows the garrison gardens at upper right. Fences enclose pastures outside the fort where the Grahams' *panis* girls cared for the family's cow.

Lower Canada in 1791 abolished the enslavement of those born after that time in the British-controlled areas, but grandfathered those who were already in bondage. Since the British occupied the Great Lakes posts for thirteen years after the Treaty of Paris ended the War for Independence, this affected Detroit and Michilimackinac. When the United States took possession of these places in 1796, the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 applied, and slavery was prohibited in the territory. During the decade after 1800 and the formation of the Michigan Territory in 1805, some Canadian slaves escaped bondage by crossing to the United States, a reversal of the familiar practice of fugitive slaves following the North Star to freedom in Canada.

Slavery was a familiar and accepted practice in the Great Lakes region of the eighteenth century. Enslaved Native Americans and African Americans participated in agriculture, the fur trade, and domestic work and formed an important part of the community.

— Brian Leigh Dunnigan
Associate Director & Curator
of Maps

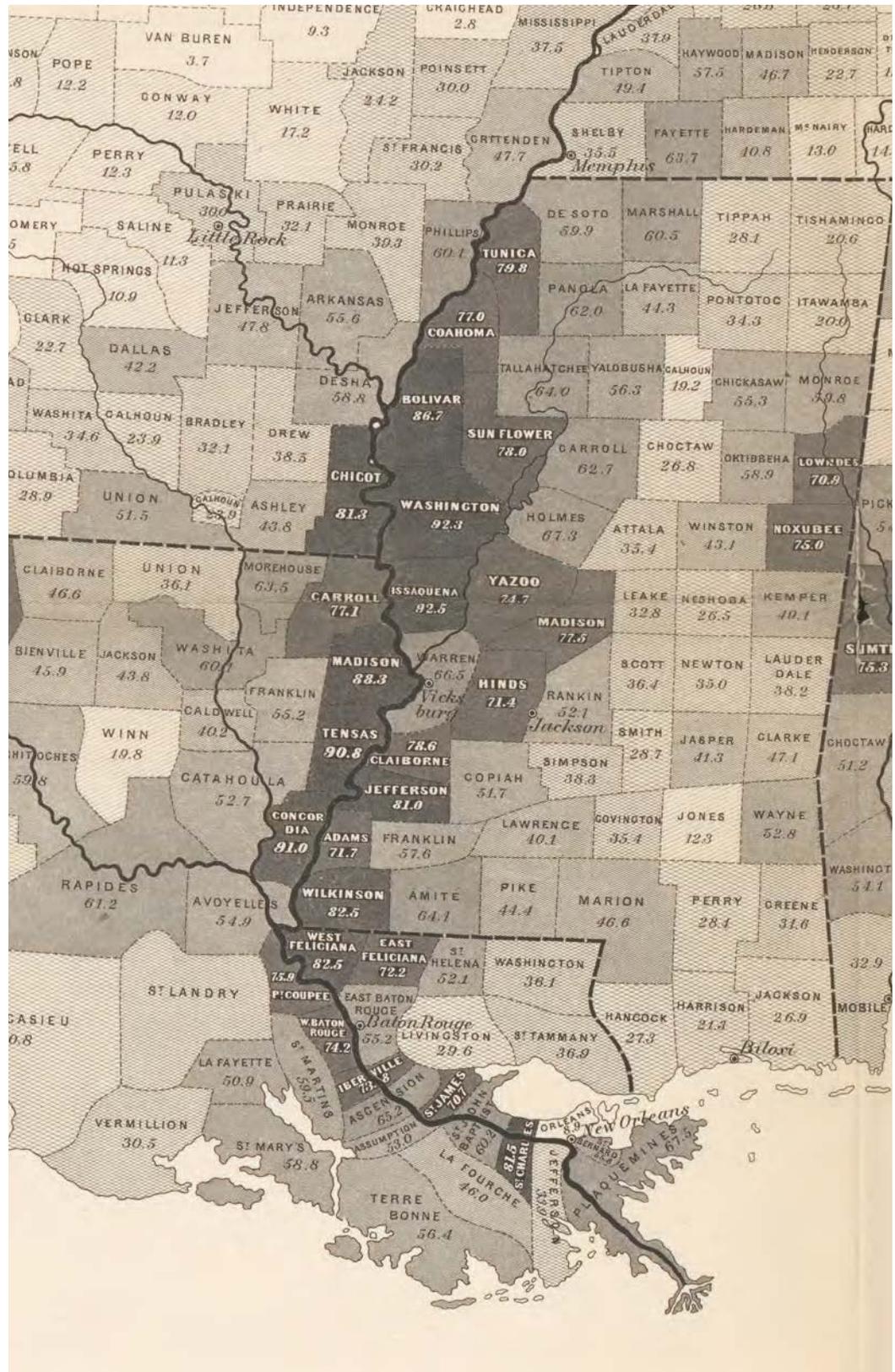
MAPPING SLAVERY

How did maps represent slavery in the antebellum United States? Enslaved persons made up 32% of the population of the South in 1860. Historian Susan Schulten, in her essay “The Cartography of Slavery and the Authority of Statistics,” examines the rise of statistical cartography as it related to slavery. She takes a special interest in a map shown in Francis Bicknell Carpenter’s 1864 painting “First Reading of the Emancipation Proclamation of President Lincoln.” Schulten identifies it as Edwin Hergesheimer’s *Map Showing the Distribution of the Slave Population of the Southern States of the United States* (1861) and claims that it was the first “effort” in America to graphically present the population density of slavery. As is the case with most of the maps noted in Schulten’s article, copies are in the Clements collection.

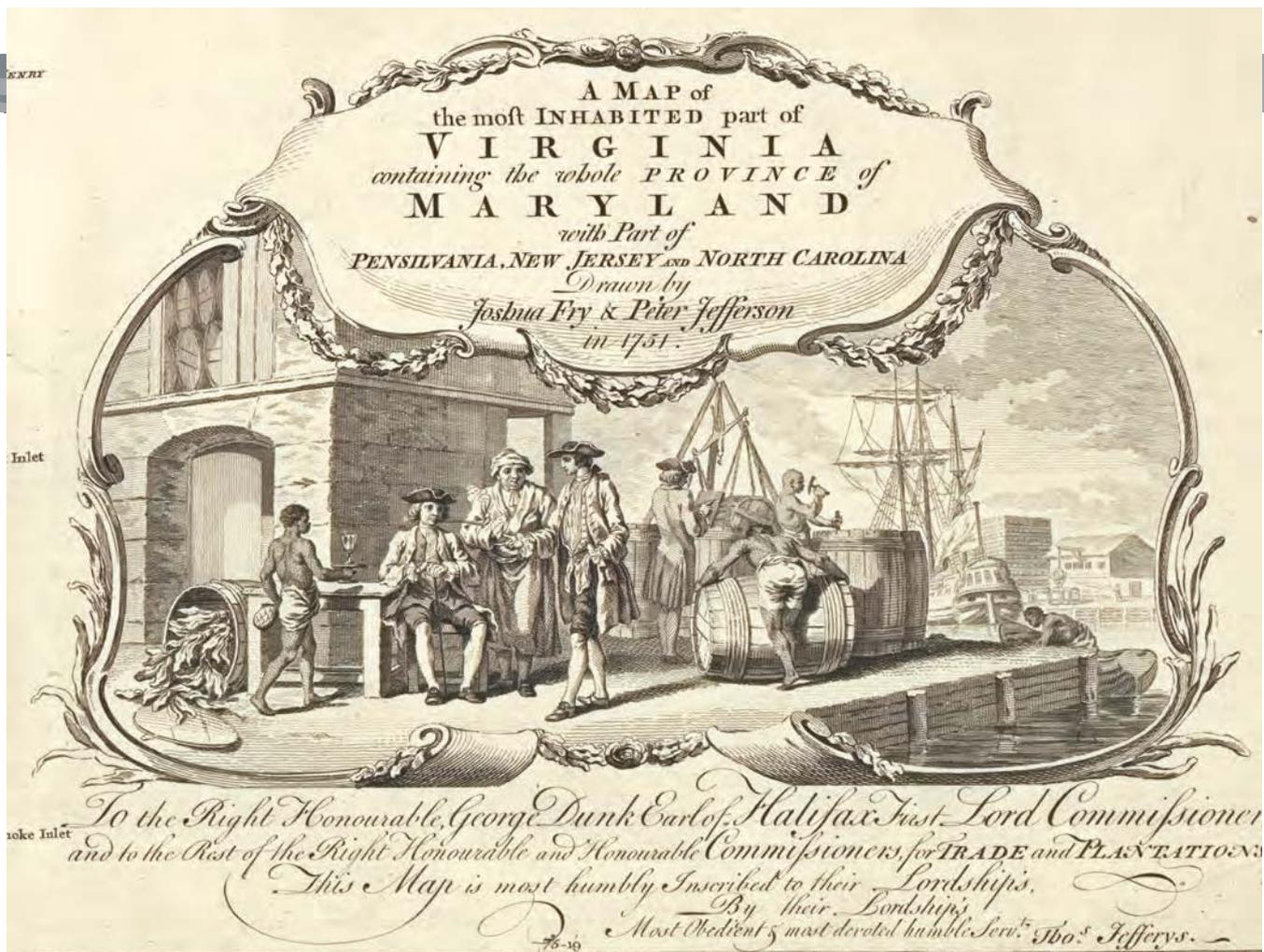
Schulten argues that this map, through its focus on the percentage of enslaved persons in the southern states, established an important link between the “strength of the rebellion with the institution of slavery.” In a *New York Times* blog post, Schulten maintains that it “reaffirmed the belief of many in the Union that secession was driven not by a notion of ‘state rights,’ but by the defense of a labor system.” American viewers could compare the “order of secession” of each state with its slave population and note that those with the highest percentage of slaves seceded first.

Reading through Schulten’s essay and thinking about the theme of this issue of *The Quarto*, I wondered, “What maps does the Clements have in its rich collections that depict slavery in the United States? What narratives do Schulten’s article and the Clements collection tell?”

Schulten examines statistical cartography in the United States within larger European-influenced efforts to thematically depict information such as temperature, weather, and disease. Examples are in our collection, including French naturalist Marie Le Masson le Golf’s early ethnographic map



Shading on the 1861 Hergesheimer map illustrates the heavy concentration of slaves in the lower Mississippi Valley. The population of some counties was more than 90% enslaved African Americans.



The cartouches of many eighteenth-century maps incorporate realistic scenes of colonial commerce. The Fry-Jefferson map of Virginia (1751–1755) pictures tobacco growers conversing while slaves load their product aboard ships bound for England.

Esquisse d'un tableau général du genre humain of 1786. Ethnographic maps might be seen as a precursor to statistical maps like Hergesheimer's in their depiction of particular aspects of populations and human geography. Masson le Golf's double-hemisphere world map, for example, charts the religions and the manners, colors, and forms of peoples of the world. Ethnographic maps also appear in initial chapters of some nineteenth-century atlases.

Looking at the Clements's map holdings, graphic depictions of slavery might be said to begin with cartouches. These decorative enclosures surround the title or imprint, and those that are not allegorical often display caricatures or realistic scenes of enslaved Africans, Native peoples, or European colonists. Realistic cartouches on maps of the Americas began to appear in the late seventeenth century. John Gerar William De Brahm's *A Map of South Carolina* (1757), Joshua Fry's *A Map of the most Inhabited Part of Virginia* (1755) and James Cook's *A Map of the Province of South Carolina* (1773) include cartouches with scenes of slaves laboring in support of trade.

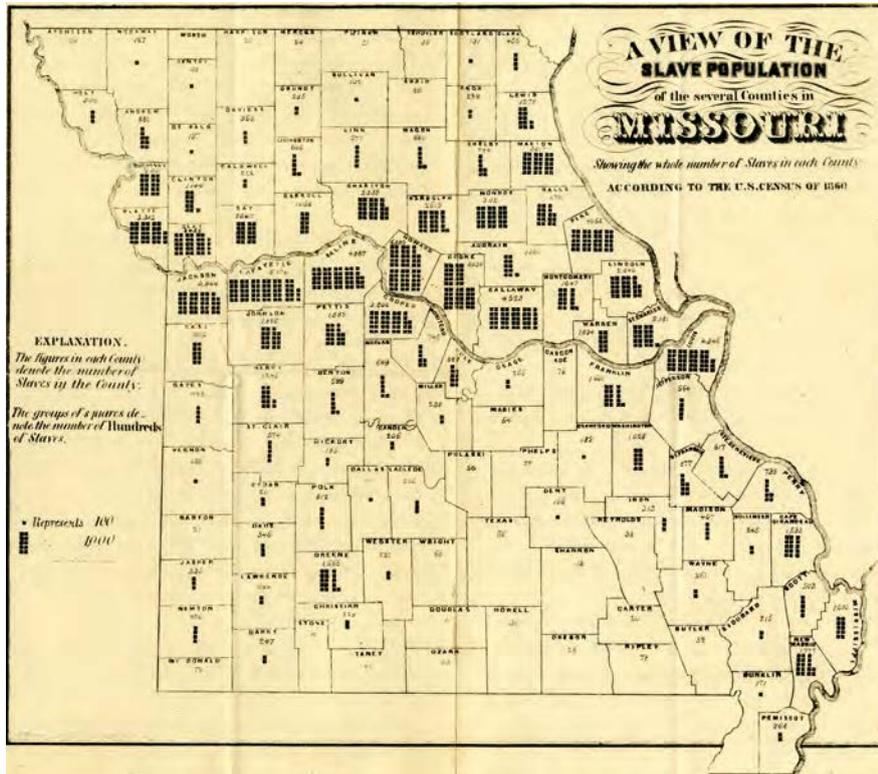
Census statistics began to appear on maps of America in the early nineteenth century following the first official U.S. count in 1790. Censuses before 1820 gathered very basic information about the population such as age and status as free white men, free white females, or slaves. Schulten states that the census expanded after the 1820s with "the growing complexity of the economy, along with changing conceptions of the public good and a rising interest in statistics as a scientific tool." The 1820 census called for additional information including the population's participation in agriculture, commerce, and manufacturing, the number of un-naturalized foreigners, the age of slaves, the number of free "colored" males and females, and the number of male and female slaves.

Early efforts to utilize census data resulted in juxtaposition of statistical information on maps. Anthony Finley's *A New American Atlas* (1826) and T.G. Bradford's *An Illustrated Atlas* (1838) and tourist pocket maps and travelers' guides such as J.H. Young's *The Tourist's Pocket Map of the State of Kentucky* (1839) and Henry Schenck Tanner's *The American Traveler* (1839)

present census information in tables and text alongside the maps. Other map-makers experimented with incorporating census information into the map itself.

Finley's 1826 atlas includes colorful maps of the American states alongside statistical tables "compiled from the latest authorities." Finley's "authorities" appear to include the censuses of 1790 to 1820. Slave-holding states in the atlas have tables that list "Whites," "F. Blacks" (not all states list free Blacks), "Slaves," and "Total Population" of each county. Some newer states, like Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Ohio, and Indiana that first appeared in the censuses of 1810 and 1820, do not have tables but are accompanied instead by a short paragraph with the most recent information available about the state's size, total population, free black population, slave population, and employment.

Bradford's atlas and Young and Tanner's maps drew on the 1830 census. Bradford's includes similar statistical information presented in tabular form. His tables are situated beside each state map within pages of descriptive text about the region. Young's tourist map includes general population information



Filed in the Library's William P. Fessenden Papers is a statistical map of ca. 1862 that employs small rectangles, each representing one hundred slaves, to show the number per county. The largest part of the enslaved population lived and worked along the Missouri River.

about each county in a table pasted into the inside cover. Tanner's statistical information is captured in one of the first few sentences of descriptive text about a state. His traveler's guide lists the total and slave population of each state.

Belgian cartographer Philippe Vandermaelen's 1827 map, *Partie des Etats-Unis* in his *Atlas universel de géographie physique, politique, statistique et minéralogique*, juxtaposes a map of New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, parts of the surrounding Middle Atlantic states, and New England with a table and text. Like Finley, Bradford, Young, and Tanner, Vandermaelen's tables and text provide descriptive information about the region based on census information from 1790 through 1820. Notably, he also brings population into the map itself by using red bubbles to indicate the population of each state.

Atlases depicting census and population information in this manner persisted through the 1860s. Charles Galusha Colby's *The World in Miniature* (1861) includes a map of Louisiana with an accompanying table containing population information for each parish in 1850, 1858, and 1860. The table

includes total population numbers for 1850 and 1858 and includes a count of the total free persons, slaves, and population in 1860.

Schulten's article highlights several maps of North America in the Clements that reflect trends in thematic map-making in the 1840s–1860s. J. & H.G. Langley's *Statistical Map of North America* (1841) draws on the 1840 census. Their map of the United States also incorporates census information. Beneath the title are "Remarks" about the "Number of Whites and Blacks in the States in which Slavery is abolished" and the "Number of Whites and Blacks in the Slave States." Printed across the southern region is the label "SLAVE STATES."

A decade later, William C. Reynolds's *Reynolds's Political Map of the United States* (1856) and W. & A.K. Johnston's *General Map of the United States* (1857) use color to distinguish slave from free states. In Reynolds's map, slave states are colored black, free states are red, and territories are green. In W. & A.K. Johnston's *Free Settled States* the free are colored dark green; "Territories" are light green; "Slave importing states" are light red, and "Slave exporting states" are dark red. These maps demonstrate

Schulten's larger argument, that maps produced prior to and during the Civil War reflected and shaped the political climate, public policy, and sectional tensions around slavery. The Langley, Reynolds, and Johnston maps take a special interest in geographically representing slavery.

It is worth considering that maps held a unique place for Americans in the nineteenth century. They were relatively cheap to produce and were widely distributed. Schulten suggests they were used by officials, published in newspapers, and even shown during protests. She references Lincoln's annual message of 1862, which rhetorically drew on maps to compare the envisioned unity of the United States with their geographic unity on maps. A particularly humorous example of this kind of thinking and the importance of maps in both the Civil War and the imagination of the American people is captured in an 1864 Currier and Ives print *The True Issue, or, 'That's what's the matter.'*

In the print, George McClellan attempts to break up a fight between Abraham Lincoln and Jefferson Davis over a large map of the United States. McClellan, Lincoln, and Davis reveal their ideologies in speech balloons. McClellan says, "The Union must be preserved at all hazards!" Lincoln states, "No peace without Abolition!" Davis warns, "No peace without Separation!!" The map stands in for the territorial whole of the United States and pokes fun at the three characters' priorities in the Civil War.

The public nature of map viewership is perhaps best illustrated by Reynolds's map. Schulten suggests that it was actually a campaign map that advocated William L. Dayton and John C. Frémont as 1856 Republican vice presidential and presidential nominees, drawing heavily on the anxieties of Northern Republicans following the Missouri Compromise's overturn in 1854. The map is flanked by inset portraits of Dayton and Frémont and patriotic imagery within a decorative border. From its title to the statistical information around the map, it makes moral and political statements about slave states and "the territory open to slavery or freedom by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise." In addition to the census data typically included on early maps, this example provides new details from the 1850 census and congressional and

electoral representation. All of the information is presented comparatively, inviting the viewer to make statements and judgments about the South or “Freedom vs. Slavery” in terms of economics, geography, public services, culture, and political power.

Like maps, statistics themselves were political. Decisions about what information to include in the 1850 census were shaped by the national climate and rising interests in abolition. Schulten explains how, approaching the 1850 census, Superintending Clerk of the U.S. Census Joseph Camp Griffith Kennedy proposed collecting more detailed demographic information about slaves and slave owners. Schulten suggests that Southern Democrats took issue with the authority of the federal government to gather such information and that the personhood implied by demographic questions would “undermine” slaves’ “status as aggregate property.” These debates directly shaped the 1850 census as population numbers continued to be used to describe slaves in lieu of more detailed information like birthplace.

Schulden traces the rise of maps like Hergesheimer’s to increased interests in the scientific authority of statistics and their utility in moral and political arguments. This was accompanied by an awareness of the ability to manipulate statistics to support particular arguments and ends. She suggests that attempts to scientifically apply statistics are reflected in maps like Hergesheimer’s which deliberately utilized minimal political messaging in text and color.

Hergesheimer’s map includes each county in the fifteen southern states. Those with above 0.1 % of slaves are shaded according to a key. The darkest have the highest proportion of slaves. The map is basically framed with text including a key to explain how the shades on the map correspond to slave population density, a table with 1860 census information that demonstrates how the percentages were calculated, a note from Kennedy attesting to the map’s accuracy, and a matter-of-fact title. Although the entire map is political in its focus on slavery and the “Southern States,” the most overtly political element is the statement at the very center of the map that it is “sold for the benefit of the Sick and Wounded Soldiers of the U.S. Army,” thus align-

ing the map with the Union.

The William P. Fessenden Papers include an example of a map that similarly uses the 1860 census to illustrate the density of the slave population. *A View of the Slave Population of the Several Counties in Missouri* (ca. 1862) represents slaves both numerically and by “groups of squares” with each square representing a hundred individuals. This map was enclosed in a letter of August 23, 1862, from Edwin Leigh to Senator William Fessenden, requesting his endorsement of a proposed pamphlet to include the map.

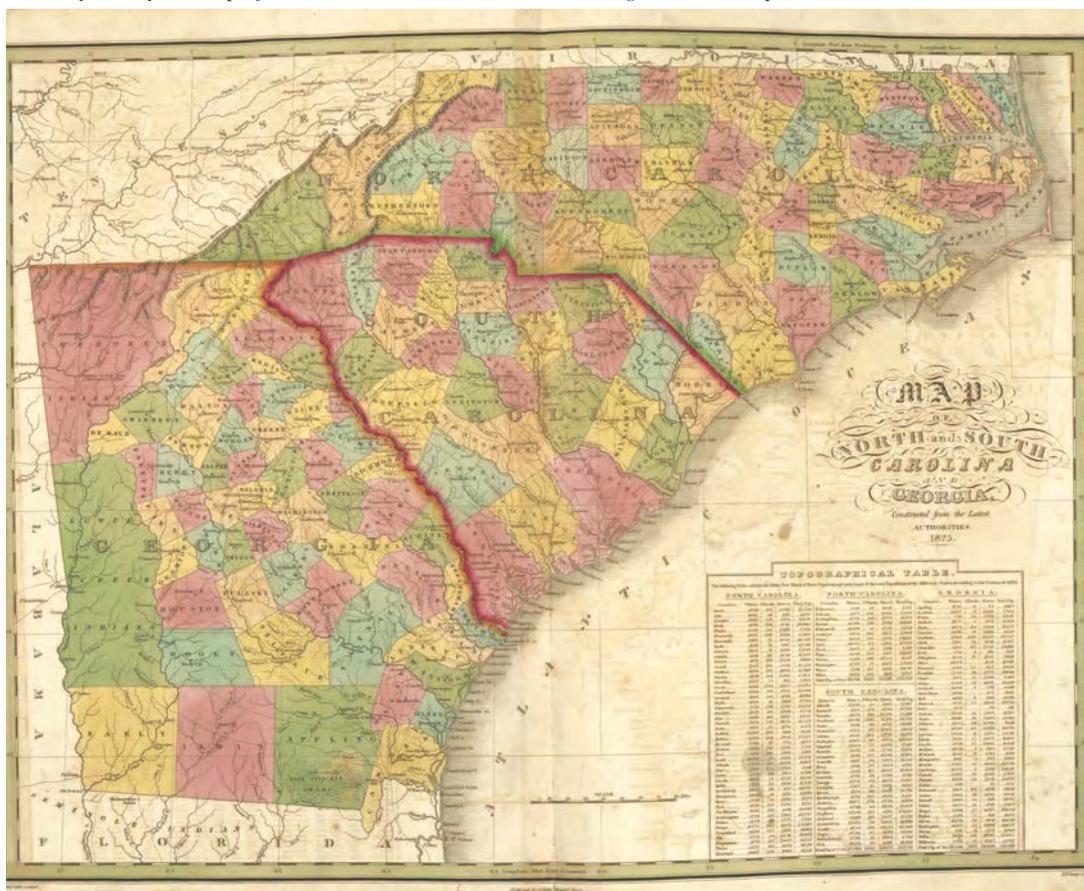
Statistical mapping and graphic depictions of density continued to be a popular method for representing census information in the decades following the Civil War. In fact, Schulten suggests that the method “exploded” in popularity. Francis Amasa Walker, superintendent of the 1870 census, published the first national *Statistical Atlas of the United States* in 1874. That work uses censuses to depict numerous facets of the population through “degrees” of density including “the proportion of the colored to the aggregate population” and the population of the United States in

each decade from 1790 to 1870.

Ultimately, the narrative of Schulten’s article and the Clements collections suggests that maps and the census played important roles in allowing Americans to visualize the geographic, sociopolitical, economic, and moral issues associated with slavery prior to and during the Civil War. Early maps drew on census information to illustrate the populations residing in particular states or regions. Some, like Young’s, did not mention slavery at all in accompanying statistical tables. It wasn’t until the 1850s that slavery, slave-holding, and the slave trade became a central focus of specific maps. The rise of cartography showing slavery and debates about what information the census should capture reflect connections Americans were making between slavery and geographic tensions. As argued by Schulten, maps also shaped the public sphere and imaginations of these tensions as mapmakers used the “authority” of statistics to interpret and present map-based visualizations of census information.

— Noa Kasman
Joyce Bonk Assistant

Anthony Finley’s “Map of North and South Carolina and Georgia” (Philadelphia, 1826).



DOCUMENTING THE LIFE OF NANCY ADAMS, A FUGITIVE SLAVE

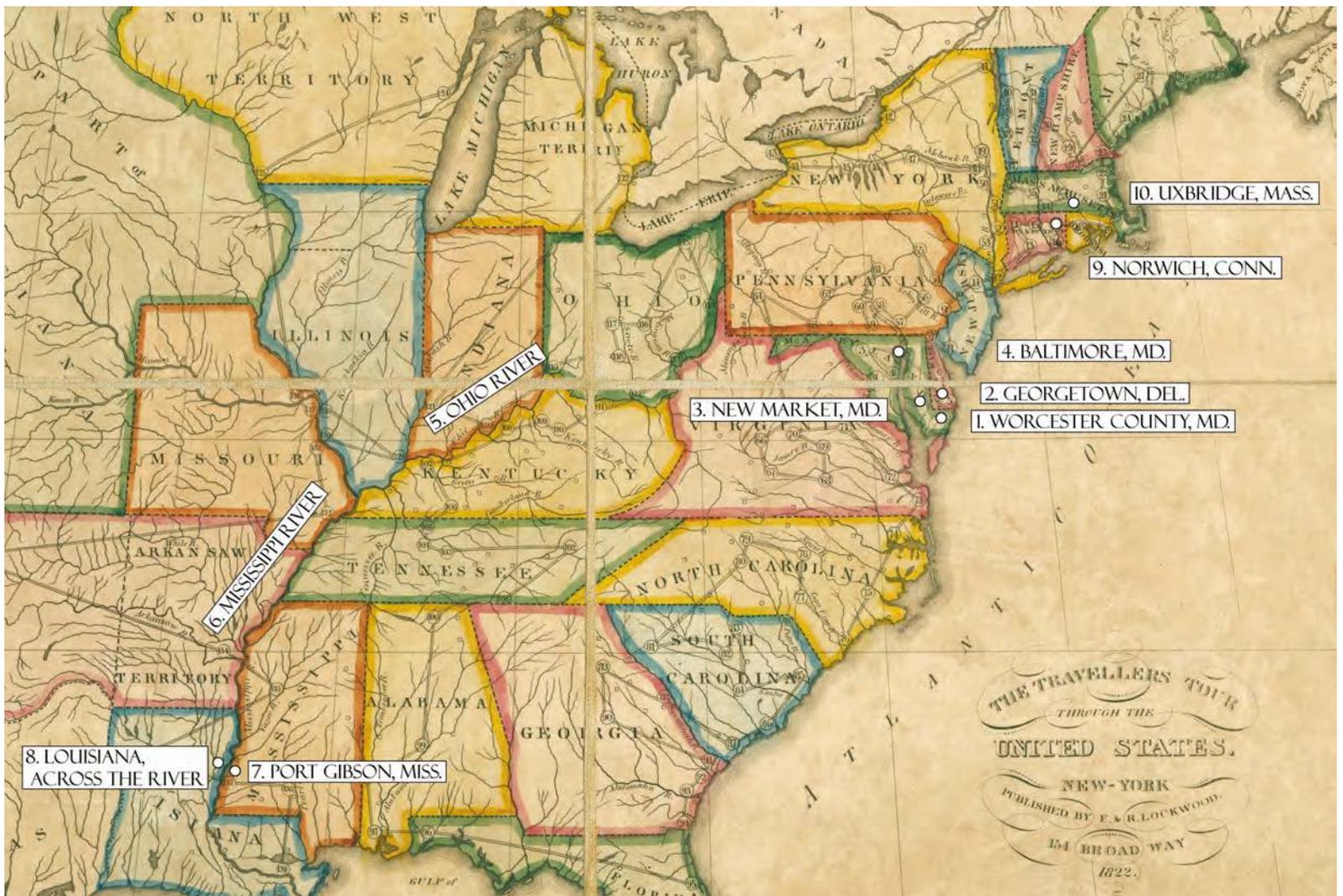
In 1939 the Clements Library acquired a collection of over 2,000 Weld-Grimké family letters. One of them had been written 101 years earlier on March 30, 1838, by a fugitive slave named Nancy Adams. She was living in Uxbridge, Massachusetts, and sent her letter to the abolitionist sisters Sarah and Angelina Grimké in care of fellow abolitionist Samuel Philbrick in Brookline, Massachusetts. Nancy had met the Grimkés on their visit to Uxbridge in January of 1838 and was responding to their request that she write “an account of my life.” The letter doc-

uments Nancy Adams’s journey from life as a slave in eastern Maryland, where she was born, married, and had three children; to her sale south to a cotton plantation; and her eventual escape.

According to Nancy’s letter, she was born in “the eastern part of Maryland.” She married when she was about seventeen years old. She and her husband had a son and a daughter before the mistress, “to whom we belonged,” urged them to hide from their master, who was planning to sell them to “the Spaniards” (perhaps in Florida, which was in Spanish hands at that time). For five months Nancy and her family hid in

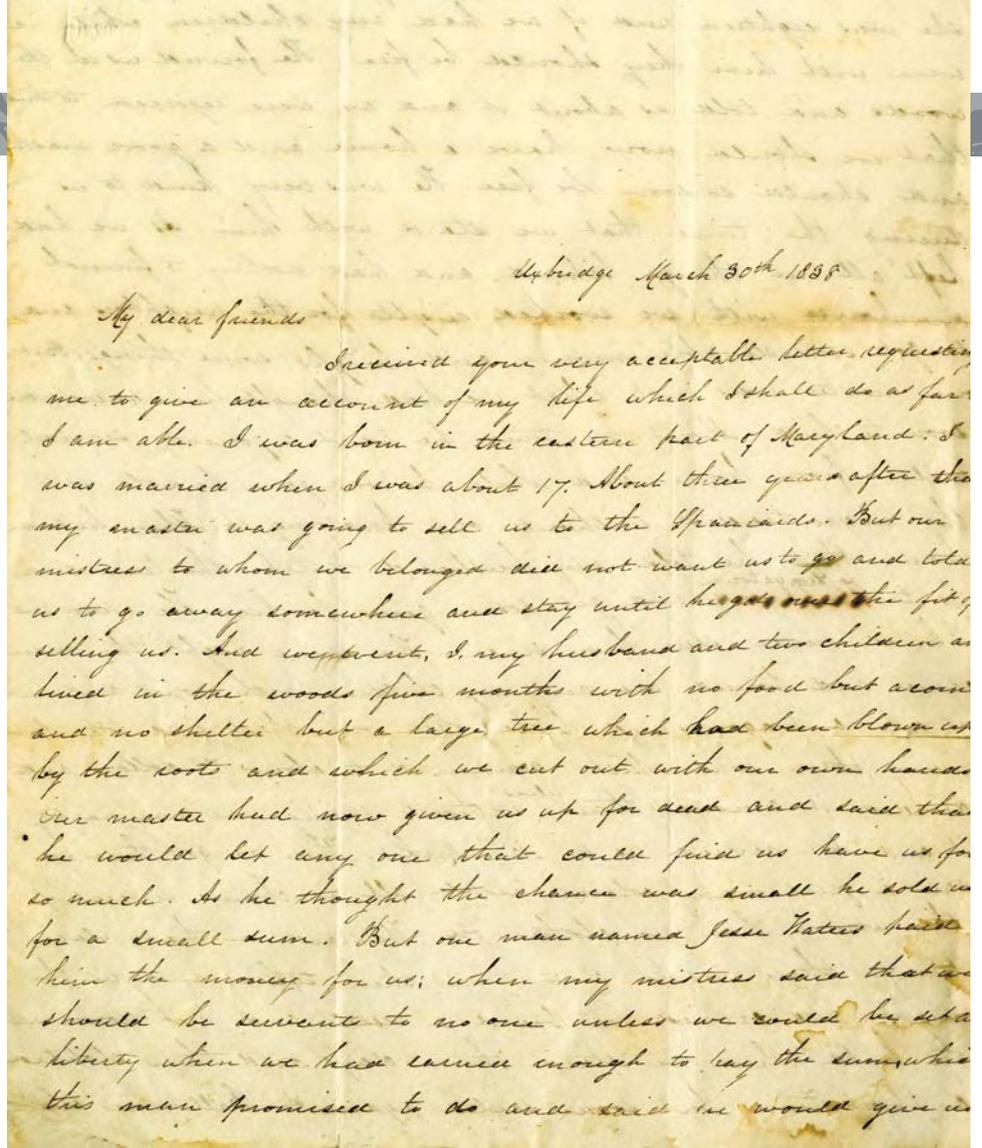
the woods, “with no food but acorns and no shelter but a large tree which had been blown up by the roots and which we cut out with our own hands.” Doubting that he would ever recover them, their master offered to sell them cheaply to a neighbor named Jesse Waters. Their mistress exacted assurances from Waters that Nancy and her husband would be allowed to buy their own freedom; that their son would become free when he reached the age of twenty-two; and their daughter when she was eighteen; and that any additional children born to Nancy and her husband would be born free. Only then did the

The Travellers Tour Through the United States (1822) identifies places names mentioned in Nancy Adams’s 1838 letter. Each is marked with a white dot.



family come out of hiding. For awhile, (perhaps two or three years), their new master was “very kind to us.” They “worked nights for neighbors and so got considerable money . . . about 72 dollars.” But then one day Jesse Waters sent her husband on an errand to “Georgetown,” and while he was away sold Nancy and their children to men who “bound me and my children with ropes” and transported them by wagon to “New Market.” Several weeks later, they were put aboard a vessel bound for Baltimore, “put down into the hole [sic: hold] where we staid three days and then stopped a short time but soon sailed again to Baltimore.” From Baltimore, they were taken by “lumber wagon” to the Ohio River and put aboard a “keel boat,” changing from one vessel to another as they traveled down the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers to Port Gibson, Mississippi. Her daughter died on the trip. Nancy and her two sons were sold to work on a large cotton plantation. She had never picked cotton before and suffered greatly. She describes the extremely brutal punishment inflicted upon one of her sons: “One time my son who was then about 19 years old went with my masters son in a boat on the river and they were afraid that he was practicing to run away, so he was taken and received four hundred lashes, after which he was salted and peppered.” A hole torn in Nancy’s letter makes it unclear whether she worked on the cotton plantation for twenty-three or thirty-three years before being hired out to a man who “came north, and came to Norwich.” In Norwich she became a fugitive slave, escaping and hiding out in an ice house for two days until the man who had brought her North had left town. She remained in Norwich for twelve years. Learning that her master was coming to look for her, she moved to Uxbridge, Massachusetts. The letter ends with mention of her poor health and her thanks “for your present.” She does not say what that present was, only that she “shall keep it to look at for your sakes for I never expect to wear it.”

The place names mentioned in Nancy’s letter help trace her travels from eastern Maryland to southwestern Mississippi. Jesse Waters, who sold her South, lived in the eastern part of Worcester County, Maryland, so her journey started there. The family was



Nancy Adams’s March 30, 1838, letter to the Grimké sisters began the search to trace her movements as both slave and fugitive.

separated when Nancy’s husband was sent on an errand to “Georgetown,” possibly the Georgetown area of Delaware. On the first leg of her journey, Nancy and her children were taken to “New Market,” which probably refers to East New Market, Maryland, located on the eastern shore of Chesapeake Bay, west of Worcester County. From there she was put on board a boat for Baltimore. Nancy says that she and the children were taken from Baltimore to the Ohio River, and traveled by boat down the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, until she reached Port Gibson in Claiborne County, Mississippi. From there she went to work on a cotton plantation, probably across the river in Louisiana. Later Nancy was taken “north” to Norwich, where she escaped. She spent about twelve years living as a fugitive slave in Norwich before moving to Uxbridge, Massachusetts. The question arises as to which Norwich she is referring. There is a Norwich, Connecticut; a Norwich, Pennsylvania; a Norwich, New York; a Norwich, Vermont; and

even a small town in Massachusetts that was originally named Norwich but became Huntington in 1853. Norwich, Connecticut, a bustling city located on the Thames River, about eighty miles south of Uxbridge, was on a well-used underground railroad route, and may well have been the Norwich referred to in Nancy’s letter. So, following Nancy’s trail involves trying to figure out which Norwich, which New Market, and which Georgetown her letter refers to.

Using the date on Nancy’s letter (1838) and the location from which it was written (Uxbridge, Massachusetts), we attempted to document her life after 1838 and to use that information to establish her approximate birthdate. The 1850 Federal Census of Uxbridge records Nancy Adams as seventy-eight years old, born in Maryland, and the head of a single-person household. She owned no real estate, and no occupation is given. The census indicates that she could not read or write, so her letter may well have been written for her by Effingham L. Capron or one of the other



COTTON PLANTATION.

EINE BAUMWOLL-PFLANZUNG.

The labor of cotton-picking changed very little between the time Nancy Adams worked on a plantation in the early 1800s and this 1850s depiction of enslaved laborers on a plantation along the Mississippi River, from Henry Lewis's Das Illustrierte Mississippithal (1854).

abolitionists living in Uxbridge. A Massachusetts State Census, taken five years later on July 14, 1855, again lists Nancy Adams, now eighty-four years old, as head of a single-person household. Again, she is recorded as born in Maryland with no occupation listed. Both censuses suggest a birthdate for Nancy of approximately 1771–1772. Massachusetts death records and newspaper obituaries provide a death date of June 6, 1859, but these two sources do not agree on her age. The newspaper obituaries read “In Uxbridge, June 6, Nancy Adams, formerly a slave in Louisiana, about 95.” At least two Boston newspapers carried her obituary, as well as the local *Massachusetts Spy*. The state death records give her age as “100 years, 3 months, & 6 days.” The obituaries give her birthdate as ca. 1764, while the official death records place it as 1759.

Yet one more source for Nancy Adams’s birthdate came to light in a surprising way. In 1985 the right-of-way for a proposed relocation of a south-bound lane of Rte. 146 near Uxbridge necessitated the excavation of what was rumored to have been an old Indian burying ground. An archaeological team from Boston University soon discovered what was in fact the town of Uxbridge’s

old almshouse cemetery. At first it appeared that the graves, if marked at all, were identified by granite blocks or fieldstones, none of which bore a name. But, as excavations continued, pieces of a large carved marble headstone were uncovered above the burial of an elderly woman. That woman was Nancy Adams. When the broken pieces of the gravestone were reassembled, the inscription read:

MRS. NANCY ADAMS,
A respectable colored
woman
was born in Louisiana
March 31, 1766
[di]ed in Uxbri[dge]
[J]une []

She was buried in a hexagonal coffin made of pine and yellow poplar with a single brass hinge. An examination of her skeleton revealed a fracture or severe dislocation of her left hip joint that was never correctly treated. The pelvis was misshapen and the thigh bones distorted and shortened. These were not recent injuries but had occurred a good while before her death. They would have caused her to walk with a serious limp in her later years. Nancy Adams’s 1838 letter ends with her in

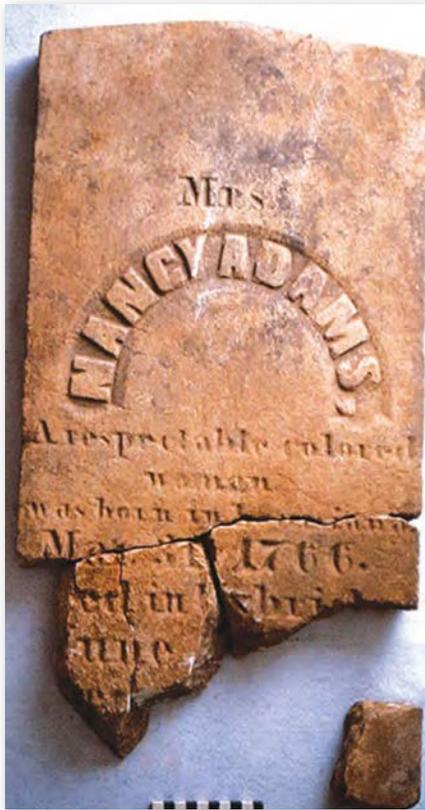
poor health and doubting “I shall hardly get up again.” This last line of her letter may help to date the severe injury to her hip and pelvis noted when her skeleton was uncovered almost a century and a half after she wrote her letter.

Once the archaeologists had identified the grave of Nancy Adams, they were able to locate more information about her life in Uxbridge. One hundred twenty-six years after her death, the memory of Nancy lived on in the local oral tradition. A man interviewed in 1985 told the archaeologists that his father had purchased land, including the area of the burial ground, from a man whose daughter, “Elizabeth Adams,” told him that the land included the grave of “a very lovely colored lady” who had once worked for her family. The 1850 Federal Census of Uxbridge lists an Elizabeth S. Adams, born ca. 1841, as the elder daughter of Lyman and Cynthia Adams. Perhaps Nancy took the surname Adams after working for this family or one of the other Adams families living at Uxbridge at that time. Whoever erected her gravestone sought to record more than the basic information of birth and death dates. Prefacing her name with “MRS.” acknowledged that she had a husband and perhaps children though they were lost to her long

before she came to Uxbridge. Using the phrase “a respectable colored woman” conveys the dignity, respect, and esteem with which she was regarded in life. The error in her birthplace is easily understood, since she spent 23 (or 33) years of her life working as a slave in Louisiana. State and Federal census data correctly list Maryland as her birthplace, and the newspaper obituaries correctly state that she was “formerly a slave in Louisiana,” not that she was born there. If the birthdate of 1766 on Nancy’s gravestone is correct, she would have been 93 years old when she died.

The town of Uxbridge Selectmen Records for the year 1859 shed some light on the last year of Nancy’s life. John Berrigan, an Irish weaver, was paid for boarding Nancy Adams with his family for awhile, but later the town paid \$1.50 for “removing” her to the almshouse, where she died in June of that year. The town paid \$4.50 for her coffin. It is unclear when the impressive carved marble headstone was placed over Nancy’s grave—or who placed it there. It is possible that a member of the Lyman Adams family or an abolitionist friend paid to have the gravestone erected.

One additional piece of information in Nancy Adams’s 1838 letter is that her second master was named Jesse Waters. This proved helpful in narrowing the possible range of her birthdate. The 1790 Federal Census of Worcester County, Maryland, shows that Jesse Waters owned only one slave in 1790, so Nancy and her three children had to have been sold before the 1790 census was taken. Jesse Waters died the following year, in 1791. The five different documented sources for Nancy’s birthdate fall into three categories: ca. 1770–1771 (census data), ca. 1764–1766 (obituary and gravestone), or 1759 (Massachusetts death records). Nancy’s letter indicates she was approximately twenty-three years old when Jesse Waters sold her and her 3 children to slave dealers. Knowing Jesse Waters’s death date, and that Nancy and her children were not listed as his slaves in the 1790 census, casts doubt on a 1770–1771 birthdate, since it seems to place Nancy living with Jesse Waters several years after his death. On the other hand, because the censuses taken in 1850 and 1855 (when Nancy was still alive),



Buried fragments of a headstone led archaeologists to identify Nancy Adams’s grave in Uxbridge. Courtesy, Boston University.

include information that she probably supplied, they might give a more accurate estimate of her age than information supplied by others after her death. These censuses place her birthdate as ca. 1770–1771. Nancy herself may not have known the exact date of her birth. Using the information given in her letter and the documentary sources recently located, narrows the range of her birthdate to between 1759 and 1769, but definitely no later than 1769. She would have been between ca. 89 and 100 years old when she died.

Twice in the years between her 1838 letter and her death in 1859, Nancy Adams’s name appeared in print in William Lloyd Garrison’s newspaper, *The Liberator*. On October 25, 1839, Nancy Adams was listed as one of the thirty-two people from Uxbridge who donated money to the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. Nancy donated 25¢. (Over half of the donations from Uxbridge were 25¢ or less). Almost seven years later, on July 17, 1846, William Lloyd Garrison published the following twenty-line article concerning Nancy Adams, entitled “A TOKEN OF GRATITUDE.” It quotes, in full, a note

dictated by Nancy to accompany the gift she had sent to him. So for a second time Nancy Adams’s “voice” is heard:

“A TOKEN OF GRATITUDE”

A short time since, I received the following note from Uxbridge, in this State, dictated by one, who to use her own affecting language, ‘was for forty years a slave.’ Forty years! what a dreary waste of life! The note was accompanied by a basket, filled with a very liberal supply of excellent cake, which, of course, was all the more acceptable, inasmuch as the donor says, it was ‘the work of her own hands and the product of her own industry.’

Will Mr. Garrison accept the contents of this basket, as a mere token of the regard of Mrs. Nancy Adams, an aged woman, who was for forty years a slave? It is the work of her own hands, and the product of her own industry. She wishes it to be an expression, also, of her deep interest in the great cause to which your life is devoted. She was separated from a kind and loving husband, and a dear son, who (for aught she knows) are yet toiling under the lash of the oppressor.” (*The Liberator*, July 17, 1846, p. 3, col. 5)

Nancy Adams was in her late sixties or seventies when she wrote her letter to the Grimké’s. She lived in Uxbridge for another twenty-one years, dying there in 1859. Despite spending part of the last year of her life in the almshouse, someone thought enough of her to erect a large, impressive, and expensive marble headstone over her grave. Nancy’s memory lived on, orally passed down from generation to generation in Uxbridge. In the written record, her name lives on in the pages of William Lloyd Garrison’s *The Liberator*. A replica of Nancy Adams’s original headstone now marks her grave in a new cemetery, where she and thirty other people found in the old almshouse cemetery were reburied. It is about half a mile away from their original resting place. The cemetery is lined with lilac bushes and enclosed by stone pillars connected with an iron chain.

Special thanks to archaeologist Ricardo J. Elia and Boston University for sharing information on Nancy Adams.

– Mary Hrones Parsons
Volunteer Researcher,
Manuscripts Division

SEEING SLAVERY

Throughout the history of American and Atlantic slavery, imagery played an active role in reporting the conditions of the institution and the human lives affected by it. Imagery also shaped public response. Visual culture documented the practice, promoted its abolition, and prolonged the enslavement of millions of individuals. Deliberately provocative illustrations of atrocities roused anti-slavery action, while placid plantation scenes obscured the violence and normalized the daily outrages of slavery. When studying the history of American slavery it is important to consider that there are very few contemporary images that are neutral and do not in some way represent an opinion on this divisive subject.

Images of the enslavement of indig-

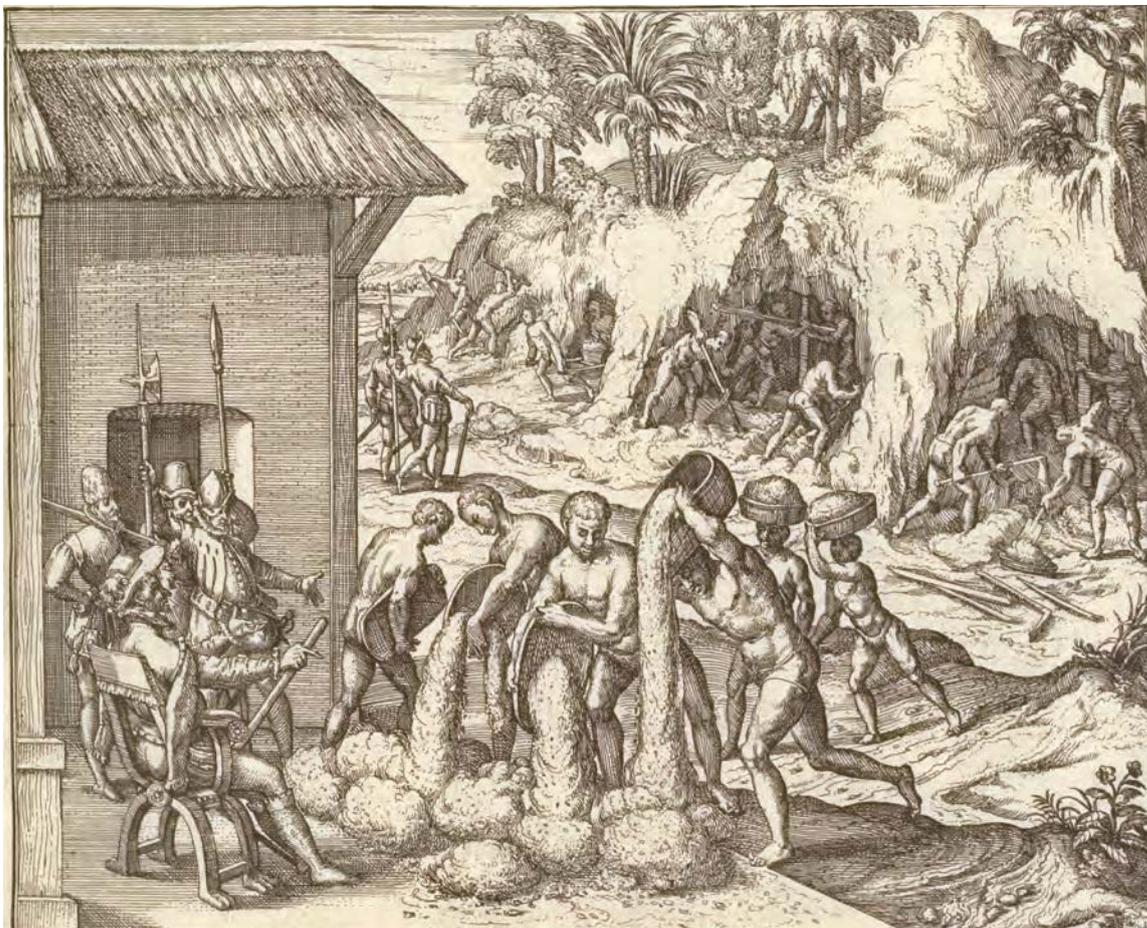
enous people in the New World accompanied early accounts of European colonial rule. African slavery appears later in travel narratives, on maps, and in reports on the development of natural resources such as sugar, indigo, and tobacco. As the anti-slavery movements gained traction in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, engraving, lithography, and later photography tugged at the conscience of an expanding audience of the visually literate. The phenomenal success of Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* triggered illustrated editions, stage productions, and countless broadsides, posters, sheet music illustrations, and trade cards referencing Stowe's novel and American slavery in general. At the same time, the rise of racial caricature targeting both slaves and free people of

color flooded American visual culture.

With emancipation came a flood of images of the newly freed. These ran a full spectrum of themes including portraiture, anthropological analysis, and caricature. After the war, sentimental images of placid plantation life with contented slaves appeared in advertising and popular prints, supporting the myth of the "Lost Cause" of a Confederacy unconcerned with defending slavery. The racist tropes of the nineteenth century carried forth in the twentieth in motion pictures, television, and internet memes. Awareness of the origins and history of these images can be helpful in understanding how the threads of the American story remain tangled in the chains of slavery.

— Clayton Lewis
Curator of Graphic Materials

One of the earliest depictions of slavery in the New World, this 1595 engraving accompanies the Theodor de Bry edition of Girolamo Benzoni's Historia del mondo nuovo. It depicts mining operations in the Caribbean using forced labor. Benzoni's tract drew on many sources beyond his personal experiences in the New World.





ABOVE: A series of prints illustrating stages in the production of sugar on Antigua was first published in the 1820s prior to emancipation. The set was reissued in London in 1833 by the Infant School Society Depository and Ladies' Society for Promoting the Early Education of Negro Children. Intended as a teaching aid, these images presented a relatively benign picture of slavery and reinforced the institution. Here, slaves plant sugar cane.

BELOW: A Slave Market at Rio de Janeiro from Maria Graham's Journal of a Voyage to Brazil, and Residence There, During Part of the Years 1821, 1822, 1823 (1824). The image provides a depiction of the normalization of cruelty as the young children being sold on the street go unnoticed by the well-dressed ladies on the balcony. A Frenchman and a black overseer in a "Liberty Cap" watch over the price haggling.





**WILSON CHINN, a Branded Slave from Louisiana.
Also exhibiting Instruments of Torture
used to punish Slaves.**

Photographed by KIMBALL, 477 Broadway, N. Y

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1863, by
GEO. H. HANKS, in the Clerk's Office of the United States for
the Southern District of New-York.

Wilson Chinn, a Branded Slave from Louisiana. Also exhibiting Instruments of Torture used to punish Slaves. Carte de visite photograph by Myron Kimball. (1863). Emancipated slave Wilson Chinn demonstrates the torture devices he endured while in bondage. Chinn is seen in several mass-produced photographs circulated by northern anti-slavery societies. He also appeared in photos reading to emancipated children. Images like this example were collected as novelty items, displayed as conversation starters, and used as signals of anti-slavery principles. They often appear in albums alongside photos of family, friends, and public figures. The proceeds from the sale of this carte de visite are stated to have benefited the education of emancipated children in the Military Department of The Gulf.

Boston's Columbian Centinel, 1807, Sept. 23, 30, October 7. A rare "objective" portrayal of an American slave. In an era when most newspaper illustrations were generic woodcuts, the consigner of this ad went to extraordinary expense to post his notice with a specific profile portrait, probably based on a cut-paper silhouette. "Sancho" apparently emancipated himself by escaping in 1807. His master, Winthrop Sargent (1753-1820), fought for the patriots in the American Revolution and served as Secretary of the Northwest Territory and Governor of the Mississippi Territory. Sancho "had learned the trade of a Barber and is in every respect a most accomplished servant for a gentleman or a family; was born and educated in his master's house; endeared to him and his mistress and his own wife and children, as well as the numerous blacks of his Master's Plantations, by long, affectionate and faithful services."

A GOOD LIKENESS OF SANCHO,
A NEGRO



MAN, thirty years of age, about 5 feet high, very black complexion, good teeth, not corpulent, but well formed, and of erect position of body & a fast walker, WHO absented himself (supposed to have been inveigled away by some artful villains for their own use and benefit) upon the Evening of the 17th inst from his Master, WINTHROP SARGENT, late Governor of the Mississippi Territory. He had learned the trade of a Barber, and is in every respect a most accomplished servant for a gentleman or a family; was born and educated in his Master's house; endeared to *him*, his *mistress*, and his own *wife* and *children*, as well as the numerous blacks of his Master's Plantations, by long, affectionate, and faithful services, and ere this solitary instance of malconduct, there was not a single doubt entertained that the attachments were mutual and inviolable. If he voluntarily returns to the service of his Master, he shall be received with wonted kindness and affection, but no expense will be spared to punish to the utmost limits of the law, all persons who may be accessory in harboring or concealing him, and the sum of FIFTY DOLLARS shall be paid to any person who will apprehend and deliver him to his Master, or to his absence to MR. IGNATIUS SARGENT, in Boston; to Messrs. G & L ASPINWALE, in New-York, or Col. HODGSON, in Philadelphia;---or the sum of ONE HUNDRED DOLLARS for delivering him to Mr. DAVID URQUHART, Merchant, New-Orleans.

WINTHROP SARGENT.

FOR SALE,

A HAND ORGAN



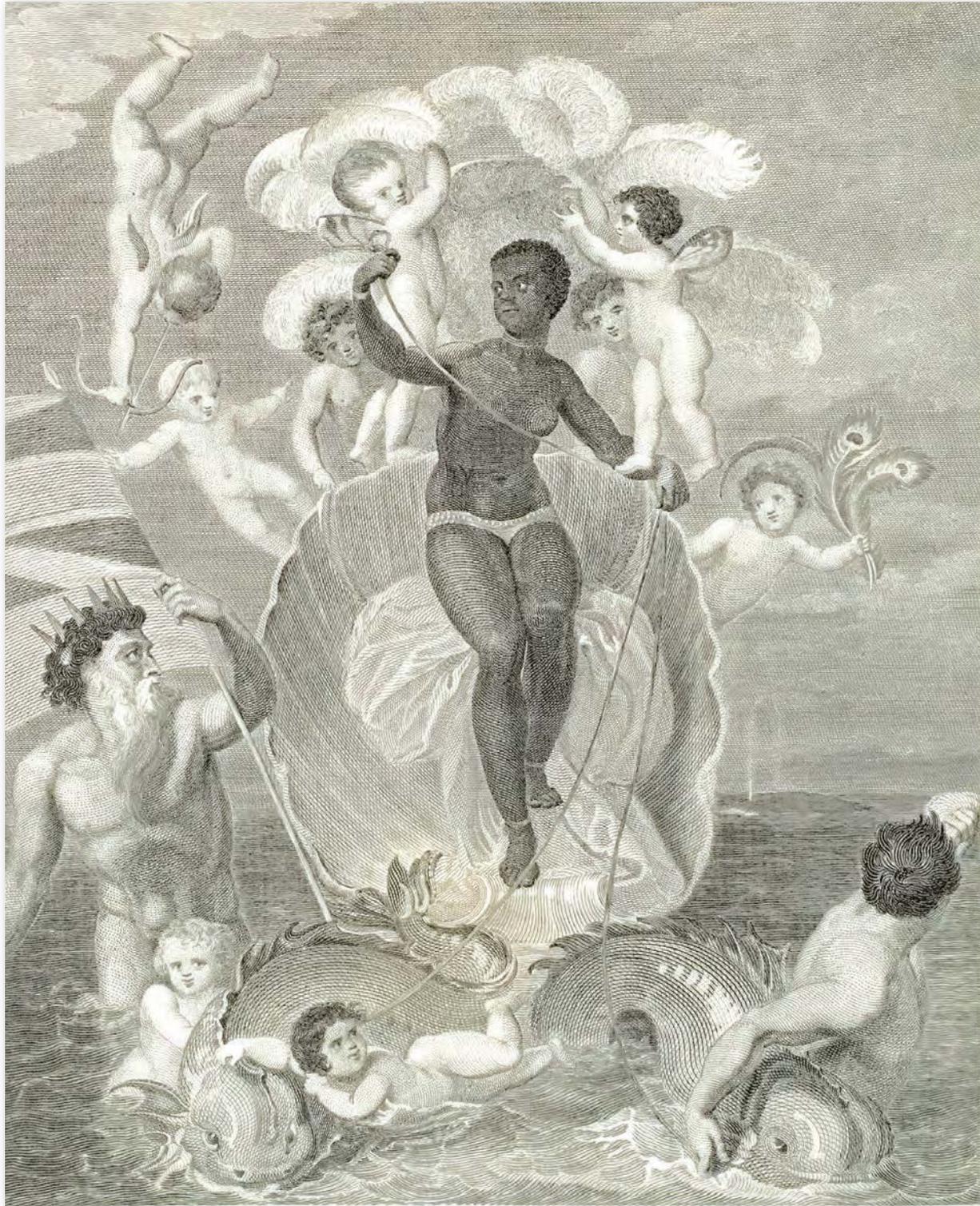
LE GÉNÉRAL WASHINGTON

Ne Quid Detrimenti capiat Res publica.

Gravé d'après le Tableau Original appartenant à M. Marquis de la Fayette.

Cette Estampe se vend avec Privilège du Roy à Paris chez le Citoyen Graveur rue et porte S. Jacques, Maison de M. le Comte M. de Drog, près 12 livres.

General George Washington, the Father of our Country, enslaved hundreds at his Mount Vernon estate. This engraving reveals how he was perceived by our French allies through visual clues: his authority and power comes from documents—those of reconciliation with Britain lie shredded underfoot as he presents the viewer with The Declaration of Independence and the Treaty of Alliance with France. Battle maps and communications are piled on his table. His luxurious tent and powerful steed all speak to his status, as does the young African slave holding the reins, awaiting Le Général's next command.



The Voyage of the Sable Venus, from Angola to the West Indies. This allegorical engraving representing the Atlantic slave trade accompanies a poem in Bryan Edwards's *The History, Civil and Commercial, of the British Colonies in the West Indies*. It depicts an African woman coasting on a dolphin-drawn shell chariot, accompanied by Neptune bearing a British flag, Triton blowing on a conch shell, escorted by Amoretti. Void of any hint of the horrifically severe conditions of the Middle Passage, this cultural concoction mixes base sexual desire and hints of racial superiority with a composition borrowed from Botticelli, making for a vulgar, if not somewhat pornographic picture. Given the commonplace sexual exploitation of slave women, this image ranks among the most offensive of a host of illustrations softening the cruelty of American slavery.

DEVELOPMENTS

What a year it has been. Events, tours, and lectures, oh my! The excitement of returning to campus and welcoming students, faculty, friends, and the public to our new space has been our focus this past year. Sharing news of our acquisitions and providing informative and engaging presentations continue to be a thrill, and the response has been enthusiastic.

The Clements Library's world-class collections and the building's stunning architecture make us an attractive destination, as suggested by our participation in two conferences this year. In May, the American Historical Print Collectors Society's annual meeting brought collectors, dealers, and colleagues from the Library Company of Philadelphia and the American Antiquarian Society to Ann Arbor. They visited the University's museums and libraries, listened to scholars in the field of print history, and spent a productive afternoon at the Clements viewing our magnificent holdings. Every corner of the Avenir Foundation Room was filled with a smorgasbord of collections ranging from engravings to daguerreotypes. Displays from our divisions highlighted the breadth of our holdings and delighted our guests. This collegial exchange of collections and ideas continued when we welcomed the Omonhundro Institute of Early American History and Culture in mid-June. Several attendees squeezed in some archival research, and they'll be joined by scholars from across the world in mining our collections this summer.

The bustle of preparing for conferences did not detract from our ongoing Events and Lecture Series. We brought prominent historians and authors to speak on topics ranging from the French influence in early Detroit to the violence of the American Revolution. In total, we hosted ten lectures, a living history program (Plimoth Plantation), and our first Michigan Map Society lecture. We look forward to planning another engaging series for the fall and winter.

Community engagement remains a priority at the Clements. In addition to our crowd-pleasing lectures and events, we welcomed over 2,000 visitors to view exhibits in the Avenir Foundation Room. Many also participated in our popular Friday tours to learn more about the history of the Clements. The sentiments expressed by our visitors are revealing: "I always wondered what was behind those large doors;" "I never knew I could study here;"

"I can't believe I never knew these rare materials were on campus." These comments make us reflect on how best to fulfill our mission to educate and inform the public about our extraordinary collections. One way we've been doing so is through streamlined communications. A new monthly e-newsletter features many of our accomplishments and activities, with details about new acquisitions, volunteer and student highlights, and collaborative exhibit information shared with over 5,500 of our email friends. If you have not yet subscribed and would like to be added to our email list to receive our newsletter and other Clements Library updates, please contact me.

We're delighted to be welcoming ever-growing numbers of visitors, who remain an integral part of the Clements community. Likewise, our Associates have increased in numbers, especially students. We are grateful for this support and the confidence placed in us to provide rare and unique material for scholarly investigation. We're excited to continue our momentum by providing tours, exhibits, and lectures, all while working with researchers who come to the Clements.

I'm sure those of you who have taken a tour or attended an event have witnessed the Clements staff's passion and commitment. All of us are working to meet ambitious goals of building endowments, increasing our fellowships, and attracting support for programs like acquisition, conservation, and digitization. We invite you to join us in this exciting and rewarding endeavor. If you haven't toured the Clements, participated in a program (a benefit for Associates only), or attended a lecture, I hope you will consider doing so in the upcoming year.

— Anne Bennington-Helber
Development Generalist

ANNOUNCEMENTS

STAFF MOVEMENTS

This summer we bid *adieu* to two members of our staff and greet some new arrivals. Noa Kasman, our Joyce Bonk Assistant, will complete her two years of digitizing collections. Receptionist Claire Milldrum plans to leave us

for a position in Minnesota. At the same time we are pleased to welcome four students (supported by funding from the Office of the Provost) who will undertake a variety of D.E.I projects involving digitizing, development of specialized finding aids, and conservation. Greetings to Morgan Fenton, Allie Scholten, Ellen Seidell, and Angelica Serna Jeri. Graduate student Katie LaPlant will be processing a significant addition to the David B. Douglass Papers thanks to support from the Upton Foundation.

THE MYSTERY ITEMS

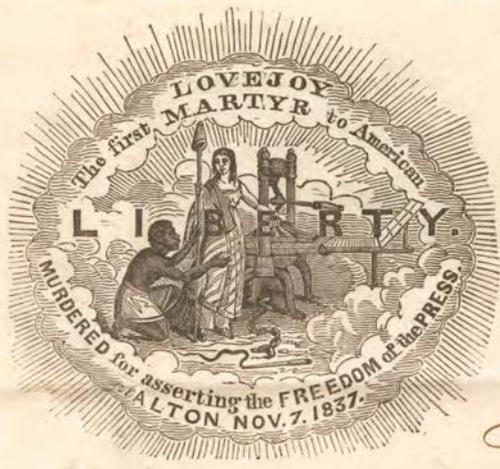
For our many Associates and visitors who puzzled over the three items in the last exhibit case of "Out of the Ordinary: Gems & Oddities in the Clements Library," we can now reveal their names and purposes. Beginning on the left, the first object was an *eprouvette* or powder tester. To determine the quality and strength of a batch of gunpowder, a small amount is placed in the tiny vertical barrel, the muzzle of which is covered with a flap connected to the notched and calibrated wheel. The flintlock on the side is primed and, with a squeeze of the trigger, the powder sample is ignited. The force of the explosion is conveyed to the calibrated wheel so the tester can measure the strength of the powder. The most imaginative guess on this (no doubt because of the serrated wheel, was an "eighteenth-century pizza cutter!"

The middle object was a photographer's flash pistol, used before flashbulbs to light a scene. The final, right-hand item is called a "sticking tommie," a wrought iron candle holder that can be hung or driven into a post to provide illumination.

2017 POST-DOCTORAL FELLOWS

We are pleased to announce the names and topics of research of four 2017 Post-Doctoral Fellows. We look forward to welcoming these advanced scholars during the coming months.

Dr. Todd Carmody of the Freiburg Institute for Advanced Studies and Harvard University is the first recipient of the newly established Norton Strange Townshend Fellowship for his topic "In Spite of Handicaps: Uplift and Rehabilitation in Postbellum America." Townshend Fellowships are provided for research into nineteenth-century Diversity,



This letterhead hails abolitionist newspaperman Elijah Parish Lovejoy (1801–1837), murdered by a pro-slavery mob in Alton, Illinois, November 7, 1837, as he defended his press. From the Owen Lovejoy Papers.

Equity, and Inclusion (D.E.I.) topics. Due to scheduling conflicts Dr. Carmody will visit the Library in the spring of 2018.

Prof. Kevin Kokomoor of Coastal Carolina University will receive a Howard H. Peckham Fellowship on Revolutionary America for his topic, “Stories of Law and Justice on a Southern Frontier.”

Prof. Allan Kulikoff of the University of Georgia has been awarded a Howard H. Peckham Fellowship on Revolutionary America for his topic, “Violence, Wartime Devastation, and the Origins of the American Republic.”

Dr. Niccolo Valmori of Sciences Po, Reims Campus, Reims, France, will receive an Earhart Fellowship on American History for his topic, “Trade, Finance, and Politics in the Atlantic World During the Age of Revolution, 1763–1815.”

2017 PRICE FELLOWS

We are pleased to award ten Jacob M. Price Visiting Research Fellowships for 2017. This support enables graduate students and junior faculty to travel to Ann Arbor to consult the resources of the Clements Library. The recipients come to us with a wide variety of topics, and the Library has committed at least three of our Price Fellowships to D.E.I. topics.

Nicolas Bell-Romero, University of Cambridge, for his dissertation, “The Creation of Loyalism in Revolutionary Virginia, 1768–1789.”

Margaret L. Herdeck, Trinity College Dublin, for her dissertation, “Befriending Catholics, Risking Empire: The Québec Act of 1774.”

Lindsay Keiter, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, for “Uniting Interests: Love, Money, and the Law in American Marriage, 1750–1860.”

Elaine LaFay, University of Pennsylvania, for her dissertation, “Atmospheric Bodies:

Medicine, Meteorology, and the Cultivation of Place in the Antebellum Gulf South.”

Brandon Layton, University of California, Davis, for his dissertation, “Children of Two Fires: Childhood, Diplomacy, and Change Among the Choctaws and Chickasaws.”

Loren Michael Mortimer, University of California, Davis, for his dissertation, “‘While the Mountains Remain and the Rivers Run’: Indigenous Power and Presence in the St. Lawrence Borderlands, 1608–1847.”

Peter R. Pellizzarri, Harvard University, for his dissertation, “Empire Reformed: Massachusetts, Jamaica, and the Remaking of the British Empire, 1763–1775.”

Whitney Barlow Robles, Harvard University, for her dissertation, “Curious Species: The Animals Who Made Natural History, 1700–1820.”

Franklin Sammons, University of California, Berkeley, for “The Long Life of Yazoo: Land, Finance, and the Political Economy of Dispossession, 1789–1840.”

Andrew Zonderman, Emory University, for his dissertation, “Embracing Empire: Eighteenth-Century German Migrants and the Development of the British Imperial System.”

CALENDAR OF EVENTS

April 28, 2017 – October 27, 1817: Exhibit, “Mapping in the Enlightenment: Science, Innovation, and the Public Sphere.” Fridays, 10:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m.

October 3, 2017: – Clements Library Associates Board of Governors Meeting, 10 a.m.

November 3, 2017 – April 27, 2018: Exhibit: “The Pioneer Americanists: Early Collectors, Dealers, and Bibliographers.” Fridays, 10:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m.



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